Chapter 8

Education, Multilingualism and Translanguaging in the 21st Century

OFELIA GARCÍA

Introduction

Throughout the world, bilingual[1] children are the norm. Most of the time, children grow up in homes where parents and families have various ways of speaking. Other times, children acquire different language practices as they move from the family context to that of the community. Yet other times, children move with parents to other geographical regions where they acquire additional languages and ways of 'languaging'.[2] Most often, however, children grow up in homes where people 'language' in one way, and go to schools in what is considered another language, or they learn an additional language in school. Regardless of how children come to be bilingual or multilingual, children throughout the world most commonly engage in *bilingual languaging* or, what I have termed elsewhere, *translanguaging*[3] (García, 2009b).

Translanguaging is the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential. It is an approach to bilingualism that is centered, not on languages as has often been the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable in order to make sense of their multilingual worlds. Translanguaging therefore goes beyond what has been termed codeswitching, although it includes it. For me, the concept extends what Gutiérrez and colleagues have called 'hybrid language use', that is, a 'systematic, strategic, affiliative, and sense-making process...' (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López and Álvarez, 2001: 128), which is important for all bilinguals in multilingual contexts.

But the facility to language bilingually is seldom recognized by education systems throughout the world. Children who come to school speaking in ways that differ from the language practices of school are often stigmatized and assigned to remedial education tracks. This is so whether the child comes to school as a monolingual student speaking in ways that are different from those of school, or whether the child engages in bilingual practices that differ from the monolingual practices that schools most often impose.

Two questions frame this paper: (1) what assumptions do we have about monolingualism and bilingualism, and how are those reflected in our current understandings of bilingualism and the development of bilingual and multilingual education programs? (2) What kinds of multilingual education programs and what kinds of language practices would have to be nurtured in order to equitably teach language minority students[4] and facilitate their learning?

I will argue here that the educational system's denial of the bilingual potential of children has much to do with the concept of *governmentality*, as proposed by Foucault (1991). Foucault focuses on how language practices in schools 'regulate' the ways in which language is used, and establish language hierarchies in which some languages, or some ways of using language, are more valued than others. This has to be interpreted within the framework of *hegemony* developed by Antonio Gramsci (1971),[5] which explains how people acquiesce to invisible cultural power. Erickson (1996: 45) defines *hegemonic practices* as:

> routine actions and unexamined beliefs that are consonant with the cultural system of meaning and ontology within which it makes sense to take certain actions, entirely without malevolent intent, that nonetheless systematically limit the life chances of members of stigmatized groups.

One such hegemonic practice has to do with our understandings and beliefs regarding monolingualism, but also bilingualism. When seen through a Western scholarly lens, monolingualism is routinely accepted as the norm, and bilingualism is accepted only as double monolingualism. As such, it is then monolingual and monoglossic[6] language ideologies, policies and practices that are imposed by schools. As agents of the state, schools insist on monolingual practices, silencing the ways in which bilingual children 'language', and thus limiting their educational and life opportunities. Even when bilingual programs are developed, schools often demand the total control of two bounded autonomous language systems instead of honoring and capitalizing on the children's bilingual practices. Bilingual education programs that insist on two separate languages end up denying the complex multilingualism of much of the world.

Questioning some Assumptions about Bilingualism

Although the greatest linguistic complexity exists in sub-Saharan Africa (the belt from the West African coast through the Congo basin and to East Africa) and South East Asia (India, peninsular South East Asia,

and the islands of Indonesia, New Guinea and the Pacific) (Nettle & Romaine, 2000), most scholarly work on bilingualism has been developed in North America, and especially in Canada – a region known for low to medium language diversity.[7](On First Nations languages, see Bear Nicholas 2009, this volume.)

The impetus behind the work on Canadian bilingualism was the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism established in the 1960s in response to the notion of two founding nations (the French and the English). Aiming to establish a balance between English and French, bilingualism in Canada was proposed as the two wheels needed to move within a bilingual federation, ignoring the languages of the First Nations and of the increasing number of immigrants. *The Official Languages Act of 1969* declared Canada to be bilingual in English and French. But in 1977, *Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language*, made French the language of work, business and education in Québec (Ricento & Burnaby, 1998).

Working to balance these tensions between the bilingualism of the federation and the increasing insistence on French monolingualism in Québec, Wallace Lambert and colleagues in McGill University established the first Early Immersion Bilingual Education programs in St. Lambert (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Lambert (1975) then proposed the two models of bilingualism that have dominated the scholarly literature – *subtractive* bilingualism and *additive* bilingualism.

In subtractive bilingualism, the first language (L1) is taken away as the second language (L2) is added, resulting in monolingualism in a second language ($L1 + L2 - L1 = L2$). In contrast, in additive bilingualism, a second language is added without any loss of the first language ($L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$). Lambert argued that additive bilingualism is socially and cognitively beneficial, whereas subtractive bilingualism results not only in monolingualism, but also in inferior academic achievement (Lambert, 1975).

But the subtractive and additive models of bilingualism have proven to be inadequate to describe the linguistic complexity of the 21st century. On the one hand, the additive model insists on developing a second full language that could be accessed entirely on its own, that is, it results in double monolingualism. On the other hand, both models start with, or end in, monolingualism, naming one language as clearly the first, and the additional one as the second.

The additive model calques or traces the language practices of a monolingual individual, simply by multiplying them by two. If monolingualism is like a unicycle, bilingualism, in this view, is having two fully balanced wheels of a bicycle (Cummins, 2000). At any time, these bilingual individuals can be seen to rely on their unicycle, wheeling each of their wheels independently of each other, or at most, always in unison and at the same speed. But in the 21st century, we need to recognize that

this type of bilingualism will not work in the rough communicative multimodal terrain for which two balanced wheels are no longer adequate. Beyond the bicycle, we need to develop discursive practices that adapt to the ridges and craters of multimodal communication and that include complex ways of languaging. We need to develop wheels that turn, extend and contract, that make up for each other, which are able to turn in different directions – as those of an all-terrain vehicle. And we certainly need to have more than two wheels.

The subtractive/additive models also consider a first and a second language, based, of course, on monolingualism as the norm. But in the communicative complexity of the 21st century, stimulated by the movement of people, information, goods and services that are the result of globalization and richer technology, the concept of a first and a second language has also begun to unravel. Instead, communication includes complex discursive practices with different modalities – visual, audio and spatial semiotic systems, besides written-linguistic modes of meaning (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Kress, 2003; New London Group, 1996) – and their use in integrated fashion. When bilingualism and languaging bilingually are taken as the normal mode of communication, it is difficult to identify a first or a second language, as bilingualism becomes the heart of the matter.

Much like the banyan tree so common in Southeast Asia, bilingualism, and especially multilingualism, needs to be recognized for its interconnectivity and multiplicity, grounded not only vertically, but also horizontally. It is precisely these associations and linkages that potentialize not only communication, but also that protect the structure, the temple that is the individual speaker.

I have proposed elsewhere (García, 2009b) that two other models of bilingualism need to be considered today to include these different realities of the 21st century – *recursive* bilingualism and *dynamic* bilingualism. Recursive bilingualism refers to cases when bilingualism is developed after the language practices of a community have been suppressed. In these cases, the development of the community's mother tongue is not a simple addition that starts from a monolingual point, because the ancestral language continues to be used in traditional ceremonies and by many in the community to different degrees. Bilingualism in these cases is recursive because it reaches back to the bits and pieces of ancestral language practices, as they are reconstituted for new functions and as they gain momentum to thrust forward towards the future. This recursive bilingualism does not stem from a monoglossic vision that starts out from monolingualism (as does additive bilingualism), but it originates in already heteroglossic languaging practices, in bilingualism per se. I have annotated this model of bilingualism as in Figure 8.1.
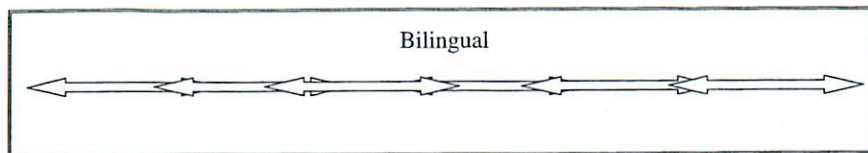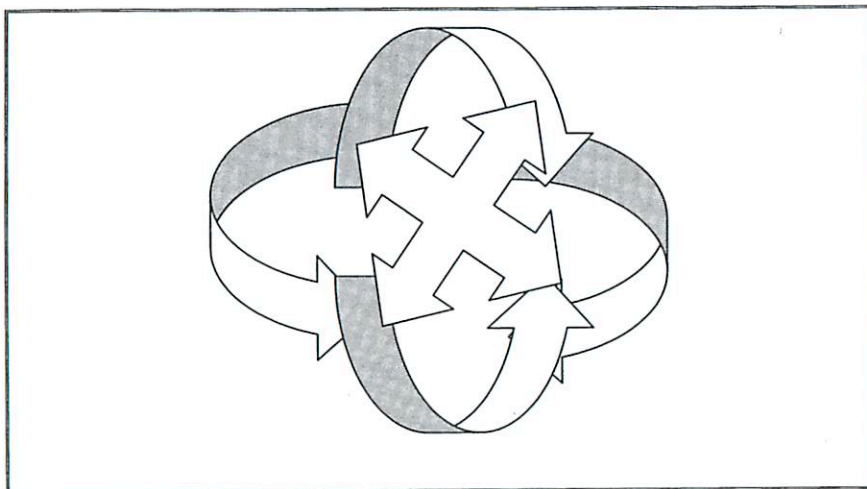
Figure 8.1 Recursive bilingualism

Figure 8.2 Dynamic bilingualism

Dynamic bilingualism refers to language practices that are multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual multimodal terrain of the communicative act. This model has nothing to do with the linear models of the past, responding to language interaction that take place in different planes that include multimodalities and multilingualism. I have rendered this model with the diagram in Figure 8.2.

My concept of dynamic bilingualism has much to do with the way that the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe[8] defines the concept of plurilingualism as the ability to use several languages to varying degrees and for distinct purposes. The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* defines it as the ability 'to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural action, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures' (Council of Europe, 2000: 168). Dynamic bilingualism refers then to the varying degrees of abilities and uses of multiple language practices needed for people to cross physical or virtual borders.

The progression from subtractive and additive models of bilingualism to include recursive and dynamic models has to do with ideologies that recognize the value of heteroglossic discourses and multiple voices. Heteroglossic ideologies and practices not only assert the functional interrelationship of languaging bilingually, but in so doing, they break the cycle of power that has held monolingual practices as dominant. Languaging bilingually or translanguaging is then considered the norm, as speakers are seen to occupy different points in the bilingual continua instead of starting from a monolingual totality.

Bilingual Education and Bilingualism

The use of two languages in education is not new. Mackey (1978: 2–3) describes how the 16,000 tablets unearthed in Aleppo, Syria in 1977, indicated that bilingual schooling is at least 4000 to 5000 years old. In addition, Lewis (1977) has shown how in the West, from the 2nd century onward, Greek-Latin bilingual education was the way to educate boys from Roman aristocratic homes who were expected to learn the language of the admired Hellenic civilization. Throughout history, two languages have been used to educate prestigious social and religious groups. However, scholarly attention became focused on bilingual education in the second half of the 20th century. It was then that the *immersion* bilingual education programs started to be developed in Québec,[9] as a way to make the majority Anglophone children bilingual. Immersion bilingual education programs use the child's second language as the only medium of instruction at the beginning, followed by the equal use of the child's first and second languages.

It is also during the mid-20th century that the USA started to develop bilingual education programs for their language minorities, in particular for US Latinos. These bilingual education programs were mostly of a *transitional* kind, using the child's first language for subject instruction, along with English as a second language instruction. This approach is used only until the child speaks enough English, when the child is transferred to monolingual English-only medium classrooms. In cases when Latino parents have acquired enough power, they are able to establish *maintenance* bilingual education programs, where both languages are eventually used throughout the child's primary education. But these programs were, and continue to be, rare.

Whereas immersion bilingual education, maintenance bilingual education and *prestigious* bilingual education correspond to a model of additive bilingualism, transitional bilingual education follows a subtractive bilingual model. This distinction also has repercussions on the language arrangement, that is, the ways in which languages are used in instruction,[10] and the language practices allowed in instruction. Whereas

Table 8.1 Bilingualism, bilingual education and bilingual arrangement

Model of bilingualism	Type of bilingual education	Bilingual arrangement
Additive bilingualism		
L1 + L2 = L1 + L2	Prestigious bilingual education Immersion bilingual education Maintenance bilingual education	Complete language separation
Subtractive bilingualism		
L1 + L2 − L1 = L2	Transitional bilingual education	Codeswitching

immersion bilingual education, maintenance bilingual education and prestigious bilingual education try to keep the two languages strictly compartmentalized, the transitional bilingual education type allows codeswitching in the classroom. The argument is made that bilingual education programs that follow an additive model of bilingualism have to protect a functional compartmentalization, reflecting a diglossic[11] relationship between the two languages (Fishman, 1977). In this view, language separation is good and language education, even if bilingual, needs to have protected monolingual spaces.[12] On the other hand, in transitional bilingual education programs, teachers are encouraged to codeswitch, thus violating the diglossic compartmentalization between the two languages, and eventually favoring the majority language (Garcia, 1993). For years, and with few exceptions (Jacobson, 1981; Jacobson & Faltis, 1990), the bilingual education profession argued that language separation was always good, and that codeswitching, which mirrored the ways in which bilinguals used language in communities, was bad (see, e.g. González & Maez, 1980). Table 8.1 displays the relationship between model of bilingualism, type of bilingual education and instructional bilingual arrangement.

Bilingual Education and Translanguaging

By the end of the 20th century, the types of bilingual education that had been developed in the West proved to be insufficient for the type of complex bilingualism that globalization brought to the forefront. Besides making more visible than ever the complex multilingualism of Africa and Asia, and of regional minorities everywhere, globalization brought

increasing linguistic complexity with the movements of people, information, services and goods, that accompanied it.

India may serve as an example of the heteroglossia of many Asian and African contexts. Pattanayak (2003: 129) gives this example:

> One of my students, an Oriya boy, married to a Tamil, speaking English at home, lives in Calcutta in Bengali surroundings, where the children are brought up by a Hindustani ayah and a Nepali Gurkha security man.

In India, two languages are simply not enough. Furthermore, there is fuzziness of language boundaries and fluidity in language identity (Khubchandani, 1983, 2001). Mohanty (2006) has described the very different multilingual nature of India – widespread bilingualism at the grassroots level; maintenance norms supported by the noncompeting roles of languages and their complementarities in the lives of people; the multiplicity of linguistic identities; and bilingualism as a positive force. Increasingly, this linguistic complexity characterizes the rest of the world, as translanguaging becomes the most important communicative tool in an increasingly multilingual world.

Little by little, bilingual education programs have grown and expanded, to include this increasing heterogeneity. Grounded in the possibility of reversing the language shift of groups that had been politically oppressed, and building on the successes of Canadian immersion programs, *revitalization immersion* bilingual education programs have been developed. This type of bilingual education program has been especially useful for Indigenous peoples that have suffered the most language loss. Examples are the Kura Kaupapa Māori and the Kula Kaiapuni Hawai'i programs. These programs clearly respond to a recursive model of bilingualism, respecting an expansive range of bilingual practices.

Ethnolinguistic groups who, through considerable agency and effort, have resisted efforts to stamp out their languages, do not always need immersion revitalization bilingual education programs. Based on the success of prestigious bilingual education programs, they establish *developmental* bilingual education programs for the purposes of expanding their languages. Often, they are groups that have been given regional recognition, and thus some limited power. Because they often include children who come from families with different home language practices, there is also an expansive range of bilingual practices in these classrooms.

Even in the USA and Europe, the bilingual education programs of the past prove insufficient today. Especially in the USA, what are called *two-way dual language* bilingual education programs have come into being, including children with different linguistic profiles. In Europe, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programs, where all children

are taught an academic subject through another language, are being promoted as a way to substitute for traditional core foreign language instruction. In reality, both two-way dual language bilingual education programs and CLIL programs remain rare.

But these more complex bilingual education types that respond to a broader range of bilingual practices are quite distinct from the heteroglossia evident in multilingual states such as India and the Philippines. In these more multilingual contexts, bilingual education of the more traditional kind would be insufficient. *Multilingual* education programs are increasingly used to recognize the bilingual and multilingual practices of children, as they develop multiple language practices and spread them throughout an entire population. Often these multiple multilingual programs weave languages in and out of the curriculum, dropping them, expanding them and using them for one function or the other, depending on particular instructional circumstances.

What is common among all these newer types of bilingual education is precisely the breadth of the linguistic range in the classroom, and the increased tolerance, at the classroom-level, towards multiple languaging practices. In these classrooms, practices of languaging bilingually are often accepted as the norm, as both students and teachers capitalize on this translanguaging. These classrooms have the potential to expand on the multiple discursive practices that the children bring, and consider translanguaging an important educational practice – to construct understandings, to make sense of the world and of the academic material, to mediate with others, to acquire other ways of languaging.

Seen from a bilingual and heteroglossic angle, and not a monolingual and monoglossic one, the term codeswitching loses meaning, as students and teachers accept and adopt translanguaging practices that enable them to function effectively, and educate and become educated. The traditional concept of diglossia *could* make way, in these classrooms, to a *transglossia* where bilingual practices are neither strictly compartmentalized nor are they random, but sense making. Transglossia could offer flexible spaces for language practices that are associated with making meaning and improving communication among participants who are different, and yet participate more equally. Translanguaging is then a responsible communicative practice that offers communicative and educational possibilities to all. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that translanguaging is nurtured within instructional spaces that most often respond to separate language arrangements. For example, dual language classrooms separate languages strictly for instruction, although the mixing of children with different linguistic profiles coupled with a progressive child-centered education that builds on collaborative grouping facilitates the translanguaging. The embeddedness of translanguaging within a diglossic

Table 8.2 Bilingualism, bilingual education and bilingual arrangement

Model of bilingualism	Type of bilingual education	Bilingual arrangement
Recursive bilingualism	Immersion revitalization bilingual education	Translanguaging within language separation arrangement
Dynamic bilingualism	Developmental bilingual education Two-way or dual language bilingual education CLIL bilingual education Multiple multilingual education	Translanguaging within language separation arrangement

language separation arrangement is often precisely what is responsible for the transglossia (García, 2006, 2009b).

Table 8.2 displays the relationship between model of bilingualism, type of bilingual education and bilingual instructional arrangement.

Multiple Multilingual Education and Translanguaging

This section focuses on the last type of bilingual education considered in the section above – multiple multilingual education – increasingly the type of education that we need to develop for all children. This multilingual education must be much more than simply bilingual education in more than two languages. I call it *multiple multilingual education* because I want to emphasize its multiplicity. I am referring here not only to the use of more than two autonomous separate languages in instruction, but to the intertwining of language practices, to the translanguaging that must be the *modus operandi* of schools that tend to heteroglossic ethnolinguistic groups whose language practices are multiple. These multiple multilingual programs mix and blend types of bilingual education programs as they see fit, and develop standard academic language use in one or more languages. To do so, however, they increasingly build on the children's heteroglossic language practices – a product of lived multilingual experience.

The Potential of Multiple Multilingual Education

One of the problems of establishing bilingual education programs for highly linguistically diverse populations is precisely its reliance on two

or more autonomous language systems. But, as Mühlhäusler (2000: 38) has said, the 'notion of "a language" makes little sense in most traditional societies where people engage in multiple discursive practices among themselves'. Speaking of the Pacific region, Mühlhäusler (1996: 7) says: '[t]he notion of "a language" is one whose applicability to the Pacific region, and in fact most situations outside those found within modern European type nation-states, is extremely limited'. Romaine (1994: 12) concurs with Mühlhäusler when describing the complex language use in Papua New Guinea:

> [T]he very concept of discrete languages is probably a European cultural artifact fostered by procedures such as literacy and standardization. Any attempt to count distinct languages will be an artifact of classificatory procedures rather than a reflection of communicative practices.

As pointed out before, India's multilingualism is complex, and so is that of the Philippines. Understanding that traditional bilingual education programs would be insufficient in these contexts, both India and the Philippines have tried to establish multilingual education policies and programs. (For a review of the multilingual education programs in India, see, in this volume, Jhingran, 2009; Mohanty et al., 2009; Panda & Minati, 2009) And yet, although there are 33 languages used in education in India, including English, and there are 41 languages available for study in school (NCERT, 1999), education in India, as Mohanty (2006: 279) says, is not really bilingual: '[E]ducation in India is only superficially multilingual, and it remains monolingual at an underlying level. The official three-languages formula is more abused and less used'.

In the Philippines, the Indigenous languages were restored as auxiliary teaching languages in the initial grades of schools in 1987. A trilingual system is now used in the early grades, with the vernaculars, Filipino and English supposedly used up to grade three, at which point the use of the auxiliary languages ceases. During this transitional stage, a *bimedial system* of instruction is supposed to be used. The instructor gives the gist of the lesson in the language prescribed – Filipino or English – and then explains to students in the local vernacular (Gonzalez, 1998).[13] This policy officially moves away from the total separation of languages in instruction, although it does not go far enough in recognizing the translanguaging of the students, as they make sense of their multilingual learning environment.

Because of the resistance to the expansion of truly multiple multilingual programs, multilingual education in India and the Philippines has proven to be insufficient for the equitable education of all children. Despite the multilingual character of some programs in both India and the Philippines, there is little *official* recognition of the fuzziness of the

language practices in this population, and of the language hybridity that includes Indigenous languages, regional languages and official languages. Thus, the potential of translanguaging within these multilingual educational contexts is not explored.

Other states that have faced the multilingualism of their population have developed multiple multilingual education programs. It is the policy in Luxembourg, where children start out being schooled in Luxemburgish, with German added for literacy purposes in the first year, French introduced after year 3, and French then becoming the main medium of education in secondary schools (Beardsmore & Lebrun, 1991). Despite the fact that these programs succeed better than others in accessing the children's and the community's languages to teach and learn, there is a limitation, at least in curricular design. These programs are conceived of as sequential programs, where one language is introduced after the other, without serious consideration of how to build from the simultaneous dynamic bilingual practices that children already possess – from the translanguaging that takes place in the community. It is then the official recognition of translanguaging that is missing from many of these multiple multilingual education programs, the topic of our next section.

The Potential of Translanguaging in Education

The main advantage of building on translanguaging to educate all children bilingually has to do with its potential as the building block of all bilingualism. It is impossible to live in bilingual communities and communicate among multilinguals without translanguaging. In fact, it is translanguaging itself that enables us to make sense of the multilingual worlds we live in. It enables us to understand our multilingual linguistic landscape (Shohamy, 2006) and to understand the different signs – visual, audio, physical and spatial, written and linguistic – that surround us. One cannot make sense of communication in the 21st century without putting together all the different signs and modes that we come into contact with. Signs that have been assigned to one language or the other are just that – and being linguistically competent for the 21st century requires that we access them all, mostly simultaneously, but sometimes also sequentially.

Those of us who have worked in the education of linguistic minorities have experienced the detrimental effects, for both teachers and students, of strict language policies that separate minority and majority languages. In the case of minority languages that are being revitalized or that are stigmatized, there is great linguistic insecurity among the teachers who are often reacquiring the language themselves. This linguistic insecurity may sometimes lead to the use of language that may be 'standard', but

that is impoverished in meaning, in metaphors, in poetry, and that is restricted in form.

Language minority students also feel extreme linguistic uncertainty in the languages they speak at home, often leading to silence in classrooms. This lack of confidence and increased anxiety may then lead to little investment on the part of students in learning and owning the minority language (Norton, 2000). In fact, the insistence on language separation for language minority students may accelerate the distance from the minoritized language and the eventual language shift to the dominant language.

In cases of language revitalization, the minority language is often used in education in ways that have little to do with the language use in the minority community. After years of contact between Quechua and Spanish, for example, Quechua speakers have adopted five vowels, but Quechua educators insist on using only three vowels, a reflection of traditional classical Quechua that has little to do with today's Quechua use in Indigenous communities. Thus, the insistence on using only an academic standard may promote more linguistic insecurity and linguistic failure than if the Quechua had been left behind in the community and kept away from school (see Luykx, 2000; Perez, 2009, this volume).

If, for the sake of people's self-esteem and people's educational and social opportunities, the ways of languaging of minority communities cannot be left behind and must be included in the educational system, then we must accept that building on the community's linguistic and cultural strength includes ways of languaging that are in themselves bilingual to begin with. This translanguaging has little to do with monolingual standards, as have been conceived by many linguists and educators (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007).

Even when minority languages are not in need of revitalization, and community monolingual spaces exist, there is much value in translanguaging as a pedagogical practice. In classrooms all over the world, language minority children are often taught in a language they do not understand – usually a colonial language that has now increased in importance because of globalization. Educating children in a language they do not understand usually leads to educational failure. If the majority language does not include the children's languaging, and if the teacher does not maximize communication using the children's language practices, failure in communication and education is sure to occur.

Pedagogical codeswitching, which for me is an instance of translanguaging, is becoming vindicated, as education scholars call for their responsible, and not random, use (Van der Walt, Mabule and De Beeret, 2001). Gajo (2007) and Serra (2007) have shown how its use enhances cognitive skills for nonlanguage subjects like mathematics or history. Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi and Bunyi (1992) have found that teachers in

Kenya use it to focus or regain students' attention and to clarify or reinforce lesson material. Arthur (1996) in the case of Botswana, Bloom (2008) in the case of Chinese bilingual teachers in New York, and Lin (1996) in the case of Hong Kong, have observed that translanguaging is a pedagogical scaffolding technique in bilingual classrooms, making the additional language more comprehensible. As Martin-Jones and Saxena (1996) have established, it is not necessarily codeswitching that is bad, but rather how language is used and by whom that shapes the students' perceived value of the two languages in a bilingual classroom. Translanguaging is also a way to develop students' metalinguistic understandings and metacognitive awareness, important for bilingually educated individuals in the 21st century (see Bialystok, 2001; Mohanty, 1994).

Pedagogical practices for all children, but especially for language minority children, must rest on two important principles – social justice and social practice (García, 2009b). Neither of these two principles can be observed if the children's home language practices are not included in education.

The *social justice* principle values the strength of bilingual students and communities, and builds on their language practices. It enables the creation of learning contexts that are not threatening to the students' identities, but that builds multiplicities of language uses and linguistic identities, while maintaining academic rigor and upholding high expectations. Another important element of this principle has to do with advocating for the linguistic human rights of students (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) and for assessment that includes the languaging of bilingual students.

The *social practice* principle places learning as a result of collaborative social practices in which students try out ideas and actions (Lave & Wenger, 1991), and thus socially construct their learning (Vygotsky, 1978). Translanguaging is seen as occurring through doing (Dewey, 1897). Translanguaging among students, especially in linguistically heterogeneous collaborative groups, becomes the way in which students try out their ideas and actions and thus, learn and develop literacy practices. In linguistically-integrated group work, students *appropriate* the use of language, and although teachers may carefully plan when and how languages are to be used, children themselves use their entire linguistic repertoires flexibly. Often, this language use appropriation by students is done *surreptitiously*. For example, many two-way bilingual education classrooms in the USA carefully compartmentalize languages and have a clear policy of language separation. But, when children with different linguistic profiles are involved in group work, children violate the language use norms of the classroom, using languages flexibly to support their understandings and building conceptual and linguistic knowledge.

Language flexibility is built in, as the children appropriate both the content and the language, both oracy and literacy (García, 2006).

In classrooms, children also use translanguaging to mediate understandings, to co-construct meaning and to include others. And it is perhaps this translanguaging, more than any other language arrangement that is responsible for children's bilingual acquisition and for their learning. Examples from US bilingual education classrooms with which I am very familiar follow.

Translanguaging in US Bilingual Classrooms

In a fifth grade two-way dual language education class, the teacher often lectures in Spanish, but students take notes in English. Sometimes, students read in one language and write in another. Students always refer to material in one language or the other in order to compose their own oral or written texts. The difference between translanguaging as language practices and in the way used by Cen Williams to refer to a pedagogical approach is that here translanguaging occurs naturally, as students appropriate the language use in the classrooms.

In this same fifth grade class, Social Studies is taught in Spanish. Although the New York State Social Studies test is offered in both English and Spanish, all students, except for one who has recently arrived from a Spanish-speaking country, choose to answer the exam questions in English.[14] Thus, for the extensive review that takes place for a month, there is much translanguaging. The readings that have been done during the entire class time, and the accompanying notes drafted by the students, are written in Spanish. During the review sessions, the discussion is mostly in English, as the teacher follows English language tests. But, the students look up their notes written in Spanish, and consult their Spanish language textbooks, as they translanguage orally to get to the meaning. All these understandings are then rendered into academic English, for the students understand that the assessment only values answers in a monolingual standard.

In a fourth grade bilingual class, a recently arrived Spanish-speaking girl writes a sophisticated Spanish essay in September. But during the English as a second language (ESL) class, she can only copy simple English language sentences that she illustrates in child-like ways – 'I see a teacher', 'I see a student', 'I see a clock'. But when the teacher gives her the option to write in any language she wants, the student immediately tries to incorporate new English words and phrases into her Spanish essays. Translanguaging as she writes her essays serves as the springboard that allows her, five months later, to write an essay entirely in fluent English.

The two kindergarteners in the example that follows are in a side-by-side dual language program. They are having a snack in an integrated period that happens to meet in the English classroom. A Spanish-speaking boy, Adolfo, whose bilingualism is at the very beginning stages, is snacking beside Gabriela, a Spanish-speaking girl whose bilingualism is more advanced, although still emerging.

Adolfo:	[Looking out the window and talking to himself] *Está lloviendo mucho.* 'It is raining a lot'. Look [telling the others]. It's washing. There's washing *afuera* 'outside'.
Gabriela:	*Está lloviendo?* [She asks him] [Turning to me] He says raining. He speaks Spanish, only Spanish [Turning to boy] Adolfo, raining.
Adolfo:	Raining. (10/19/2007)

Although Adolfo had no word for 'raining', and used 'washing' to communicate, the translanguaging that occurred allowed a meaningful interaction between Adolfo, Gabriela and myself, and enabled Adolfo to acquire the lexical item that he needed without any intervention from the teacher. Thus, translanguaging in the classroom enables language acquisition without having to wait for the teacher to assume a direct teaching role.

On another day, in the same kindergarten class, I observe the following interaction between a bilingual Latino boy (Marco) with another Latino boy who has very limited English (Angel) during the unstructured 'work choice' in the English language classroom. The pair has chosen to draw, something in which Angel excels. The fully bilingual boy, Marco, therefore, becomes Angel's 'helper'. Marco would have preferred to speak in English. However, because of Angel's dominance both in Spanish and in drawing, Spanish is the language of choice. And yet, it is translanguaging that helps them co-construct the meaning in this activity and to share each other's skills – Angel his drawing ability, but also his knowledge of Spanish by offering the word 'cola'; Marco his English ability to translate the teacher's request for writing the name, and his ability to use one and the other language, but also his more advanced writing ability, by showing Angel how to write his name.

Marco:	*¿Quieres deste así?* 'Do you want this this way?'
Angel:	OK
Marco:	*Cortando algo.... Pa pegar... Ahí.* 'Cutting something... To glue... There!'

And now we're going to put a line.

Quieres así éste, pero ¿mucho?

'Do you want this one this way, but, a lot?'

Teacher: Angel, are you writing your name?

Marco: *Tu nombre. Así Angel....* [Writes Angel's name across the paper] *Mira.*

'Your name. This way Angel...., look....'

Angel: Ohhhhh

Marco: *Quieres más?*

[Asks me, How do you say in Spanish? (pointing to the bottle of glue) Before I can answer, Angel replies]

Angel: Cola

Marco: Angel, mira. Now we got to just color. (9/23/2007)

That translanguaging is important for children to develop bilingualism is especially evident when one listens closely to children talking to themselves, a practice that is prevalent among kindergarteners. The translanguaging practices that are constructed always bring the other language to the forefront, even when that language is not being activated by the instruction. In the next example, the teacher has taken the ESL children outside and is showing them the trees and teaching them how to compare them. Adriana is constructing language through translanguaging:

Teacher: This tree is bigger. That tree is smaller.

Adriana: [Tries out under her breath]. This tree is *grander.* (9/23/2007)

In this two-way bilingual kindergarten, children with different linguistic profiles often work, learn and play together. Playtime becomes a translanguaging negotiation event and the only way in which activities can continue across the different languages. In the example that follows, there is an interaction between Alice who is English speaking, Bruno who is Spanish speaking and Carolina who is bilingual:

Alice: Are you done? [As she tries to take over the block area from Bruno and Carolina who have been speaking in Spanish]

Bruno: Yes, I done. [As he starts to walk away]

Carolina: [To Alice] Do you want to play with us? [They start playing, translanguaging]

Translanguaging, a practice that teachers in their quest for accepting only the standard academic language often shun, is an important practice, pedagogically to teach, but also cognitively to learn.

The examples above have made clear that bilingual and multilingual education must go beyond just using multiple languages in instruction. Bilingual and multilingual education must be multiple itself, drawing also on students' and teachers' translanguaging practices as they write, read and speak.

Conclusion

Multiple multilingual education must not only teach (and teach well) two or three standard academic languages. But multiple multilingual education must also build on the translanguaging practices of the classroom actors – both students and teachers. In so doing, children will develop the linguistic security and identity investment that they need to learn and be successful. The task for multilingual education in the 21st century will not only be to add more languages, but to recognize the multiple language practices that heterogeneous populations increasingly bring and which integrated schooling, more than any other context, has the potential to liberate.

Our discussions of multilingual education have often been clouded by conceptualizations derived from ways of thinking about bilingual education from a Western monoglossic point of view. But if multilingualism in most of the world today is characterized by its widespread nature, along with the fuzziness of language boundaries and fluidity and multiplicity in language practices and language identities, then multilingual education must develop ways of supporting not only multiple languages and literacies, but also interrelated functional complementarity of language practices.

The development of these more heteroglossic multiple multilingual education programs still has a long way to go officially, even in contexts that are highly multilingual and heteroglossic. In other words, the state that controls educational systems rarely supports these practices. Academic discourse continues to be monoglossic, even in multilingual settings. Yet, those of us who carefully observe language practices within good classrooms in multilingual programs rarely see instruction that does not rely on the translanguaging of students and teachers, as they make sense of content. The challenge for educators in the 21st century will be to acknowledge that monolingual, and even monoglossic bilingual practices, are not sufficient. And that in an increasingly heterogeneous world, where children in school are of all kinds and bring different language practices, the only way to build equitable educational systems is to develop multiple multilingual programs that acknowledge translanguaging as a resource for engaging cognitively and socially, as they also develop standard ways of communicating in dominant languages.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. I use the term bilingual to encompass what others refer to as multilingual. Bilingual in this paper refers to all language practices that include features beyond those described by linguists and educators as forming a single autonomous language.
2. I use 'languaging' and 'to language' to refer to the way people use language, their discursive practices, and not to the conception of a 'language' as constructed by states, missionaries and linguists. I am using 'to language' as a verb (see Makoni & Pennycook, 2006).
3. I borrow the term 'translanguaging' from Cen Williams who coined it to refer to a specific bilingual pedagogy. To learn more about Williams' work, see Baker (2001).
4. By language minority children, I am referring to Indigenous/tribal children (even if in principle they are not minorities), autochthonous ('national' minorities) and (im)migrant minorities.
5. Gramsci was a founding member of the Italian Communist party and was imprisoned by Mussolini's Fascist regime.
6. Monoglossic ideologies treat languages as bounded autonomous systems without regard to the actual language practices of speakers. On the other hand, heteroglossic ideologies respect multiple language practices in inter-relationships. I base this use on Bakhtin's (1981) use of *heteroglossic* as multiple voices. For more on this difference, see del Valle (2000).
7. Of course, there is a lot of work on bilingualism that has been done in other places and in other languages. Nevertheless, the most popular work stems from a North American tradition.
8. The Council of Europe groups 48 countries at its seat in Strasbourg, France.
9. I am aware that there was much bilingual education in other places beyond North America much earlier.
10. Language arrangement refers to explicit policies mandated by school officials for how teachers ought to use the two languages in classrooms.
11. Diglossia is the relationship between a H(igh) variety of one language or a language for certain prestigious functions, and a L(ow) variety or a language in ordinary functions. Whereas Ferguson popularized the concept and referred to only varieties of languages, Fishman extended it to include different languages.
12. In discussing English language teaching (ELT), Phillipson (1992: 185) identifies as the first key tenet of the ELT profession the principle that English is best taught monolingually.
13. I am not implying here that there is any serious commitment to the marginalized languages.
14. In practice, the children are allowed to use both language exams side-by-side, although they can only answer questions in one or the other.

Chapter 9

Privileging Indigenous Knowledges: Empowering Multilingual Education in Nepal

DAVID A. HOUGH, RAM BAHADUR THAPA MAGAR and AMRIT YONJAN-TAMANG

What kind of education should be prescribed for the tribal population of our country? By making them run after us, we shall perhaps make them bankrupt, the way we lost ourselves following the English, what is your view on this? Chittaranjan Das (2007: 117) *Letters from a Forest School*

Science is an expression of human creativity, both individual and collective. Since creativity has diverse expressions, I see science as a pluralistic enterprise that refers to different "ways of knowing". For me, it is not restricted to modern Western science, but includes the knowledge systems of diverse cultures in different periods of history. Vandana Shiva (1997: 8) *Biopiracy: The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge*

Indigenous cultures of Nepal have democratic practices in them. Some of these practices are sidelined and others are at the verge of extinction. Prabha Devi Kaini (2007: 3) *Democratic Indigenous Practices of Nepal*

A Sociohistorical Sketch of the Languages and Ethnic Groups of Nepal

This paper describes the underlying vision and theoretical construct that inform a bottom-up community-based approach to multilingual education (MLE) in Nepal. The program, which both empowers and is empowered by indigenous knowledge systems, began in January of 2007, and involves six pilot language communities. It is a joint effort on the part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) of Finland and the Ministry of Education and Sports (MOES) of Nepal. Although the program is funded top-down by the governments of Nepal and Finland, it varies from many other educational sector projects in that it takes a bottom-up community-based approach to design and implementation wherein indigenous knowledge systems, beliefs, values and practices inform both content and methodology. Here, local indigenous and