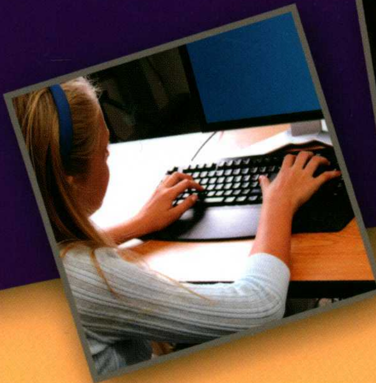
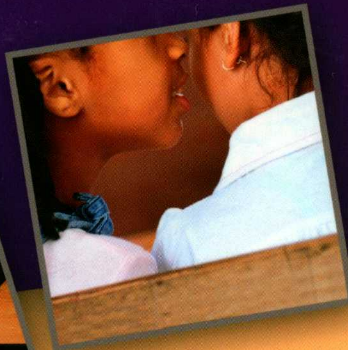
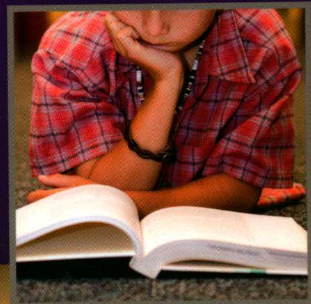
SECOND EDITION

HANDBOOK OF LANGUAGE & LITERACY

Development and Disorders







edited by

C. Addison Stone

Elaine R. Silliman

Barbara J. Ehren

Geraldine P. Wallach

CHAPTER 8 Becoming Bilingual and Biliterate

Sociolinguistic and Sociopolitical Considerations

Ofelia García

This chapter considers issues of language and literacy development in relationship to bilingualism, both in contexts of "societal bilingualism," that is, bilingualism produced when indigenous or migrant groups speak a language other than the dominant one of the region, and in situations of "individual bilingualism," when individuals learn an additional language. Development of language and literacy for children who are at any point on the bilingual continuum is considered here. I differentiate in our discussion between children at the starting stage of acquiring an additional language ("emergent bilinguals"), reserving the term "bilingual" to refer more generally to the continuum of language practices that are socially considered to belong to two language systems. Because the discussion is about language and literacy development, especially in the context of school, it is important to make this differentiation, since it is the education of emergent bilinguals, and especially those who are language minorities, that has been the focus of attention both in the scholarly literature and in schools. However, the development of bilingualism and biliteracy beyond the beginning points also needs to be considered.

I start by discussing understandings of individual bilingualism, then focus on the historical development of the concept as it has been shaped by societal bilingualism. The chapter then considers issues of language and literacy development for students in the 21st century globally. Specifically, I claim that our present understandings of bilingualism in schools are shaped by outdated conceptions of bilingualism. I propose an alternative theory of bilingualism, and discuss the transformative language and literacy pedagogies that could better respond to a new bilingual awareness. I argue that these innovative pedagogies can actually do much to help students meet monolingual language and literacy standards. Finally, the chapter considers the kinds of assessments that would help all bilingual children show what they really know. In the next section, I start by discussing the concept of bilingualism itself, and the historical development of understandings about language and bilingualism, especially with regard to education in the last century.

What Is Bilingualism?

"Bilingualism" is generally considered to be the ability to use more than one language. Scholars differ as to what this means. For some linguists, such as Bloomfield (1933), bilingualism is the "native-like" control of two languages, but early scholars of bilingualism, such as Einar Haugen and Uriel Weinreich, adopted a much broader defini-

tion. For Haugen (1953), even minimum proficiency was considered a sign of bilingualism. Weinrech (1953) labeled someone who alternated between two languages as bilingual. In this chapter the broader view of bilingualism is taken, questioning further the idea that bilinguals have "two languages" and instead adopting a view that bilinguals use language in ways that may be socially defined as two languages but that to them are part of one complex system of practices (García, 2009; Heller, 2007) (see also Brea-Spahn, Chapter 20, this volume). I expand on this idea when we consider bilingualism and education in the 21st century.

Many laypersons and educators believe that bilinguals should be "balanced," equally competent in two languages in all contexts and with all interlocutors. Yet, at least since the emergence of the field of sociolinguistics in the 1960s, which is the study of how language use varies in different social contexts, and because of the various social characteristics of interlocutors, it has been recognized that a "balanced bilingual" is a theoretical impossibility. The languages of an individual are rarely socially equal, having different power and prestige, and being used for different purposes in different contexts, with different interlocutors. As Grosjean (1982) has said, a bilingual is never two monolinguals in one person.

There are many sociolinguistic situations around the world in which children develop bilingually. Sometimes, ways of using two languages are acquired *simultaneously*, the result of living in a society in which two languages are generally spoken, or in a home where parents, siblings, or other relatives speak different languages. Other times, the additional language is acquired later, *sequentially*, usually when the child enters a school system that teaches in another language, or when the child elects to study an additional language in a formal language-learning program.

Although some people choose to become bilingual, for others there is no choice but to become bilingual. There are sociolinguistic situations in which bilingualism is optional; that is, children elect to become bilingual because it is seen as an advantage ("elective bilingualism"). There are times, however, in language minoritized situations that are a result of war, conquest, colonization, settlement, or immigration, when children have no choice but to become bilingual if they're going to participate in society ("circumstantial bilingualism"). Usually these latter situations require that children develop literacy in the additional language. Depending on the kind of schooling these children experience, they may or may not also become "biliterate," that is, able to be engaged in events that deal with print in two languages. In the next section, I review how bilingualism in education has been shaped historically in different circumstances, resulting in our complex understandings of bilingualism today.

Bilingualism and Education: Historical Trends

Bilingualism and biliteracy were valued commodities early in the history of Western civilization. For example, it was the mark of male Roman aristocrats in the second century, since they were expected to learn the language of the much admired Hellenic civilization (Lewis, 1977). And throughout the Middle Ages the educated elite spoke Latin, as well as their own vernaculars. However, the value placed on bilingualism changed in the late Middle Ages. The invention of the printing press and the emerging capitalist economic system in the 15th century made it imperative to codify vernaculars and mold speakers linguistically, thus increasing the size of markets so that the printing press would be profitable (Flores, 2012). It then became possible to be educated monolingually in the vernacular. The development of nation–states also further developed the notion of one static, national ethnolinguistic identity to which all citizens had to conform. Monolingualism in the language of the bourgeoisie of the state thus became the "norm," and those who could not function in the sole language of the state were left out of education. By the 20th century, changes in the worldwide economy brought nation–states to recognize the need to seriously educate all their citizens, including for the first time their language minorities.

The Early 20th Century

As free schooling became more available for the masses in the early 20th century, educat-

ing children who had a different linguistic profile from that of the elite in the nation–state became commonplace. Schooling was often seen as a way to control language differences and to encourage not only children's development of the "standardized" dominant language of the nation–state but also their shift away from the language of the home. Language difference, especially in colonial situations worldwide, was seen as a problem that needed to be remediated (Fishman, Ferguson, & Das Gupta, 1968). The educational approach to get children to develop the "school language" while giving up their "home language" was remedial and skills-oriented. Bilingualism was seen as being responsible for all kinds of cognitive and emotional disorders, and only monolingualism was encouraged. Despite the narrow and sole focus on the development of the national language and literacy, at the expense of the development of the child's home language and literacy, language-minority children failed miserably in schools. It seemed that the type of education that language-minority children experienced, with its *submersion* focus, resulted, for the most part, in a truncated development of the dominant language and low levels of literacy (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988).

At the same time, the development of bilingualism and biliteracy for the elite in certain national and social contexts continued, as had been the case in Roman civilization. The only difference, of course, was that in Roman times, bilingualism was required in order to be educated, whereas now it was optional for the elite, although not an option for others. In societies where bilingualism, especially then with French, was considered a sign of culture and education, the elite often sent their children to schools in which two languages were developed (de Mejía, 2002).

The study of other languages, often in the form of "foreign language education," started to be carried out in secondary schools all over the world. Often, however, the nature of foreign language education had little to do with the development of bilingualism and biliteracy. Rather, foreign language education was often seen as a mechanism to bolster metalinguistic skills or the ability to understand the mechanisms of language. For example, in the United States, the 1929 Modern Foreign Language Study recommended that reading be the primary aim of foreign language study, and that it be limited to 2 years (García, 1993). And in 1949, Harvard's General Education in a Free Society concluded that foreign language study was only useful in strengthening students' English (Huebener, 1961). This sense that developing bilingualism and biliteracy was not important predominated in a world where World Wars I and II had succeeded in developing a strong sense of national identity that was linked unidirectionally to one national language.

The Mid-20th Century

In the 1960s, the world experienced an ethnic revival that included the claim of local leaders in many dominated nations that their children needed to be included in education using their own languages and not solely that of the dominant state (Fishman, 1985). This was not only the case in colonial situations in many countries of Africa and Asia but it was also the case of regional minorities in Europe, such as the Saamis of Norway, Finland, and Sweden, as well as indigenous minorities in the Americas. At the same time, as colonial situations started to unravel, and resistance toward the hegemonic power of dominant groups started to be offered, some language-majority groups started to understand that their own children would benefit from being bilingual in contexts that would be increasingly bilingual. As a result, the use and/or development of language and literacy in an additional language became the focus of bilingual education throughout the world.

In 1953, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), responding to the educational failure of children in colonial situations, issued a resolution declaring that it was axiomatic that children be taught to read in their home language and that "the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible" (cited in García, 2009, p. 14). The development of bilingualism and biliteracy was for the first time invoked as an important principle to consider in the education of language minorities. This new orientation led to the birth of many educational efforts throughout the world to teach language minorities in two languages—the language of the state and the language of the home. In the United States, Title VII of the

Elementary and Secondary Education Act, also known as the Bilingual Education Act, was passed in 1968, providing financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out bilingual education programs for poor language minorities, especially, at this time, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans (Crawford, 2004; García, 2009). By 1974, during the first reauthorization of the Act, a definition of bilingual education was provided:

> It is instruction given in, and study of, English and (*to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the education system*), the native language of the children of limited English speaking ability. (cited in Castellanos, 1983, p. 120, emphasis added)

The stage was now set for the development of what we learned to call "transitional bilingual education." Language-minority children could only participate in transitional bilingual education until they learned English. Although the child's home language was used in instruction, the goal of these programs was the improved development of the majority language and literacy, in this case, English. That same year, 1974, Justice William O. Douglas delivered the opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court in *Lau v. Nichols*:

> There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education. . . . We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful. (414 U.S. 563, 39L. Ed. 2d 1, 1974)

The Court instructed educators that something had to be done, and that students who didn't speak English had to be either in bilingual education programs or English as a second language programs. As a result, the bilingual education programs that were developed focused firmly on children at the beginning points of the continuum of bilingualism, those who didn't speak English. The goal of these programs was not the development of bilingualism but, on the contrary, the relatively rapid shift to English monolingualism.

In Québec, Canada, during the same period, the relationship between English and French had started to shift. In 1969 the Official Languages Act had declared Canada to be bilingual in English and French. However, when in 1974 the Québecois party won the elections for the first time in the history of the province, French was made the official language (Ricento & Burnaby, 1998). A group of Anglophone parents, the dominant majority at the time, in a suburb of Montréal became concerned with the low level of French attained by their children in monolingual English language schools providing traditional French as a second language program. As a result of work with Wallace Lambert from McGill University, the first early *immersion bilingual education* program was developed in St. Lambert (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Immersion bilingual education programs use the child's additional language exclusively throughout the first year, with the child's home language being used more and more in the second and third years, and afterwards for 50% of the time. Studies confirmed that Anglophone children in Canada who were schooled in immersion programs not only had French language skills comparable to those of Francophone children but also better English language skills than their Anglophone counterparts schooled in English-only systems (Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain, 1978). Nevertheless, not all skills develop equally. Whereas receptive ability in both listening and reading in French has been shown to be native-like, speaking and writing skills lag behind those of native Francophones (Genesee, 1998; Mougeon, Rehner, & Ndasdi, 2004; Swain, 1978). It is important to note that there are many differences between these Canadian immersion programs and the transitional bilingual education programs in the United States. Whereas immersion bilingual programs in Canada were for language majorities (Anglophones) who wanted to become bilingual and biliterate by learning French, transitional bilingual education in the United States was for language minorities in order to encourage a shift to English only.

It was precisely through his involvement in the development of immersion bilingual education in Québec that Lambert (1974) developed the model of bilingualism that has come to dominate the literature—that of additive and subtractive bilingualism. "Addi-

tive bilingualism" refers to the addition of a "second language" to a "first language" in such a way that the two languages are "maintained." Additive bilingualism is the goal of immersion bilingual education programs. In contrast, "subtractive bilingualism" refers to what generally happens in transitional bilingual education programs, in which the "second language" is added to the child's first language in school, but the intent is to subtract the child's first language, resulting in a child who develops only the school's language, his or her "second language."

The reader may wonder why I have enclosed the words "first language," "second language," and "maintenance" in quotation marks. In the next section I consider bilingualism in the context of the globalized world in the 21st century. In so doing, I question not only these models of bilingualism but also some of the terms that were prevalent in the literature on bilingualism in the 20th century. I claim that our discursive practices with regard to bilingualism have been constructed through a monoglossic ideology (Del Valle, 2000; García, 2009), that is, a language ideology that sees bilingualism from a monolingual point of view, as if the bilingual child's language practices consist of two separate and whole languages, of two bounded autonomous systems, of a "first/L1" that needs to be "maintained" and a "second/L2" language. I argue, however, that in the 21st century, we need to adopt a more heteroglossic ideology (Bakhtin, 1981) that considers multiple language practices in interrelationship, and thus leads to new understandings of bilingualism and biliteracy. It is to those shifts in societal orientations and epistemologies about language that I now turn.

The 21st Century

In the 21st century, our epistemologies about language have changed, spurred by technological innovations. Our theory of language has shifted from one in which language was considered a system of structures to one in which language is understood as a form of human action, embodied in the social world of human relationships. That is, rather than being pre-given, able to be decomposed into fragments that human beings are able to then "have," language is human action that someone performs in particular in a specific place (Becker, 1995; Maturana & Varela, 1973/1998). Language is an inseparable part of all human action, intimately connected to all other forms of action—physical, social, and symbolic. Language is a set of practices that express agency, embodied and embedded in the environment. Pennycook (2010) explains:

> A focus on language practices moves the focus from language as an autonomous system that preexists its use, and competence as an internal capacity that accounts for language production, towards an understanding of language as a product of the *embodied social practices* that bring it about. (p. 9, emphasis added)

Thus, people do not "have" language, but they "do" language; that is, people are involved in "languaging."

The concept of languaging is directly related to the theory of *autopoesis* proposed by Chilean biologists Maturana and Varela (1973/1998). They argue that we cannot separate our biological and social history of actions from the ways in which we perceive the world. They explain:

> It is by *languaging* that the act of knowing, in the behavioral coordination which is language, brings forth a world. We work out our lives in a *mutual linguistic coupling*, not because language permits us to reveal ourselves but because we are constituted in language in a continuous becoming that we bring forth with others. (pp. 234–235, emphasis added)

Maturana and Varela's notion of *autopoietic languaging* refers to the simultaneous being and doing of language as it brings us forth as individuals, at the same time that it continuously constitutes us differently as we interact with others.

These new understandings of language as action, of languaging, have had an impact on our epistemologies about bilingualism. Bakhtin (1981) referred to the fact that the concept of different languages is based on the way social actors distinguish among them, rather than on forms that are the result of a priori analysis. Becker (1995) reminds us that to learn a new way of languaging is not just to learn a new code; it is to enter another history of interactions and cultural practices, and to learn "a new way of being in the world" (p. 227). That is, becoming bilingual refers

not to "picking up" new language structures but to acting differently as new positionings are taken. Makoni and Pennycook (2007) have gone a step further and postulate the "invention" of language, insisting that the metadiscursive regimes used to describe languages are located in Western linguistic and cultural suppositions.

In the 21st century, as technology has spurred globalization, the intensive flows of people, capital, goods, images, and discourses have encouraged super-diverse patterns of multilingualism (Blommaert, 2010). Different linguistic features are not bound by geographical territories and national spaces; rather, they represent complex local practices of interactions that are dynamically enacted by human beings (Mignolo, 2000). The super-diverse patterns of languaging go beyond our conceptualization of bilingualism and multilingualism of the past. While bilingualism in the past was seen as having command of two languages, and multilingualism as having command of more than two languages, languaging in society today is considered in its complexity of action.

Additive bilingualism, or even additive trilingualism or multilingualism, is no longer relevant. Bilingual use is not linear, not compartmentalized, not balanced. Rather, bilingualism is *dynamic* (García, 2009). The conceptualization of dynamic bilingualism insists that there are no separate language systems, but that bilingual speakers instead have interrelated and interdependent language practices. Thus, the concept of dynamic bilingualism encompasses situations in which language practices include those that are traditionally seen as two language systems (bilingualism) or more (multilingualism, or "plurilingualism" in the European Union).

This dynamic bilingualism is enacted through flexible languaging practices that scholars have called by different terms, meaning slightly different things. Jørgensen (2008) refers to the combination of features that are not discrete and complete "languages" in themselves as "polylingualism." Jacquemet (2005) speaks of "transidiomatic practices" to refer to the communicative practices of transnational groups that interact using different communicative codes, simultaneously present in a range of local and distant communicative channels. Canagarajah (2011) uses "codemeshing" to refer to the use of languages as part of a single integrated system in writing for rhetorical effectiveness.

Perhaps the term that has had the most traction in the literature to refer to these flexible language practices is "translanguaging," which was coined in Welsh (*trawysieithu*) by Cen Williams (1994). In its original use, it referred to a pedagogical practice in which students are asked to alternate languages for the purposes of reading and writing or for receptive or productive use; for example, students might be asked to read in English and write in Welsh and vice versa (Baker, 2006). Since then, the term has been extended by many scholars (Canagarajah, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009, 2011c, in press; García & Sylvan, 2011; Hornberger & Link, 2012).

Translanguaging for me refers not to the use of two separate languages or even the shift from one language or code to the other, since there aren't two languages. Rather, translanguaging is rooted in the belief that bilingual speakers select language features from one integrated system and "soft-assemble" their language practices in ways that fit their communicative situations (García, 2009, in press). That is, bilinguals call upon social *features* in a seamless and complex network of multiple semiotic signs, as they adapt their languaging to suit the immediate task environment.

Bilingualism, as a soft-assembled mechanism, emerges in contextually constrained, collective action of the brain and body (Kloss & Van Orden, 2009; Turvey & Carello, 1981). It comes into existence with enaction, with each action being locally situated and unique to satisfy contextual constraints, and creating an interdependence among all components of the system.

In today's globalized world what is needed is the ability to engage in fluid language practices and to soft-assemble features that can "travel" across the Internet and space to enable us to participate as global citizens in a more just world.

The focus of bilingualism in the globalized world of today is not simply on "maintaining" two languages as manifestations of nation-states or ethnolinguistic identities, but on languaging sustainability. Language maintenance is no longer an applicable concept, for it refers to the perpetuation of a static definition of language as autonomous and pure, as used by a specific group of people whose

identity depends on it. On the other hand, "languaging sustainability" refers to the capacity of language practices to endure, but always *in interaction* with the social context in which they operate. The concept of sustainability contains in its core the grappling with social, economic, and environmental conditions by which systems remain diverse and productive over time. That is, the concept of sustainability is dynamic and future-oriented rather than static and past-oriented. Languaging sustainability refers to renewing past language practices to meet the needs of the present, while not compromising those of future generations (García, 2011a). Thus, the sustainability of languaging is a *new* copy of the past, a dynamic relocalization in space and time, a fertile performative imitation that brings us to a creative emergence, a new and generative becoming (for more on this idea, see Pennycook, 2010).

Bilingualism today must be understood as more than 1 + 1 = 2, and bilingual education types and pedagogies must respond to the greater complexity of language practices in the world in the 21st century. I argue in the next section that it is time to question educational programs and pedagogies that simply normalize the dominance of the state language, while eradicating the possibility of developing bilingual children's translanguaging practices. It is precisely this inability to build on bilingual communities' language practices that puts bilingual children at risk of academic failure.

Language and Literacy Development for Bilingual Students in the 21st Century

Bilingual students are often perceived as being "at risk" and having "atypical" development. But as I clarify in this section, this is simply the result of school systems that are tied to nation–states' monoglossic ideologies in which only the dominant language is considered typical. Despite the fact that the global movement of people and information has made bilingualism the norm throughout the world, bilingual students continue to be considered atypical (Connor & Boskin, 2001; Maldonado, 1994). Thus, language and literacy instruction, even bilingual instruction, is often remedial. And when it is not, as we see below, instruction and expectations of use in one language parallel those in the other language, denying bilingual students their dynamic bilingualism, their translanguaging practices, and their language and literacy multicompetencies (Cook, 1992). I propose here an alternative, a translanguaging pedagogy and pluriliteracies approach that responds to dynamic bilingualism as the norm. I end with the challenge of how to assess the dynamic bilingualism of students in the 21st century.

Bilingual Students as the Norm

Not only are there more bilingual people in the world than monolingual ones, but there are also more students educated through an additional language than those exclusively educated in the language they speak at home (Grosjean, 2010; Tucker, 1998). Thus, bilingual students are typical; it is monolingual students who are not. Yet school systems tend to pathologize bilingualism. For example, in the United States, students who are new to English are called "limited English proficient" by the federal government, and "English language learners" by others. This emphasis on their English deficit means that these students are seen as lacking English, and not as "emergent bilinguals" (García, 2009; García & Kleifgen, 2010), able to develop complex language and literacy practices. Furthermore, the main educational goal for these students is English acquisition.

Students new to English in the United States are most often taught in English as a second language (ESL) programs, transitional bilingual education, or dual-language bilingual education. Regardless of the type of program, however, the goal of instruction is to "remediate" the lack of English. In ESL programs, these students receive remedial English, often with a teacher who either pulls them out of "mainstream" instruction or "pushes in," working with the general education teacher for periods of instruction. Sometimes ESL programs are self-contained but, again, the emphasis is on providing content and language in ways that will enable students to transition to "mainstream" classes. Although the students' home languages are included in *transitional bilingual education programs*, the focus is also to transition these students to "mainstream" classes, to "cure" them of language and literacy practices that are different from those of school. *Two-way*

bilingual education programs (also known as "dual-language programs") require that 50% of the students in a class be English speakers. Although this type of program views bilingualism more as enrichment than do transitional programs, viewing bilingualism and biliteracy as important goals, the fact that such programs insist that half of the children already speak English suggests a view of those who are developing English as being deficient. In addition, these programs treat bilingual children as if they were two monolingual children in one (Grosjean, 1982), viewing bilingualism from a monoglossic perspective, and negating the right of bilingual children to engage in language practices that are dynamic and complex. Language and literacy instruction in these dual-language bilingual programs attempts to keep the two languages separate at all times, dividing language use by time, teacher, space, or content (Cummins, 2007; García, 2009). The child's dynamic bilingual practices are negated, and in one language or the other, the child is considered deficient. This view of bilingualism has more to do with nation-states than with children and their education.

Even more troubling is the fact that once these "English language learners" pass English proficiency tests, they are rendered monolingual and transferred to "general education." This goes against all understandings of how language development works. Bilingual development is not linear but emergent. Put another way, bilingualism is dependent on the relationship of students with other people and texts, as well as their relationship with the learning environment. In this view, a speaker never "has" a language but simply uses or performs language. Educators are responsible then for offering the right opportunities or "affordances" so that students can "do" English. It is unlikely that students in classrooms that treat them as monolingual English speakers, and negate their other language practices, will be able to perform well in English. Yet this is the educational experience of most bilingual students in the United States; that is, once they pass an English proficiency test, their bilingualism disappears in the eyes of educators. It is only when they are lacking that their emergent bilingualism is recognized. Once students actually become bilingual, they are then immersed in a monolingual educational context that negates their dynamic language practices and makes them invisible.

It is important then to recognize that bilingual students, and especially emergent bilingual students, are rendered at risk by monolingual educational systems that refuse to validate and leverage all their dynamic language practices. It is society and educational systems that create the risk, especially when instruments used to assess their language and literacy, as well as their content knowledge, validate only a small part of their language repertoire (and thus the content they know). Foucault (1991) has shown how dominant language practices "regulate" the ways in which language is used, establishing language hierarchies in which some languages, and ways of using language, are more valued than others. Schools provide the means of regulating the ways in which bilingual students perform language, thus excluding language practices that do not conform to their ways, and rendering bilingualism as a deficit.

As with all student populations, there are, of course, bilingual students who are more at risk than others. Bilingual students who are poor, undocumented, or disabled are even further pathologized and excluded from a meaningful education. For example, rarely do bilingual students who are disabled receive educational support services that engage their home language practices (McRay & García, 2002). This has to do with the shortage of qualified bilingual professionals who speak the appropriate languages other than English (see García, 2011b, for New York State). Furthermore, among the bilingual population there are many students who disrupt the supposedly linear conceptions of schooling. Because of the high mobility of bilingual students, and in some cases, their immigration from school systems where language and literacy practices respond to other cultural and social norms (see Street, 1985), many immigrant students enter U.S. schools with school scripts and language and literacy practices that are different. For example, many of the emergent bilinguals coming from Latin American, African, and Asian contexts have been schooled to think of literacy as simply the act of decoding or copying text, and they are ill prepared to read for meaning or to write persuasive essays. Some among them have had

interruptions in schooling, the product of war, poverty, and collapsing national school systems. Thus, although these students might have been considered to have typical language and literacy development in their countries of origin, in the United States they are often "behind," for they do not know how to "do" literacy in ways that conform to the multiliteracies demands of U.S. education, especially as it enacts the new Common Core State Standards (CCSS) that have been adopted by 48 states at the time of this writing. The new CCSS requires that students, for example, use text-based evidence and conduct original research using multimodalities—literacy experiences that are not part of many national educational systems around the world.

Spoken Language and Literacy Development for Bilinguals

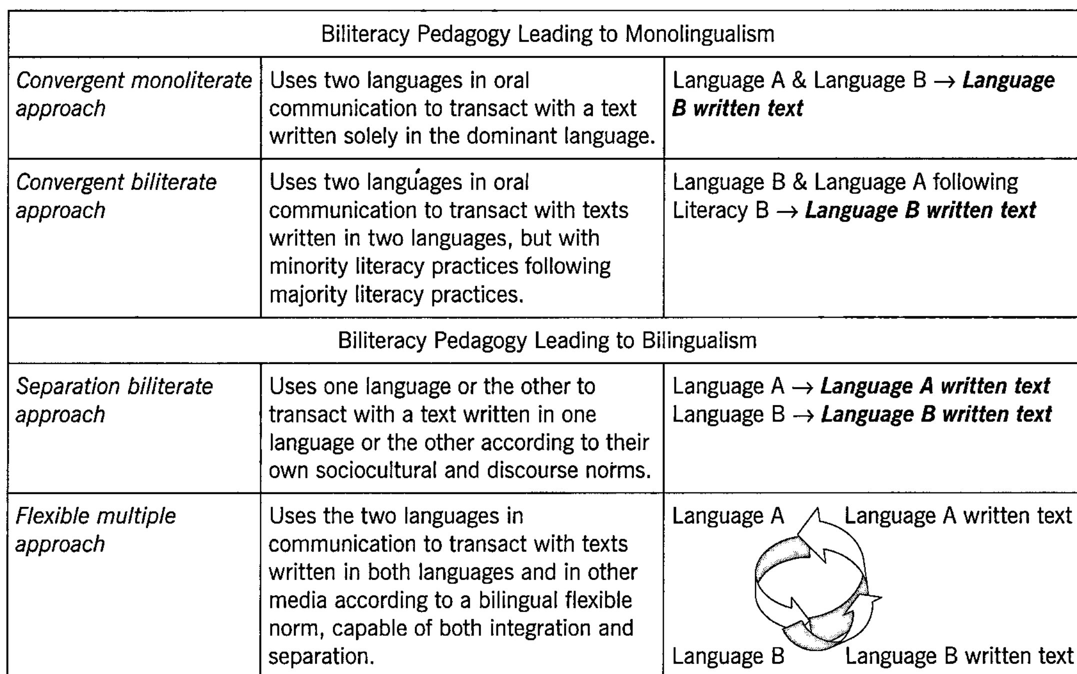
In the past, language development for bilinguals was seen as different from literacy development. In fact, ESL programs and language education programs often focused only on oral language development, starting literacy development only when students understood the language being acquired. In transitional bilingual programs, literacy was introduced only in the language the students spoke, and biliteracy was always presumed to be sequential. A "sequential view of biliteracy" posits that literacy in an additional language should not be introduced until a child has competence in speaking, reading, and writing that language (Wong Fillmore & Valdez, 1986). This sequential view of biliteracy is based on the *developmental interdependence* hypothesis of Jim Cummins (1981), which conjectures that there is a common underlying proficiency that permits the transfer of linguistic practices and prior knowledge of the world across languages. Writing about second-language reading research, Bernhardt and Kamil (1995) also posit that there is an interdependence across languages, which was interpreted to mean that successful readers in a "second language" must reach a *threshold of competence* in the additional language for transferability of literacy skills to occur.

Today, however, there is renewed understanding of the more dynamic interdependence of language skills (New London Group, 1996), reflected, for example, in the new CCSS in the United States that requires students to use all their language abilities to produce texts (see Silliman & Wilkinson, Chapter 6, this volume, for more on the CCSS). This new awareness of the interdependence of language abilities is reflected in the more common practice today of *simultaneous biliteracy* instruction or the introduction of literacy in two languages at the same time, acknowledging the bidirectionality of biliteracy development. Dworin (2003) refers to the "dynamic, flexible process in which children's transactions with two written languages mediate their language learning for both languages" (p. 179). However, even when literacy is introduced simultaneously in two languages, most schools view bilingualism as additive, that is, as involving two autonomous language systems, and not as a two-way dynamic system.

Schools that purport to be bilingual and to use biliteracy pedagogies often have different goals. Some schools aim toward monolingualism, even when they use two languages in instruction, using what I call *convergent* approaches to biliteracy, both when the written text is only in the dominant language (*monoliterate*), and when written texts are in two languages (*biliterate*). And most schools that aim for biliteracy separate literacy instruction strictly, leading *to separate biliteracy approaches. Only a very few schools use a flexible dynamic approach* to biliteracy pedagogy. Figure 8.1 summarizes the four approaches before they are discussed below.

For ease of understanding, I discuss the four approches using the United States as an example. Bilingual programs that have a convergent approach to biliteracy hold English literacy as their only goal. The way in which this convergent approach is carried out differs. In some schools, teachers and students communicate orally in English and the other language around writing, but the language other than English is not used in reading or writing (Fishman, 1976; García, 2009). Known as the convergent monoliterate model, this is often seen in ESL programs and many transitional bilingual education programs.

In other schools with bilingual programs, however, English and the other language are used in reading and writing, but literacy practices in the additional language are calqued on (or copied from) those of English literacy



Biliteracy Pedagogy Leading to Monolingualism		
Convergent monoliterate approach	Uses two languages in oral communication to transact with a text written solely in the dominant language.	Language A & Language B → ***Language B written text***
Convergent biliterate approach	Uses two languages in oral communication to transact with texts written in two languages, but with minority literacy practices following majority literacy practices.	Language B & Language A following Literacy B → ***Language B written text***
Biliteracy Pedagogy Leading to Bilingualism		
Separation biliterate approach	Uses one language or the other to transact with a text written in one language or the other according to their own sociocultural and discourse norms.	Language A → ***Language A written text*** Language B → ***Language B written text***
Flexible multiple approach	Uses the two languages in communication to transact with texts written in both languages and in other media according to a bilingual flexible norm, capable of both integration and separation.	Language A Language A written text Language B Language B written text

FIGURE 8.1. Approaches to biliteracy pedagogy.

practices. That is, literacy in the additional language does not respond to different cultural and social norms, but instead converges with dominant English norms. Literacy in the nondominant language is only valued as a stepping-stone or scaffold to literacy in English. This is what is known as the "convergent biliterate model." Although both languages are used in instruction, the intent is to develop only literacy in English (García, 2009, 2010).

In a "separation approach" to biliteracy, however, biliteracy is valued. Yet children and teachers are expected to *match* the language in which they are communicating around writing to the language of the written text. Students are told to "think" and talk only in the language in which they are reading or writing. There are separate spaces and times in which children are expected to perform monolingually in one language or the other. Rarely do teachers sanction dynamic bilingual or biliterate practices. This is often the situation in "dual-language" bilingual education programs (García, 2009, 2010).

Seldom do schools approach the development of language and literacy for bilingual students with the *flexible dynamic approach* that is enabled by *translanguaging practices.* In these rare situations, children are encouraged to use their entire linguistic and semiotic repertoire to transact and make sense of written texts. For example, when reading a text rendered in English, bilingual students are encouraged to discuss the text using all their home language practices, to read sources in languages other than the one of the text, to annotate the text with pictures and other languages, to pose questions to themselves that include other home language practices, to watch movies and YouTube videos related to the text in many languages, and to listen to the rendering of the text in another language. When writing a text in English, bilingual students are encouraged to read further about the topic and research it in other languages; to discuss the topic with others using all their home language practices; to write summaries and outlines, and pose questions that include their entire linguistic repertoire; to watch movies and listen to other stories; and to draw pictures and diagrams that enable them to develop their comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing. The idea is that

literacy practices are about making meaning from texts and in texts; thus, the communication that takes place in or around writing has to draw on the entire semiotic and bilingual continua, including the continua between receptive and productive language, oral and written language, and home–school language practices (Hornberger, 1989).

Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2003) emphasize that biliteracy is better obtained when learners can draw on all points of the continua of biliteracy, especially those aspects that have less power in an English-dominant school system, such as oral language and home language practices. But a flexible dynamic approach toward the development of literacy can only be considered critical literacy if students are engaged not only translanguaging but also in investigating how languages reproduce inequalities. Only when translanguaging practices situate students in an in-between border space where alternative representations and buried histories of linguistic subjugation are released, and new knowledges are produced, can they be considered critical. Translanguaging as social justice (García, in press) has the potential to redress "the asymmetry of languages" and denounce "the coloniality of power and knowledge" in which many language-minority students have been positioned (Mignolo, 2000, p. 231).

Translanguaging to Support Pluriliteracy Practices

Most language and literacy interventions with emergent bilinguals are remedial in nature, limiting even further the ability of bilingual students to use their entire linguistic and semiotic repertoire to make meaning from text. Although translanguaging practices normally characterize encounters of all bilingual children with texts and people outside of the school context, teachers often forbid these practices in the classroom, even in bilingual programs. Yet classroom observations reveal bilingual students engaging in these "illicit" practices (see, e.g., García, 2011c, in press). Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Alvarez (2001) have convincingly demonstrated the diversity of, and interplay between, linguistic codes and literacy practices in multilingual classrooms.

A translanguaging approach to biliteracy supports what García, Bartlett, and Kleifgen (2007) have called "pluriliteracy practices." The concept of pluriliteracy practices emphasizes that all literacy practices are associated with different cultural and social structures, and all are equally valid. It moves away from the emphasis on solely written texts, pointing to multimodalities; that is, how written-linguistic modes of meaning are intricately bound up with other visual, audio, and spatial semiotic systems (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Kress, 2003). It furthermore moves away from the dichotomy of traditional first- and second-language pairing in studies of bilingualism, emphasizing instead that there are translanguaging practices that are always interrelated and flexible. It also gives agency to the person involved in the literacy act to use different literacy practices to capitalize on the meaning of the text that is being received or produced. What makes the concept of pluriliteracy practices important is the emphasis on having bilingual students develop the agency to use their entire language repertoire to make meaning, regardless of the language of the text or the language of instruction.

An approach to literacy pedagogy grounded in translanguaging would be the only way to enable language minority children all over the world to meet the higher educational standards that have been the result of the global competition spurred by the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), a worldwide survey given every 3 years by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to 15-year-olds in mathematics, science, and reading. The poor performance of the United States in PISA (in 2009, the United States ranked 14th in reading, 17th in science, and 25th in math among the 65 countries included) has been partly responsible for the adoption of the CCSS by 47 states. We have much research evidence that translanguaging builds deeper thinking, affirms multiple identities, engages bilingual students with more rigorous content, and at the same time develops language and literacy that is adequate for specific academic tasks (Fitts, 2006; García, in press; García, Flores, & Woodley, 2012; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2011a, 2011b; Sayer, 2013; Wei, 2010). Cummins (2007) has called for bilingual instructional strate-

gies in the classroom as a way of promoting "identities of competence among language learners from socially marginalized groups, thereby enabling them to engage more confidently with literacy and other academic work" (p. 238).

The potential of a translanguaging pedagogy to develop more sophisticated discourse, more appreciation of text function, greater comprehension of complex texts, more intricate text structures, and greater familiarity with sentence structures and vocabulary is well recognized. Without the acknowledgment of the potential of translanguaging, the CCSS may further contribute to the stigmatization of the language practices of bilinguals and doom them to academic failure (García & Flores, in press). Unfortunately, translanguaging practices that enable deep thinking about meaning of written texts are seldom acknowledged in schools and are never acknowledged in what really counts as literacy in schools—standardized tests. It is to that challenge that I turn next.

Standardized Assessments

New ways of understanding language and bilingualism are redefining program structures and pedagogies. But it is assessment that today lags behind, although efforts are being made to match assessments to new understandings of language and bilingualism, as technology has enabled alternatives.

Foucault (1979) has explained the power of assessments: "[The examination] is a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to quantify, classify and punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates and judges them" (p. 18). To date, standardized assessment systems in the United States have exercised the greatest control over the nation's growing bilingualism, silencing it or punishing it. Emergent bilingual students are required to take standardized English Language Arts assessments after being in the country for a year and a day. Needless to say, the poor scores that these students receive in these assessments place them at risk and define their emergent bilingualism as a problem. Inadequate assessments have resulted in a disproportionate assignment of bilingual students to lower curriculum tracks and overreferral to special education classes (Cummins, 1984; Ortiz & Wilkinson, 1991).

Furthermore, every assessment is an assessment of language (American Educational Research Association, American Psychological Association, & National Council on Measurement in Education, 1985). Thus, testing "content proficiency," that is, whether students have actually acquired understanding of subject matter, independently of language, is complex. This is especially so today, when even mathematical understandings are rendered verbally in assessments.

Up to now, assessments have measured growth and ultimate attainment of discrete language skills in one or another language. But the CCSS present a new challenge for test developers because they now have to assess not specific language skills but languaging in action. As psychometricians and test developers struggle with how to assess the ability to language, and not language itself, it would be important to incorporate into their models all children who language, regardless of where they are in the developmental/abilities continuum, including bilingualism.

Filters in the Internet are able to create unique information for each of us as we click, providing us with different ideas and information, and constructing who we are (Pariser, 2011). Technology today has enabled the development of curriculum material that adapts to children's ability levels. It would then be likewise possible to develop *Internet-based adaptive tests* that can adapt the language load, as well as the language use, to the bilingual students' linguistic profile. In that way, the language of the test can be simplified, translated, or changed to adjust to the students' languaging to ensure the assessment of language and literacy use rather than just discrete language skills. Internet-based adaptive tests are capable of being flexible multilingual tests that adjust to students' dynamic language practices. These tests can also provide visuals and glossaries to contextualize language for bilingual students. Internet-based adaptive language assessment should be able to accommodate to our bilingual selves (García & Flores, in press). In a world that would view bilingualism as a resource, bilingual common core standards would require that students draw from all their language practices as they perform bilingually in

different modes and modalities, able to move back and forth between standard academic practices and those of their homes and communities, able to render their understandings of language and content while drawing on their entire linguistic repertoire (García & Flores, in press).

Future Directions for Educational Research

As we begin to understand the potential for translanguaging in education as a way of ensuring that bilinguals use their entire linguistic repertoire to understand deeply, there is much need for extensive research that validates this claim. As we have seen, there are now plenty of excellent qualitative studies all around the world that support a translanguaging approach in education. Yet a translanguaging approach has not been subjected to rigorous quantitative studies. Perhaps the very complex nature of dynamic bilingualism and its enactment in translanguaging has been responsible for the hesitation of quantitative scholars to study this phenomenon, since the many variables interact in interdependency. Another reason for the dearth of quantitative studies of the translanguaging approach is that translanguaging is an innovative and alternative approach to teach bilinguals; and, as we have seen, up to now, its enactment has been quiet and unofficial. But the tide is turning. One example of this is the City University of New York (CUNY)–New York State Initiative on Emergent Bilinguals (NYSIEB) project in New York State (*www.cuny-nysieb.org*), where educators in failing schools with large numbers of emergent bilinguals are changing their practices and adopting translanguaging pedagogies. A new teacher guide to translanguaging that has just been produced (Celic & Seltzer, 2012) is aligned to the CCSS, making it possible to replicate efforts in many schools.

As some scholars and practitioners work on implementing translanguaging pedagogies and measuring their effects, others need to develop bilingual assessment that would allow students to use their entire linguistic repertoires to show what they know. Unless translanguaging practices are validated through both formative and summative assessment, uninformed educators will continue to shy away from them, leaving language-minority students at a disadvantage.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown how our ways of understanding language and bilingualism have changed in the 21st century, as well as the consequences of that epistemological change for the language and literacy development of bilingual children. However, this chapter has also demonstrated the challenges that remain, in order for schools and educational authorities to truly embrace these new understandings.

Bilingualism and biliteracy are only rendered problematic by school systems that insist on monolingualism in the dominant language as the only acceptable goal of education. As long as education is seen as the imposition of one narrow way of making meaning, children who are different will continue to fall behind. We will not close achievement gaps by insisting on monolingualism. If we were serious about educating all children, we would accept their complex language practices and develop new standard academic ones in interrelationship with old ones. We would insist that English in the United States is the practice of not just the "natives," but of all bilingual American children, and that languages other than English are not just those of "heritage" but of promise for a better future (García, Zakharia, & Otcu, 2012). Educating is about getting children to think, to reflect, to create, to innovate, to act, and to be social and just beings. Limiting their opportunities to do all this by insisting that it be done and assessed only through one linguistic and semiotic channel goes against all that we're learning through new technologies. The more access we have to information that is meaningful and unique to us, simultaneously constructed through different linguistic and semiotic systems, the better language users, thinkers, and educated citizens we will become.

References

American Educational Research Association, American Psychological Association, &

National Council on Measurement in Education. (1985). *National Council on Measurement in Education Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (4th ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Bakhtin, M. (1981). *Dialogic imagination: Four essays.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Becker, A. L. (1995). *Beyond translation: Essays toward a modern philosophy.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bernhardt, E., & Kamil, M. (1995). Interpresting relationships between L1 and L2 reading: Consolidating the Linguistic threshold and the Linguistic Interdependence Hypotheses. *Applied Linguistics, 16,* 15–34.

Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (2010). *Multilingualism.* London: Continuum.

Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bloomfield, L. (1933). *Language.* New York: Holt.

Canagarajah, A. S. (2011). Codemeshing in academic writing: Identifying teachable strategies of translanguaging. *Modern Language Journal, 95*(3), 401–417.

Castellanos, D. (1983). *The best of two worlds. Bilingual–bicultural education in the U.S.* Trenton: New Jersey State Department of Education.

Celic, C., & Seltzer, K. (2012). *Translanguaging: A CUNY-NYSIEB guide for educators.* New York: City University of New York–New York State Initiative on Emergent Bilinguals.

Connor, M., & Boskin, J. (2001). Overrepresentation of bilingual and poor children in special education classes: A continuing problem. *Journal of Children and Poverty, 7*(1), 23–32.

Cook, V. J. (1992). Evidence for multicompetence. *Language Learning, 42*(4), 557–591.

Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (2000). *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and design of social futures.* London: Routledge.

Crawford, J. (2004). *Educating English learners: Language diversity in the classroom* (5th ed.). Los Angeles: Bilingual Educational Services.

Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *Modern Language Journal, 94*(1), 103–115.

Cummins, J. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. In California State Department of Education (Ed.), *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework* (pp. 3–50). Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center.

Cummins, J. (1984). *Bilingualism and special education: Issues in assessment and pedagogy.* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. (2007). Rethinking monolingual instructional strategies in multilingual classrooms. *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics, 10*(2), 221–240.

de Mejía, A. M. (2002). *Power, prestige and bilingualism: International perspectives on elite bilingual education.* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Del Valle, J. (2000) Monoglossic policies for a heteroglossic culture: Misinterpreted multilingualism in modern Galicia. *Language and Communication, 20,* 105–132.

Dworin, J. (2003). Insights into biliteracy development: Toward a bidirectional theory of bilingual pedagogy. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 2,* 171–186.

Fishman, J. A. (1976). *Bilingual education: An international sociological perspective.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Fishman, J. A. (1985) *The rise and fall of the ethnic revival.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Fishman, J. A., Ferguson, C., & Das Gupta, J. (Eds.). (1968). *Language problems of developing nations.* New York: Wiley.

Fitts, S. (2006). Reconstructing the status quo: Linguistic interaction in a dual-language school. *Bilingual Research Journal, 29*(2), 337–365.

Flores, N. (2012). *From nation-states to neoliberalism: Language ideologies and governmentality.* Doctoral dissertation, Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison.* New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (pp. 87–104). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

García, O. (1993). From Goya portraits to Goya beans: Elite traditions and popular streams in U.S. Spanish language policy. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics, 12,* 69–86.

García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective.* Malden, MA: Wiley/Blackwell.

García, O. (2010). Latino language practices and literacy education in the U.S. In M. Farr, L. Seloni, & J. Song (Eds.), *Ethnolinguistic diversity*

and education: Langauge, literacy, and culture (pp. 193–211). New York: Routledge.

García, O. (2011a, September/October). From language garden to sustainable languaging: Bilingual education in a global world. *Perspective: A Publication of the National Association for Bilingual Education*, pp. 5–10.

García, O. (2011b). Teachers and personnel for emergent bilinguals with special needs in NYS: What must be done to meet the need? [White Paper]. (Submitted to NYSED and NYS Institutions of Higher Education, September 28, 2011).

García, O., with Makar, C., Starcevic, M., & Terry, A. (2011c). Translanguaging of Latino kindergarteners. In K. Potowski & J. Rothman (Eds.), *Bilingual youth: Spanish in English speaking societies* (pp. 33–55). Amsterdam: Benjamins.

García, O. (in press). Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice. In A. Creese & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy*. London: Springer.

García, O., Bartlett, L., & Kleifgen, J. (2007). From biliteracy to pluriliteracies. In P. Auer & P. Li Wei (Eds.), *Handbooks of applied linguistics: Vol. 5. Multilingualism* (pp. 207–228). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

García, O., & Flores, N. (in press). Multilingualism and Common Core State Standards in the U.S. In S. May (Ed.), *Addressing the Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and Bilingual Education*. New York: Routledge.

García, O., Flores, N., & Woodley, H. H. (2012). Transgressing monolingualism and bilingual dualities: Translanguaging pedagogies. In A. Yiakoumetti (Ed.), *Harnessing linguistic variation for better education* (pp. 45–76). Bern: Peter Lang.

García, O., & Kleifgen, J. (2010). *Educating emergent bilinguals: Policies, programs and practices for English language learners*. New York: Teachers College Press.

García, O., & Sylvan, C. (2011). Pedagogies and practices in multilingual classrooms: Singularities in pluralities. *Modern Language Journal, 95*(3), 385–400.

García, O., Zakharia, Z., & Otcu, B. (Eds.). (2012). *Bilingual community education for American children: Beyond heritage languages in a global city*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Genesee, F. (1998). A case study of multilingual education in Canada. In J. Cenoz & F. Genesee (Eds.), *Beyond bilingualism: Multilingualism and multilingual education* (pp. 243–259). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Grosjean, F. (2010). *Bilingual: Life and reality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gutiérrez, K., Baquedano-López, P., & Alvarez, H. H. (2001). Literacy as hybridity: Moving beyond bilingualism in urban classrooms. In M. Reyes & J. J. Halcón (Eds.), *The best for our children: Critical perspectives on literacy for Latino students* (pp. 233–252). New York: Teachers College Press.

Haugen, E. (1953). *The Norwegian language in America: A study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Heller, M. (Ed.). (2007). *Bilingualism: A social approach*. New York: Palgrave.

Hornberger, N. (1989). Continua of biliteracy. *Review of Educational Research, 59*, 271–296.

Hornberger, N., & Link, H. (2012). Translanguaging and transnational literacies in multilingual classrooms: A bilingual lens. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 15*(3), 261–278.

Hornberger, N., & Skilton-Sylvester, P. (2003). Revisiting the continua of biliteracy: International and critical perspectives. In N. Hornberger (Ed.), *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research, and practices in multilingual settings* (pp. 35–70). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Huebener, T. (1961). *Why Johnny should learn foreign languages*. Philadelphia: Chilton.

Jacquemet, M. (2005). Transidiomatic practices: Language and power in the age of globalization. *Language and Communication, 25*, 257–277.

Jørgensen, J. N. (2008). Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 5*(3), 161–176.

Kloss, H., & Van Orden, G. (2009). Soft-assembled mechanisms for the grand theory. In J. P. Spencer, M. Thomas, & J. McClelland (Eds.), *Toward a new grand theory of development?: Connectionism and dynamics systems theory reconsidered* (pp. 253–267). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Kress, G. (2003). *Literacy in the new media age*. London: Routledge.

Lambert, W. E. (1974). Culture and language as factors in learning and education. In F. E. Abboud & R. D. Meade (Eds.), *Cultural factors in learning and education* (pp. 91–122). Fifth

Western Washington Symposium on Learning, Bellingham.

Lambert, W. E., & Tucker, G. R. (1972). The *bilingual education of children*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Lewis, E. G. (1977). Bilingualism and bilingual education—the ancient world to the Renaissance. In B. Spolsky & R. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Frontiers of bilingual education* (pp. 22–93). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012a). Translanguaging: Developing its conceptualisation and contextualisation. *Educational Research and Evaluation: An International Journal on Theory and Practice, 18*(7), 655–670.

Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012b). Translanguaging: Origins and development from school to street and beyond. *Educational Research and Evaluation: An International Journal on Theory and Practice, 18*(7), 641–654.

Makoni, S., & Pennycook, A. (2007). *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Maldonado, J. A. (1994). Bilingual special education: Specific disabilities in language and reading. *Journal of Educational Issues for Language Minority Students, 14*, 127–148.

Maturana, H., & Varela, F. (1998). *The Tree of knowledge: The biological roots of human understanding*. Boston: Shambhala. (Original work published 1973)

McRay, A. D., & García, S. B. (2002). The stories we must tell: Developing a research agenda for multicultural and bilingual special education. *International Journal of Quaitative Studies in Education, 15*(6), 599–612.

Mignolo, W. (2000). *Local histories/global designs*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mougeon, R., Rehner, K., & Nadasdi, T. (2004). The learning of spoken French variation by immersion students from Toronto, Canada. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 8*(3), 408–432.

New London Group. 1996. A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures. *Harvard Educational Review, 66*(1), 60–92.

Ortiz, A. A., & Wilkinson, C. Y. (1991). Assessment and intervention model for the bilingual exceptional student (AIM for the BESt). *Teacher Education and Special Education, 14*, 35–42.

Pariser, E. (2011). *The filter bubble: What the Internet is hiding from you*. New York: Penguin.

Pennycook, A. (2010). *Language as a local practice*. Oxford, UK: Routledge.

Ricento, T., & Burnaby, B. (Eds.). (1998). *Language politics in the U.S. and Canada: Myths and realities*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Sayer, P. (2013). Translanguaging, Tex Mex, and bilingual pedagogy: Emergent bilinguals learning through the vernacular. *TESOL Quarterly, 47*(1), 63–88.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1981). *Bilingualism or not: The education of minorities*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & Cummins, J. (Eds.). (1988). *Minority education: From shame to struggle*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Street, B. (1985). *Literacy in theory and practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Swain, M. (1978). Bilingual education for the English-speaking Canadian. In J. Alatis (Ed.), *Georgetown University round table on languages and linguistics* (pp. 141–154). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Tucker, G. R. (1998). A global perspective on multilingualism and multilingual education. In J. Cenoz & F. Genesee (Eds.), *Beyond bilingualism, multilingualism and multilingual education* (pp. 3–15). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Turvey, M. T., & Carello, C. (1981). Cognition: The view from ecological realism. *Cognition, 10*(1–3), 313–321.

UNESCO. (1953). The use of the vernacular languages in education. *Monographs on Foundations of Education* (No. 8). Paris: Author.

Wei, L. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identitites by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*(5), 1222–1235.

Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in contact, findings and problems*. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York.

Williams, C. (1994). *Arfarniad o Ddulliau Dysgu ac Addysgu yng Nghyd-destun Addysg Uwchradd Ddwyieithog* [An evaluation of teaching and learning methods in the context of bilingual secondary education]. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wales, Bangor.

Wong Fillmore, L., & Valadez, C. (1986). Teaching bilingual learners. In M. C. Wittrock (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (pp. 648–685). New York: Macmillan.