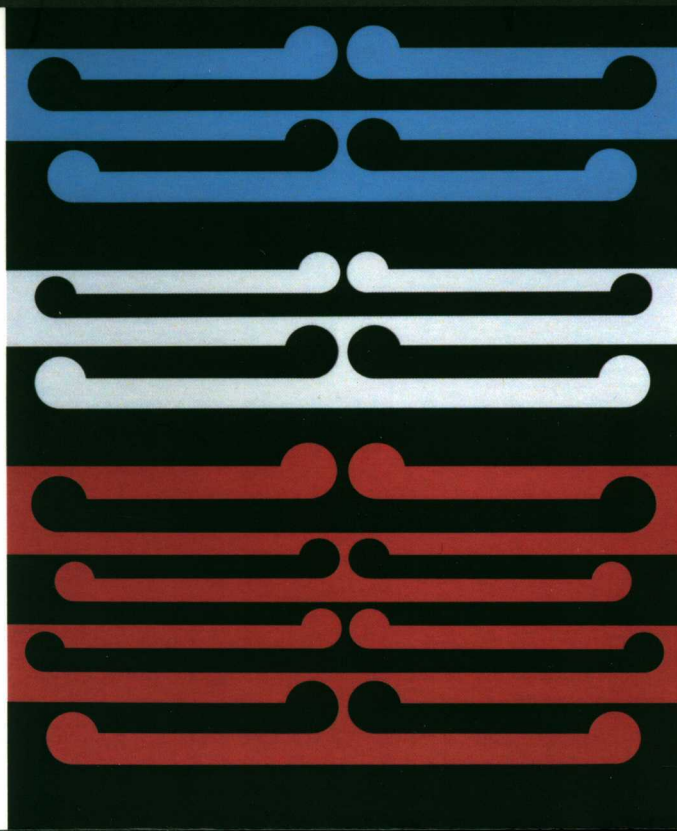


THE MULTILINGUAL TURN

Implications for SLA, TESOL
and Bilingual Education

Edited by **Stephen May**



7

MULTILINGUALISM AND COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS IN THE UNITED STATES

Ofelia García and Nelson Flores

The United States has never had a national system of education; instead, it is individual states that set educational standards and adopt ways to assess student success. But the demands of a new global economy are changing the ways in which the United States does educational business. Perhaps the clearest manifestation of this change has been the adoption of what are known as the Common Core State Standards in English Language Arts and Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science and Technical Subjects, and in Mathematics by 46 of the 51 U.S. states¹ by late 2012. These standards outline what U.S. students across different states are expected to know and do. Two global forces have come together to shape these changes in U.S. education in the 21st century. On the one hand, a global economy has forced increased competition for open markets throughout the world, making the United States conscious of the imperative of educating all its children in ways that would prepare them for college and careers. On the other, this same globalization has increased the diversity of the U.S. student body, with more immigrant students than ever coming from nation-states with collapsed educational systems, a result of the growing privatization of public services in a neoliberal economy. Thus, the United States is at a crossroad—on the one hand, it demands educational common standards; on the other, it faces the greatest student diversity of all time.

This chapter will attempt to describe the educational tension produced by these two contradictory forces—one of uniformity, the other of diversity—and the possibilities inherent in the tension specifically for bilingual students. We use the term *bilingual* students to encompass those who, in the European Union, are referred to as *plurilingual* and in the United States and other contexts as *multilingual*. There are two reasons why we prefer the term *bilingual* to *plurilingual* or *multilingual* for students. First of all, the term *bilingual* is linked to a history of the

U.S. civil rights struggle, as well as to recent campaigns to eradicate and silence it. Thus, naming bilingualism, instead of talking about dual languages or multilingualism is our own act of resistance in bringing back the sociopolitical meaning of what Crawford (2004) has called “the B word.”

In addition, as with other contributors to this volume, we view language not as a system of discrete sets of skills but as a series of social practices and actions that are embedded in a web of social relations (Pennycook, 2010; Street, 1985). In supporting *linguaging* as action and practice, rather than language as a system of structures, we understand the linguistic repertoire of bilinguals as a fluid network of signs and features that have been socially assigned to different languages. That is, a bilingual repertoire is one fluid network of signs that is societally constructed as two or more “languages.” For the so-called bilingual or multilingual speaker, there is only one linguistic repertoire from which speakers select social features to match the construction of what is socially defined as two or more languages. Thus, to us, a bilingual repertoire already indicates plurality beyond a monolingual one—and it is this understanding of bilingualism that we attempt to use as a lens for rereading the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) in ways that affirm rather than erase the fluid language practices of bilingual populations.

We start by describing the language diversity of the U.S. student population, and the sociohistorical context for the development of the CCSS. We comment on the content of the CCSS and the advances in the theory of language that ground them. We then analyze how theories of bilingualism and of the complex language practices of bilinguals (which we also take to encompass multilinguals) have been ignored in the standards and how the multilingualism of the U.S. student body has been neglected, commenting on the possible consequences of this exclusion for bilingual students, especially those who are new to English, as well as for U.S. society. Finally, we propose some ways in which the common core of the CCSS can be supported through building on the dynamism of bilingual students’ diverse language practices. Rather than negate language differences, a bilingual reading of the CCSS can ensure an equitable education for U.S. bilingual students.

U.S. Student Diversity, Bilingualism, and Education

Much has been said about the ethnolinguistic diversity of students in the United States. Perhaps more than any other developed country, the United States has had much experience educating immigrant students who are new to English. But the challenges of the 21st century are different from those of the past. In the early 20th century, only three quarters of U.S. children attended school, and it wasn’t until 1918 that every U.S. state required students to complete elementary school (Graham, 1974). In 1940, only half of American young adults had a high-school diploma (Urban & Wagoner, 2000). Furthermore, especially in southern U.S. states, schools were segregated until 1954 when the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously declared in *Brown vs. Board of Education* that segregated education

of Blacks and Whites was unequal and unconstitutional. This segregation included people of Asian and Hispanic descent. Although Mexicans were considered White under state segregation laws, they were segregated through local practice; in 1930, 85% of schools in California and 90% of schools in Texas segregated Mexican students (Donato, Menchaca, & Valencia, 1991). The many immigrants who came through Ellis Island—the gateway to the United States—at the turn of the 20th century also experienced educational segregation. Children who spoke different languages were assigned to special reception classes or what became known as “steamer classes” for children “off the boat” from Europe in which there was only intensive work in English (Thompson, 1920/1971). The academic expectations for those who were racially or linguistically different were few.

But the educational expectations for all students, including those who are developing English, have grown in the 21st century. In 2002, the U.S. Congress signed No Child Left Behind (NCLB) into law, supporting higher standards and tying federal school funding to assessments. On July 24, 2009, President Barack Obama and Secretary of Education Arne Duncan announced Race to the Top, a U.S. Department of Education contest among states for over \$4 billion to spur innovation and reform. State applications for the funds were given points based on several criteria, among which was that states would adopt a set of nationwide common core standards that had been released a month before. These higher expectations for all students have meant that students who are developing English, as well as those with disabilities, have received increased attention, as educators and state education departments grapple with how best to enable them to meet these standards.

Little has been said about the relationship between U.S. students' growing bilingualism and meeting educational standards in English only. Yet, one of every five 5-17-year-olds in the United States is bilingual. In 2010, 21% of 5-17-year-olds in the United States, or 11.3 million youth, spoke languages other than English (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Of 5-17-year-olds who are bilingual, 25% of them are considered English language learners because they speak English less than very well (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The CCSS do not acknowledge bilingualism in any way, and they are not read through the lens of bilingualism, though they could be. That is, nothing is officially said about how U.S. students who perform well in English academically may also have at their disposal other language practices that would enable them to expand even further their literacy and content knowledge. The CCSS document does devote two-and-a-half pages to English-language learners and acknowledges that “these students may require additional time, appropriate instructional support, and aligned assessments as they acquire both English-language proficiency and content area knowledge” (Common Core State Standards Initiative, n.d.-a). Nevertheless, U.S. states are scrambling to develop pathways by which students who are new to English may meet standards.

Students who are developing English, referred to as *English language learners*, differ in language, national origin, age, socioeconomic status, and histories. As

with all students, they also differ in capacities. Some are newcomers to the United States, immigrants who have arrived in the last three years. But among the newcomers there are those who come with strong academic preparation, whereas others come with very low academic abilities. Those arriving with low literacy and academic preparation are often designated as Students with Interrupted Formal Education (SIFE). In addition to new arrivals, many of those who are classified as English language learners were born in the United States or have been schooled in the United States for many years. When students have been schooled in the United States for longer than three years and still are unable to pass the English literacy tests that individual states require, they are often referred to as Long Term English Learners (LTELs). Some of these students may have disabilities having to do with poor language and literacy processing. Others may have been inappropriately schooled, having attended poor under-resourced schools with weak teachers and curricula (Menken & Kleyn, 2009; Olsen, 2010). Despite their designation as English learners, these students are users of English although they struggle with the English used for academic purposes (Olsen, 2010). Generally, then, the educational authorities address the English-language learning needs of three different groups of students who speak languages other than English:

1. English language learners who are newcomers.
2. English language learners who are students with interrupted formal education (SIFE).
3. Long-term English learners (LTELs).

But many American students speak and use English very well and are also proficient in home languages other than English. Sometimes these bilingual students are also biliterate as a result of bilingual schooling. The U.S. education system seldom acknowledges the bilingual capacities of these American students. In the past decade, bilingual education programs that develop students' home languages have been curtailed and even banned in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts (Crawford, 2004; García, 2009).

As we will see, the English-only orientation of the CCSS fails to build on the complex language practices of bilingual students. Instead, educators have been primarily concerned with how to ensure that English language learners meet the CCSS, while failing to understand that they are "emergent bilinguals" (García & Kleifgen, 2010) with all the linguistic, cognitive, and educational potential that bilingualism could bring. Throughout this chapter, we use the term *emergent bilingual students* to refer to those categorized as English language learners because we want to name the bilingual potential of these students to meet the CCSS. We will return to this reconceptualization of English language learners in the section on Bilingualism and Common Core State Standards below, but we first turn to the history and reality of the Common Core State Standards and to the theory of language that they espouse.

The Common Core State Standards and Language

The Common Core State Standards were not an initiative of the federal government, but of states, under the leadership of the National Governors Association, an organization of state governors, and the Council of Chief State School Officers, an organization of public officials who head departments of elementary and secondary education in these states. The CCSS were motivated by the poor performance of the United States in the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), a worldwide survey conducted every three years by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to 15-year-olds in mathematics, science, and reading. In 2009, the United States ranked 14th in reading, 17th in science, and 25th in math among the 65 countries included. Dane Linn, Director of the Education Division for the National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, summarized the charge for the CCSS saying, "Governors recognize the irrefutable links between a quality education, a productive workforce, and a sound economy. Our competitiveness relies on an education system that can adequately prepare our youth for college and the workforce" (cited in National Governors Association, 2009).

The Common Core State Standards are internationally benchmarked college- and career-ready standards (National Governors Association for Best Practices and Council of Chief State School Officers, 2010). There are differences between the expectations for how students use language and literacy in the standards and those that U.S. states have utilized before. Students are expected to:

- Gather, comprehend, evaluate, synthesize, and report on information and ideas, using text-based evidence. This includes conducting original research and analyzing and creating print and non-print texts in media forms, old and new.
- Engage with complex texts, not just literary but also informational, with informational texts making up half of the texts in 4th grade, 55% in 8th grade, and 70% in 12th grade.
- Write to persuade, explain, and convey real or imaginary experience, with writing to convey experience decreasing in importance and making up 35% in 4th grade, 30% in 8th grade, and 20% in the 12th grade, while writing to persuade and explain take on more importance.

Furthermore, rather than the English Language Arts teachers being responsible for English-language development, there is shared responsibility among teachers in all content areas. An integrated model of literacy is espoused, with reading, writing, speaking, and listening closely connected.

Another important difference in the CCSS from prior standards is the relationship of language and literacy to content. Whereas in the old paradigm there was only overlap between language and content instruction in terms of vocabulary

and grammar, the CCSS present an integrated model of learning where language, literacy, and content overlap significantly. The Stanford group on Understanding Language (2012) describe the overlap between language and content in the CCSS as consisting of discourse, text (complex text), explanation, argumentation, purpose, structure of text, sentence structures, and vocabulary practice (Common Core for ELLs, 2012). It is important that all students get practice understanding complex informational and disciplinary texts and that they ground their reading, writing, and speaking in English on evidence from texts.

It is evident that the theory of language in these CCSS has shifted from one that supported the linear buildup of structures and vocabulary to one that may be better understood as language as a form of human action, embodied in the social world of human relationships. That is, the CCSS emphasize languaging as action and practice, rather than language as a system of structures. Language is not pre-given, able to be decomposed into fragments that human beings are able to then “have” (cf. Leung, this volume) but as human action that someone performs in particular in a specific place (Becker, 1995; Maturana & Varela, 1987). The emphasis now is on the development of comprehension and rhetorical effectiveness, as well as participation in activity that simultaneously leads to understanding and more complex language use. This action-based perspective of language is explained by Van Lier and Walqui (2012), speaking about emergent bilingual learners:

Language is an inseparable part of all human action, intimately connected to all other forms of action, physical, social and symbolic. Language is thus an expression of agency, embodied and embedded in the environment. . . . In a classroom context, an action-based perspective means that ELs engage in meaningful activities (projects, presentations, investigations) that engage their interest and that encourage language growth through perception, interaction, planning, research, discussion, and co-construction of academic products of various kinds. During such action-based work, language development occurs when it is carefully scaffolded by the teacher, as well as by the students working together. (Van Lier & Walqui, 2012, n.p.)

The theory of language inherent in the Common Core State Standards is consonant with the ways in which language is used in the 21st century. Students are asked to use the greater variety of texts—oral, visual, quantitative, print, and non-print—that technology has enabled. The purposes for which language is used have also changed—from recreation or factual declaration giving way to analysis, interpretation, argument, and persuasion. Even language itself has gone from being acknowledged as simply grammar and vocabulary of printed texts to include its many levels of meaning, figurative language, word relations, genres, and media. Finally, students are now being asked to perform language socially through cooperative tasks. It is not enough to organize information on one’s own and

write as an individual; it is important to build upon others' ideas, whether those of peers, teachers, or authors of texts, to find evidence to articulate one's own ideas, adjusting the presentation according to the different purposes or audiences (see also, Blackledge, Creese, & Takhj, this volume; Leung, this volume; Li Wei, this volume). Language for academic purposes in the 21st century has leapt outside the rigidity of a single oral or written text and the individual engaged in the text. We have finally acknowledged the social function and the flexible semiotic nature of multiliteracies that the New London Group (1996) first espoused.

Scholars interested in the education of emergent bilingual students have begun to study how to utilize the opportunities of the CCSS to improve their education (Coleman & Goldenberg, 2012). In particular, the Stanford *Understanding Language* team, led by Kenji Hakuta and María Santos, is developing resources and principles to ensure that emergent bilinguals meet the standards (<http://ell.stanford.edu>). A number of white papers on their website offer some excellent recommendations.² In addition, on May 18, 2012, they released a draft of *Six Instructional Principles*, presented to the Council of the Great City Schools (Understanding Language, 2012). The first instructional principle calls for “leveraging the native language and culture” (<http://ell.stanford.edu/policy-news/council-great-city-schools-presentation>), indicating their awareness of bilingualism as a resource (see also May, 2011). New York State is also working on its own *Bilingual Common Core Initiative*.

It is interesting to note, however, that although the advances in a theory of language for academic purposes have been substantial in the CCSS, and there is increasing attention as to how emergent bilinguals can meet the standards, there has been a total neglect of theories of bilingualism and of the complex language practices of bilinguals. And although the CCSS have heeded some of the lessons of New Literacy Studies (Street, 1985), moving away from viewing literacy as an autonomous skill, the CCSS have ignored the ideological framework of New Literacy Studies—the fact that social, cultural, political, and economic factors influence literacy practices (cf. Norton, this volume). The next section explores the two gaps in the CCSS with regards to bi/multilingualism: (1) the failure to account for the complex dynamic language use of bilingual students; and (2) the disregard for the growing bi/multilingualism of a U.S. audience and the different cultural contexts and backgrounds that shape literacy practices.

Bilingualism and the Common Core Standards

The language use of bilinguals is more dynamic than that of monolinguals because the tasks that they must perform are more varied, responding to more complex social and cultural practices, as well as a more diverse audience. As we will see, it is not enough to “language,” to “do” or “perform” language; bilinguals have to “translanguage,” and, in so doing, respond to the different cultural contexts and social backgrounds that shape their language practices. But the CCSS are silent on

the potential of dynamic bilingualism and translanguaging, as well as of the greater diversity of audiences, contexts, and structures that bilingual students face.

Dynamic Bilingualism, Translanguaging, and the CCSS

The Common Core State Standards expect bilingual students to demonstrate the exact language competence of monolingual English speakers and to use English according to monolingual norms. But this stance ignores bilinguals' different language competence, as well as their diverse language practices.

As many have said, bilingualism is not simply double monolingualism, with bilinguals expected to be and do with each of their languages the same thing as monolinguals (García, 2009; Grosjean, 1982; Heller, 1999). That is, bilingualism is not simply additive, as if $L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$, with a second language added whole to a monolingual's repertoire and kept separate from a first language. Instead, bilingualism has been shown to be dynamic (García, 2009), with language practices multiple, interdependent, "and ever adjusting to the multilingual multimodal terrain of the communicative act" (García, 2009, p. 53; see also May, this volume).

Some scholars have pointed to the different cognitive orientation to competence of bilinguals when compared to monolinguals. Bilinguals are said to have different lives and minds from those of monolinguals, valued for their multicompetence (Cook, 1992; see Block, this volume; Ortega, this volume). As Herdina and Jessner (2002) have pointed out, the interactions of bilinguals' interdependent language systems create new structures that are not found in monolingual systems. These theories were made possible by Jim Cummins' early work on the language interdependence of bilinguals and of their Common Underlying Proficiency (Cummins, 1981), and the understanding that the two languages of bilingual individuals are not stored separately in the brain but are interdependent and rely on a common foundation.

Recently, many critical scholars have pointed to the differences in language competence between bilinguals and monolinguals based not on cognitive differences but on the different practices and socialization of bilinguals (Block, this volume; Canagarajah, 2007, this volume). Critical sociolinguists have used different terms to refer to the diverse dynamic practices of bilinguals, shuttling between practices that are socially seen as one or another language or treating their entire repertoire as an integrated system. 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 realization of the ability to shuttle between language practices in written texts. Many more have used the term translanguaging to refer to the flexible use of linguistic resources by bilinguals in order to make sense of their complex worlds.³

The term translanguaging was first coined in Welsh (*trawysieithu*) by Cen Williams (1994) to refer to a pedagogical practice where 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, 2012).

The enactment of translanguaging as the manifestation of dynamic bilingualism differs substantially from the realization of additive bilingualism. Translanguaging does not refer to the use of two separate languages or even the shift of one language or code to the other, since there isn't a language. Rather, translanguaging is rooted in the belief that bilinguals select language features and "soft assemble" their language practices in ways that fit their particular sociolinguistic situation (García, 2009, in press). Translanguaging is an approach to bilingualism that is centered not on languages, but on the observable communicative practices of bilinguals. Translanguaging is part of the metadiscursive regimes that bilingual students in the 21st century must perform in order to sustain their language practices in interaction with their plural social, economic, and political contexts (García, 2011a).

Until very recently, translanguaging was not seen as appropriate in classrooms or as a pedagogical resource (cf. Li Wei, this volume). But there is now emerging evidence that translanguaging builds deeper thinking, affirms multiple identities, engages bilingual students with more rigorous content, and at the same time develops language that is adequate for specific academic tasks. Translanguaging, if properly understood and suitably applied in schools, can in fact enhance cognitive, language, and literacy abilities.⁴ Cummins (2007) has called for bilingual instructional strategies 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 . . ." (Cummins, 2007, p. 238). As Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008) have argued:

Learning a language is not just the 'taking in' of standard linguistic forms by learners, but the constant adaptation of their linguistic resources in the service of meaning-making in response to the affordances that emerge in the communicative situation, which is, in turn, affected by learners' adaptability. (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, p. 135)

As mentioned above, the CCSS have been silent on issues of bilingualism and have certainly not addressed the question of dynamic bilingualism and translanguaging. And yet, the potential of translanguaging for bilinguals as both bilingual discourse and pedagogy to develop more appreciation of text function, greater comprehension of complex texts, more intricate text structures, and greater familiarity with sentence structures and vocabulary has been well recognized (see above). Without the acknowledgement 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. It would then be important to

resist ways in which the CCSS may be used to manipulate language in academic contexts so as to maintain the asymmetries of power between monolinguals and bilinguals that presently exist in the United States.

Diversity of Audiences, Contexts, and Backgrounds and the CCSS

Bilingual students have to adapt their language use and literacy practices to the broader and more diverse audiences, contexts, and structures in which they “language.” Technology has expanded the range of audiences and contexts for the languaging of bilinguals (see also, Blackledge et al., this volume; Norton, this volume; Li Wei, this volume). Whereas in the past, bilingual students’ audiences for language practices other than those of the classroom were reduced to those of the home, technology has expanded space and contexts, providing bilingual students with access to voices and languaging from contexts other than classrooms and homes, both in familiar and formal context. The audience today is not simply the school authorities, educators, and classmates, or the home adults or siblings and peers, but those in distant lands and in-between spaces. Whereas the range of audience choices for monolingual students is narrower, enabling them to more easily target a specific audience, bilingual students have different audiences to satisfy through their complex language performances.

Sometimes bilingual students are in an English-language school system performing for a test or giving a formal presentation in English (cf. Leung, this volume). This means that they’re deactivating all features of their language repertoire except those that are socially acceptable in the English-language educational system. But other times, they have informal interactions with peers in classrooms, lunchrooms, hallways, often other bilinguals who share many of the features in their bilingual repertoire. At these times, often in the same space in which the test or the formal presentation occurs, bilingual students translanguange, activating different features for effect. Yet other times, these bilingual students are in a mosque or synagogue within their ethnic communities where they’re expected to activate only certain features of their bilingual repertoire to read a sacred text while deactivating others. In their neighborhoods, bilinguals often perform linguistically still using other features, different ones in the park, where they play with children with very different linguistic profiles than in the home, where they speak to parents, siblings, listen to radio, watch television, do homework, read, and write, activating different language features even within the same language event. Despite the books and homework bilingual students bring home in English, they now have computers at home where they search the Internet using other practices and where they chat or Skype using yet others.

Language performances are also linked to cultural contexts and social structures, which are much more varied for bilingual than for monolingual students. For example, in the United States, essayist literacy in English is privileged over other forms of literacy (Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Heath (1983) has shown how

middle-class English-speaking homes socialize their very young children in this essayist tradition even before they arrive in school. But different cultures structure their texts in diverse ways and value different textual features (Kaplan, 1966). Texts are differently shaped and interpreted in various languages and cultures (Clyne, 1987; Connor, 1996; Eggington, 1987; Hinds, 1983). What counts as literacy varies situationally and relationally (cf. Norton, this volume). The expressive tradition and expository writing that is so common in the United States is difficult in places "where the central focus is either the text or the teacher as the central authority and source of information" (Watkins-Goffman & Cummings, 1997, p. 345). For example, writing in Spanish is often less direct (or, some may say, more subtle) than the argumentation that predominates in U.S. classrooms (Watkins-Goffman & Cummings, 1997). And diverse cultures have different views of critical analysis, as well as of supporting evidence (Ramanathan & Kaplan, 1996; Scollon & Scollon, 1981). For example, it is difficult for bilingual students who are schooled in reading the sacred script of the *Qur'an* to question the text, to argue with positions, and to be critical. As Bertha Pérez states: "[Literacy] is a technology or tool that is culturally determined and used for specific purposes. Literacy practices are culture specific ways of knowing" (Pérez, 1998, p. 22). It is then important to note that bilingual students negotiate many different cultural spaces, and thus they become more aware of issues of language and language use. This more complex understanding of language is very much in line with the CCSS, and thus bilingualism should be exploited as a resource to meet the CCSS.

Finally, because of their greater engagement with cultural and linguistic flows, bilingual students' background knowledge may not match that of monolingual students. Often their background knowledge—of different ways of being and doing, of different scripts and ways of languaging, of different disciplines and content—have little to do with those exploited in U.S. schools. If the CCSS were read through the lens of bilingualism, they would seek to also build on these complex cultural and linguistic resources.

To meet standards, the CCSS expects that language be used to analyze and evaluate texts through cooperative tasks (see also Leung, this volume). But some bilingual students are from cultures in which building upon others' ideas is considered cheating and in which arguing with people and texts and being critical is seen as inappropriate, and in some cases, even a sacrilege. It would then be important to recognize the differences in audiences, contexts, and background knowledge that may make bilingual students' languaging experience different from that of monolingual students. An effort must then be made to acknowledge the different language and literacy practices that bilingual students bring and to build upon them in order to have bilingual students and their teachers move beyond essentialized notions of language and culture and adopt *third spaces*. In these third spaces, bilingual students can perform language in ways that transcend both their home and school cultural norms. Only by feeling confident in one's linguistic and cultural identities can bilingual students be expected to draw upon

their backgrounds as resources to learn rigorous content material, meet language, literacy, and content standards, and feel empowered as U.S. bilinguals. But the CCSS remain silent on how to build on the language practices of U.S. bilinguals in order to provide them with an equitable and rigorous education.

The next section provides an example of how to read the CCSS through a bilingual lens, resulting in what we might call Bilingual Common Core State Standards (BCCSS). First, BCCSS would provide different progressions of what bilingual students are able to do using English, the language other than English, or translanguaging in order to meet standards. These progressions would be different for various student profiles, taking into account all language practices for academic purposes, rather than the use of English only, or of standard English, to meet the academic standard. Second, BCCSS would legitimate translanguaging pedagogical strategies, both to scaffold instruction in English, as well as to acknowledge translanguaging as an important bilingual discourse that has the potential to expand thinking and understanding, at the same time that it provides practice for bilingual sustainability. Third, BCCSS would have to be carefully aligned with assessment that separates language proficiency from content knowledge by adjusting the language load in a language according to bilingual capacities or that taps the bilingual abilities of students, their translanguaging, to perform their content knowledge. The last section of this paper thus addresses the potential of Bilingual Common Core State Standards for the equitable education of all U.S. students.⁵

Extending Commonalities to Support Equity for Bilingual U.S. Students

Although the commonalities of the CCSS remain, this section makes evident that effectively including U.S. bilingual children in the CCSS would require a bilingual reading that would open up three possibilities:

1. To meet common standards, *bilingual progressions* of what students must be able to do have to be developed, adapted to different bilingual student profiles.
2. To meet common standards, *translanguaging pedagogical practices* of what teachers of bilingual students must be able to do have to be acknowledged.
3. To meet common standards, *dynamic bilingual assessments* of how bilingual students must be able to demonstrate their knowledge have to be developed.

We expand on each of these below.

Bilingual Progressions

As we mentioned above, not all bilingual students are the same. Emergent bilingual students may be new to English. But the English-language progressions cannot be the same for all, since students arrive in the United States from different countries

with diverse educational systems and opportunities. Further, emergent bilingual students differ with regards to their social and economic profiles, as well as the age at which they enter the U.S. school system. In short, while the CCSS are moving all students toward a common benchmark, there must be spaces built into the framework for differentiating what emergent bilinguals at different English proficiency levels are expected to achieve as they work toward mastery of the CCSS. These differentiated English-language progressions would ensure that students are working toward the CCSS while also providing realistic expectations for students with various language proficiencies in a new language. The English-language progressions would align English-language development with the CCSS and ensure that the work in English is progressing toward grade-level competency as per CCSS.

An exploration of some of the different subgroups of students learning English can help clarify this point. A student who is newly arrived and is completely new to English cannot possibly be expected to perform at the same level as somebody who has been in the United States for several years and tests at an advanced level on an English-language proficiency test. An English-language progression would articulate to teachers what beginner students are expected to do as they move toward English-language proficiency and mastery of the CCSS and how this differs for somebody who is at an advanced level. To complicate matters even more, the English-language progression of emergent bilingual students who have low home-language literacy (the so-called SIFE), would be different from that of emergent bilingual students who arrive in the United States knowing how to use their home language for academic purposes. For these highly literate students, transfer of these language and literacy practices to English-only linguistic performances will be faster, and they can be expected to meet standards at a more accelerated pace than SIFE students. Bilingual students who can already perform academic tasks in English should be expected to meet the same language/literacy progressions as monolingual students. But bilingual students who have been unable to perform academic tasks in English (although they speak English) after three years, should be expected to have different progressions whenever the CCSS demands reading or writing performances. In short, an English-language progression that takes a bilingual perspective must confront the reality of the dynamic bilingualism of bilingual students and create tools for teachers to accommodate students across the continuum of bilingualism as they move them toward mastery of the CCSS.

In addition to English-language progressions that take into account the dynamic bilingualism of the U.S. student population, taking a bilingual perspective of the CCSS also entails making home-language development central to the educational programming for bilingual students. All bilingual students should also be able to use their heritage/home-language practices to meet rigorous academic standards. Thus, heritage/home-language progressions would also need to be developed. These, however, are even more complex than those for English, since, besides emergent bilingual students who are new to English whose home-language development has been interrupted by failing school systems abroad,

most bilingual students who have gone to school in the United States have had their home-language development interrupted by the U.S. school system's monolingual approach. Thus, the heritage/home-language progressions must show a greater range of variation than those for English. Far too many bilingual students have been inappropriately placed in traditional foreign-language classes where their bilingualism is ignored or in classes for native English speakers where they struggle to be able to use the home language for academic purposes. Home-language progression benchmarks that are differentiated so as to account for the dynamic bilingualism of U.S. bilingual students could offer teachers tools in differentiating instruction for bilingual students across the continuum of biliteracy.

In order to develop heritage/home-language literacy, there must also be Native Language Arts standards. The creation of Native Language Arts standards aligned with the CCSS would send a powerful message about the importance of home-language development for bilingual students. This would assert the importance of building academic literacy in the home language and would provide an academic context for its practice. The research is overwhelming on the transferability of abilities from home languages to English and vice versa. By aligning home-language instruction with the CCSS, these benchmarks will ensure that Native Language Arts classes are rigorous and are supporting students in reaching the CCSS.

Finally, it would be important for BCCSS to match English-language progressions with heritage/home-language progressions, insisting that translanguaging as discourse be used to meet rigorous content standards. An example might make this clearer. Standard 1 for Reading Literature and Reading Informational Text in the 6th grade reads "Cite textual evidence to support (analysis of) what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text" (Common Core State Standards, n.d.-b, p. 36). The details cite grappling "with works of exceptional craft and thought whose range extends across genres, cultures, and centuries." Although it also mentions "seminal US documents, the classics of American literature, and the timeless dramas of Shakespeare," it is possible to read these in translation, gaining, as the standard continues: "a reservoir of literary and cultural knowledge, references, and images; the ability to evaluate intricate arguments; and the capacity to surmount the challenges posed by complex texts." It is not necessary to wait until the English language is developed in order to meet this standard. It is possible to use texts in the students' home languages and to accept students' developing English. What is important is to demonstrate the complex ways in which language is used to learn and make meaning to demonstrate the capacities of a literate and educated individual, which are, according to the CCSS, to:

- demonstrate independence as self-directed learner;
- build strong content knowledge;
- respond to the varying demands of audience, task, purpose, and discipline;
- comprehend as well as critique;
- value evidence;

- use technology and digital media strategically and capably; and
- understand other perspectives and cultures.⁶

All of this can be achieved by emergent bilingual students only if translanguaging is used to its full potential as English develops. On the other hand, all bilingual students would gain much from using the potential of translanguaging to read texts beyond those crafted in English and within a U.S. cultural context: to engage in research using sources in languages other than English; to participate in discussions taking place in other languages; and to write narratives using dialogue in languages other than English and events situated in other cultural contexts. Translanguaging is not simply a discursive scaffold for emergent bilinguals that disappears as bilingualism develops. Translanguaging is the norm for bilingual communities and it has great potential for teaching and learning. But translanguaging needs to be practiced and developed by teachers who use it as a pedagogical strategy, as we describe in the next section.

Translanguaging Pedagogical Strategies

To equitably educate bilingual students, it would be important to not only allow translanguaging to naturally occur in classrooms, but to have students explicitly practice it as a rhetorical choice for learning and knowing (Canagarajah, 2011). This means that teachers must hold a language philosophy that encourages voice, regardless of language features. They must also provide translanguaging models for analysis and encourage students to use translanguaging in any language or literacy performance. Furthermore, teachers must position bilingual students as bilinguals, at times talking to other bilinguals, and enable them to use their linguistic and cultural backgrounds as a resource to learn. The goal, therefore, should not be for students to use English exclusively once they are deemed proficient but rather for students to be able to use their entire linguistic repertoire strategically and develop unique voices that express their U.S. bilingual identities. As Canagarajah (2011) states: “The confidence in one’s identity and background and the ability to draw from them as resources for one’s communication are certainly empowering strategies for multilingual students” (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 408; see also Canagarajah, this volume).

Assessments

Assessments play a most important role in education. Up to now, assessments have measured growth and ultimate attainment of discrete language skills in one or another language (see also Leung, this volume). But the CCSS require that students integrate reading, writing, speaking, and listening and that language be used in dialogic interactions. The CCSS present a new challenge for test developers as they learn to assess not specific language skills but languaging, and even translanguaging, in action.

For bilingual students it would be important to create language-proficiency assessments that assess their ability to perform academically in English, their heritage/home language, or a combination of both. In addition, it would be most important to develop valid and reliable assessments that separate language proficiency from content knowledge. Technology is assisting with the development of internet-based adaptive tests that can adapt the language load, as well as the language use, to the bilingual students' linguistic profile. Thus, 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, and the assessment of content proficiency and knowledge independent of language. 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.

Bilingualism has been assessed in the past simply by giving an additional test in the other language. But bilingual students cannot be assessed equitably simply as monolinguals, either in English or in their other language(s). 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 and able to render their understandings of language and content while drawing on their entire linguistic repertoire. 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). In the same way, internet-based adaptive language assessment should be able to accommodate our bilingual selves. The technology is here, what remains is for the testing industry to give up traditional views of language and conventional validity and reliability constructs, while accepting the challenge of today's dynamic bilingualism (see also Leung, this volume).

Conclusion

The Common Core State Standards are an excellent opportunity to provide U.S. students with a rigorous and challenging education that would enable them to reach their full potential as learners and scholars. But to do so, the United States would have to come to terms with its own multilingualism and with the complex languaging of its bilingual students. We have noted how the language practices of bilinguals, their translanguaging, provide students with opportunities to expand the uses, audiences, contexts, and texts from which meaning and knowledge can be extracted. The complex language practices of bilinguals open up multiple worlds to comprehend and critique and offer plural perspectives and multifaceted evidence that provide further opportunities for rigorous analysis. These complex

language practices are very much in line with the language and literacy practices espoused by the CCSS. To ensure that all bilingual students meet the rigorous requirements of the CCSS, bilingual students must be supported in their reasoning, their construction of explanations and solutions, and their argumentation from evidence, even if the language used to do so does not match the conventions of standard English grammar and usage. Only by building on bilingual practices will emergent bilingual students eventually be able to master the English-language conventions and the rigorous education that the CCSS espouses. At the same time, only by building on the bilingual practices of these students will U.S. public schools develop spaces that embrace, rather than marginalize, the home-language practices of bilingual students and meet the challenge of creating common standards while affirming the diversity of its student population.

Notes

1. We are including within this number Washington, DC, which, along with the 50 U.S. states, also has responsibility for education within their district.
2. With regards to language, see especially, Bunch, Kibler, and Pimentel (2012); Quinn, Lee, and Valdés (2012); Van Lier and Walqui (2012).
3. See Blackledge and Creese (2010); Creese and Blackledge (2010); García (2009); Hornberger and Link (2012); Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012a, 2012b); see also Blackledge et al., this volume.
4. See Fitts (2006); García (2009); García and Kleifgen (2010); García (2011b); Heller and Martin-Jones (2001); Hornberger and Link (2012); Lewis (2009); Li (2010); Sayer (2008).
5. We know only of New York state's efforts to build on emergent bilinguals' home languages to meet CCSS.
6. See <http://www.corestandards.org/the-standards/>.

References

- Baker, C. (2012). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (5th ed.). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Becker, A. L. (1995). *Beyond translation: Essays toward a modern philosophy*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (2010). *Multilingualism*. London, UK: Continuum.
- Bunch, G., Kibler, A., & Pimentel, S. (2012, January). *Realizing opportunities for English learners in the Common Core English Language Arts and Disciplinary Literacy Standards*. Paper presented at the Understanding Language Conference, Stanford University, Stanford, CA. Retrieved from <http://ell.stanford.edu/publication/1-realizing-opportunities-ells-common-core-english-language-arts-and-disciplinary>
- Canagarajah, A. S. (2007). Lingua franca English, multilingual communities, and language acquisition. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91, 921–937.
- Canagarajah, A. S. (2011). Codemeshing in academic writing: Identifying teachable strategies of translanguaging. *The Modern Language Journal*, 95(3), 401–417.
- Clyne, M. (1987). Cultural differences in the organization of academic texts: English and German. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 11(2), 211–247.

- Coleman, R., & Goldenberg, C. (2012). The Common Core challenge for English language learners. *Principal Leadership* (February), 46–51.
- Common Core for ELLs. (2012, May). *Challenges and opportunities. Language, literacy and learning in the content areas*. Paper presented at the Conference of the Council of the Great City Schools, Seattle, WA. Retrieved from <http://ell.stanford.edu>
- Common Core State Standards Initiative (n.d.-a). *Application of common core state standards for English language learners*. Retrieved from <http://www.corestandards.org>
- Common Core State Standards Initiative (n.d.-b). *Common core state standards for English language arts and literacy in history/social studies, science, and technical subjects*. Retrieved from <http://www.corestandards.org>
- Connor, U. (1996). *Contrastive rhetoric: Cross-cultural aspects of second language writing*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, V.J. (1992). Evidence for multicompetence. *Language Learning*, 42(4), 557–591.
- Crawford, J. (2004). *Educating English learners: Language diversity in the classroom* (5th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Bilingual Educational Services.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94, 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* (p. 350). Los Angeles, CA: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center.
- Cummins, J. (2007). Rethinking monolingual instructional strategies in multilingual classrooms. *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 10(2), 221–240.
- Donato, R., Menchaca, M., & Valencia, R. R. (1991). Segregation, desegregation, and integration of Chicano students: Problems and prospects. In R. Valencia (Ed.), *Chicano school failure and success: Research and policy agendas for the 1990s* (pp. 27–63). London, UK: Falmer.
- Eggington, W. (1987). Written academic discourse in Korean: Implications for effective communication. In U. Connor & R. B. Kaplan (Eds.), *Writing across languages: Analysis of L2 text* (pp. 153–168). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Fitts, S. (2006). Reconstructing the status quo: Linguistic interaction in a dual-language school. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 29(2), 337–365.
- García, O. In press. Becoming bilingual: Sociolinguistic and sociopolitical considerations. In C.A. Stone, E.R. Silliman, B.J. Ehren, & G.P. Wallach (Eds.), *Handbook on language and literacy: Development and disorders*. New York: Guilford Press.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Malden, MA: Blackwell/Wiley.
- García, O. (2011a). From language garden to sustainable languaging: Bilingual education in a global world. *Perspective. A Publication of the National Association for Bilingual Education*, Sept./Oct. 2011, 5–10.
- García, O. (with Makar, C., Starcevic, M., & Terry, A.). (2011b) Translanguaging of Latino kindergarteners. In K. Potowski and J. Rothman (Eds.), *Bilingual youth: Spanish in English speaking societies* (pp. 33–55). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- García, O., & Kleifgen, J. (2010). *Educating emergent bilinguals. Policies, programs and practices for English language learners*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Graham, P. A. (1974). *Community and class in American education, 1865–1918*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Heath, S. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in the communities and classrooms*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Heller, M. (1999). *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. London, UK: Longman.
- Heller, M., & Martin-Jones, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference*. Westport, CT: Ablex.
- Herdina, P., & Jessner, U. (2002). *A dynamic model of multilingualism: Perspectives of change in psycholinguistics*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Hinds, J. (1983). Contrastive rhetoric: Japanese and English. *Text*, 3(2), 183–195. Retrieved from http://www.nga.org/cms/home/news-room/news-releases/page_2010/col2-content/main-content-list/title_national-groups-co-host-briefing-on-2009-pisa-results-world-class-education-for-global-competitiveness.html
- 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.
- 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.
- Kaplan, R. B. (1966). Cultural thought patterns in intercultural education. *Language Learning*, 16(1), 1–20.
- Larsen-Freeman, D., & Cameron, L. (2008). *Complex systems and applied linguistics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, W. G. (2009). Current challenges in bilingual education in Wales. *AILA Review*, 21, 69–86.
- 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, 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, 641–654.
- Li, W. (2010). Moment analyses and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(5), 1222–1235.
- Maturana, H., & Varela, F. (1987). *The tree of knowledge: The biological roots of human understanding* (Rev. ed., R. Paolucci, Trans). Boston, MA & London, UK: Shambhala.
- May, S. (2011). The disciplinary constraints of SLA and TESOL: Additive bilingualism and second language acquisition, teaching and learning. *Linguistics and Education*, 22(3), 233–247.
- Menken, K., & Kleyn, T. (2009). The difficult road for long-term English learners. *Educational Leadership*, 66(7). Retrieved from http://www.ascd.org/publications/educational_leadership/apr09/vol66/num07/The_Difficult_Road_for_Long-Term_English_Learners.aspx
- National Governors Association. (2009). *Accelerating the agenda: Actions to improve America's High Schools*. Retrieved from <http://www.nga.org>
- National Governors Association Center for Best Practices and Council of Chief State School Officers. (2010). *Common core standards*. Washington DC: National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, Council of Chief State Officers. Retrieved from <http://www.corestandards.org/the-standards>
- New London Group. (1996). A pedagogy of multiliteracies. Designing social futures. *Harvard Educational Review*, 66(1), 60–92.
- Olsen, L. (2010). A closer look at long term English learners: A focus on new directions. *STARlight*, 7. Retrieved from <http://en.elresearch.org/issues/7>

- Pariser, E. (2011). *The filter bubble: What the Internet is hiding from you*. New York, NY: Penguin Press.
- Pennycook, A. (2010). *Language as local practice*. London, UK & New York, NY: Routledge.
- Pérez, B. (Ed.). (1998). *Sociocultural contexts of language and literacy*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Quinn, H., Lee, O., & Valdés, G. (2012, January). Language demands and opportunities in relation to next generation science standards for ELLs. Paper presented at the Understanding Language Conference, Stanford University, Stanford, CA. Retrieved from <http://ell.stanford.edu/publication/3-language-demands-and-opportunities-relation-next-generation-science-standards-ells>
- Ramanathan, V., & Kaplan, R. B. (1996). Audience and voice in current L1 composition texts: Some implications for ESL student writers. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 5, 21–34.
- Sayer, P. (2008). Demystifying language mixing: Spanglish in school. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 7(2), 94–112.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. B. K. (1981). *Narrative, literacy, and face in interethnic communication*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Street, B. (1985). *Literacy in theory and practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Thompson, F. V. (1971). *Schooling of the immigrant*. Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith. (Reprinted from *Schooling of the immigrant* by F.V. Thompson, 1920, New York, NY: Harper & Brothers)
- Understanding Language. (2012). *Six key principles for ELL instruction*. Retrieved from <http://ell.stanford.edu>
- Urban, W. J., & Wagoner, J. L. (2000). *American education: A history* (2nd ed.). Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
- US Census Bureau. (2010). *American Community Survey, 2006–2010. 5 year estimates*. Retrieved from http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_10_5YR_S1601&prodType=table
- Van Lier, L., & Walqui, A. (2012, January). *Language and the Common Core Standards*. Paper presented at the Understanding Language Conference, Stanford University, Stanford, CA. Retrieved from <http://ell.stanford.edu/publication/4-language-and-common-core-state-standards>
- Watkins-Goffman, L., & Cummings, V. (1997). Bridging the gap between native language and second language literacy instruction: A naturalistic study. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 21(4), 334–347.
- Williams, C. (1994). *Arfarniad o Ddulliau Dysgu ac Addysgu yng Nghyd-destun Addysg Uwchradd Ddwyieithog [An Evaluation of Teaching and Learning Methodologies in the Bilingual Secondary Education Context]* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Wales, Bangor.