Language Policy and Planning in Language Education: Legacies, Consequences, and Possibilities

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This article considers the relevance of language policy and planning (LPP) for language education in the United States in relation to the country's longstanding and continuing multilingualism. In reflecting on the U.S. context, one striking feature is the absence of a guiding overarching explicit national educational language policy. Language policies and practices may either promote or restrict the teaching of languages. Thus, whether having such a policy would be desirable for promoting the learning of languages depends on a number of factors such as the features of the policy and the extent to which it was adequately resourced, understood, valued, and implemented effectively, just to mention a few. Explicit language planning and policy making in the United States—when it does occur—tends to be done at the state, local, or institutional levels, or within rather limited domains of federal priorities, such as those related to defense or national security. Beyond formal policies, implicit language practices sometimes have more influence on language behavior. Even when policies are intended to promote languages, they may not always be well conceived, received, resourced, or implemented.

   Given some of these issues, it is useful to consider the role of *agency* in language planning and policy (LPP). Even when guided by national or state *top-down* policy agendas, policies can be interpreted and reinterpreted, by policy intermediaries, agents, administrators, or arbiters (Johnson, 2013). Moreover, within the context of school language policies, at the level of implementation, teachers, parents, and the students themselves help to determine the effectiveness of policies in practice (Menken & García, 2010). Beyond the schools, parents and stakeholders in the community can play significant roles in creating practices that have the force of policy from the bottom up. Given these considerations, this article weighs the role of policy and the legacy of past policies and their consequences; assesses some of the strengths and weaknesses of current policies and practices, both in schools and families and communities; and considers prospects for a more promising future that involves embracing the fundamental multilingualism of U.S. society, communities, and families. In so doing, the article reflects on alternatives to U.S. language education policy that would transcend national conceptions of languages so as to leverage speakers' actual linguistic competence.

Keywords: bilingual/dual education; bilingualism/multilingualism; education policy; language policy; translanguaging

TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS IN LPP: CORPUS, STATUS, AND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION PLANNING AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

   LPP has traditionally been seen in somewhat technocratic terms, wherein experts attempt

to solve communication problems related to language diversity. Bright (1992), for example, defined language planning as "a deliberate, systematic, and theory-based attempt *to solve the communication problems* of a community by studying the various languages or dialects it uses, and developing a policy concerning their selection and use; also sometimes called language engineering or language treatment" that is often conducted at the national level (p. 310, emphasis added). The idea that language diversity itself is a problem, rather than the normal condition of human societies, has often been inherent in traditional goals for language planning. Offering an alternative to the technocratic problem-solving focus, Cooper (1989) characterized language planning as the attempt "to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (p. 45). He added:

> This definition neither restricts the planners to authoritative agencies, nor restricts the type of target group, nor specifies an ideal type of planning. Further it is couched in behavioral rather than problem-solving terms. Finally, it implies *influence* rather than change inasmuch as the former includes the maintenance of preservation of current behavior, a plausible goal of language planning, as well as the change of current behavior. (p. 45; emphasis in the original)

Much earlier, Leibowitz (1969, 1974) had directly argued that language planning has as its overt purpose the goal of social control, including the use of policies for discriminatory purposes. Both the notions of 'social control' and 'influence' suggest that language planning has a political dimension of ideological control (cf. Fairclough, 2013; Tollefson, 1991; Wiley, 1996, 2005). From this perspective, the processes of language planning and policy formation require critical scrutiny as they are not neutral in terms of the social intents and consequences. In other words, some policies themselves can create problems.

Conventional views of language planning have focused on two major aspects of language policy: 'corpus planning' and 'status planning,' each of which focuses on language itself rather than on its speakers. Corpus planning "deals with norm selection and codification, as in the writing of grammars and the standardization of spelling; [whereas] status planning deals with initial choice of language, including attitudes toward alternative languages and the political implications of various choices" (Bright, 1992, p. 311). Historically, corpus planning has involved "activities such

as coining new terms, reforming spelling, and adopting a new script. It refers, in short, to the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, or the selection from alternative forms in a spoken or written code" (Cooper, 1989, p. 31).

Corpus planning also includes orthography planning, which centers on the creation or reform of alphabets, syllabaries, and ideographic writing systems. Historical examples include the reforms of modern Hebrew, Norwegian, and Turkish; the promotion of a common spoken form of Mandarin, Putónghuà, in the People's Republic of China; along with the simplification of Chinese characters and the creation of a Romanized written form, pinyin. Efforts to remove gender bias in languages are also examples of corpus planning. Examples of corpus planning also include spelling reforms, such as those promoted by Noah Webster (1758–1843) in his efforts to promote an 'American' English to be distinctive from British English (see Wiley, 1996, for elaboration). Although orthography planning has been largely a consideration for the planning of national languages, it has had implications for instruction of world languages. One example is the case of teaching Chinese in the United States, where programs have increasingly shifted emphasis from the teaching of traditional characters to simplified, or both.

As noted, status planning is focused on the language itself, rather than on its speakers, but obviously the status of a language has implications for its speakers. Conversely, the status of the speakers may also have implications for the language variety spoken. Status planning is often tied to the formal promotion of one or more languages by national, state, or international governing bodies. In the United States, status planning has also been linked to formal laws or codes designed to diminish or restrict the teaching or uses of various languages during times of war (Wiley, 1996, 1998). Status planning also has implications for which varieties or registers of a language are taught. In essence it involves the 'privileging' of a language variety, typically as a written standard. This selection thereby influences social judgments concerning what is 'proper,' 'correct,' or 'preferred.' When a language is taught with the literature of 'high' culture as its object, prestige varieties become privileged.

Prestige also extends to the labels that ascribe status to languages. In a country such as the United States, where Spanish functions as a community, home, or second language for millions and was introduced in the North American continent long before English, it is ironic that it is most

frequently taught as if it were only a 'foreign' language (García, 2014b; Macías, 2014).

Language 'acquisition planning' is conventionally the third dimension of language planning, which has the most relevance for education, since it typically involves the formulation of policies that guide practice on a large scale, including the determination of which languages will be used as media for instruction (Tollefson, 2013; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004). Thus, acquisition planning has been centrally related to formation of educational language policies, both in historical and contemporary contexts.

THE ROLE OF AGENCY IN LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING

The impetus for overt language planning can be either public or private. As clarified by Jahr (1992), "LP is usually conducted according to a declared program or a defined set of criteria, and with a deliberate goal by *officially appointed* committees or bodies, by *private* organizations, or by *prescriptive linguists working on behalf of official authorities.* Its objective is to establish norms (*primarily written*) which are *validated by high social status*; oral norms connected with these written standards (. . .)" (pp. 12–13, emphasis added).

In some countries there are official, state-sponsored language academies, but in other countries, such as the United States, this is not the case. Weinstein (1979, 1983) makes a distinction between two major types of actors in determining societal language choices: (a) *governmental planning*, which is explicit, official planning, and (b) the influence of key individuals, whom he calls *language strategists*. A third type of actor, however, may also be strongly shaped or influenced by *de facto* planners, or 'arbiters' (Johnson, 2013), as in the case of key individuals in state educational agencies, schools, or universities who help to shape or influence the interpretation, implementation, or resourcing of educational language policies. A fourth type of agency involves 'bottom-up' efforts of stakeholders in the community as well as parents and family members. Bottom-up efforts have been particularly noteworthy among indigenous communities (Hornberger, 1996; McCarty, 2011; Wiley, 2014b).

LANGUAGE POLICY ORIENTATIONS: OVERCOMING THE WEIGHT OF HISTORY

Based on a focus of present and recent linguistic data, it is tempting to see the current multilingual context as somehow new or unprecedented. Over the past three decades, for example, the number and percent of those age 5 and older living in households where a language other than English was spoken, rose from 23.1 million (11% of the U.S. population) to 78.4 million (25.6%; based on comparisons of 1980 U.S. Census data and the American Community Survey 2007–2011, 5-year sample). It is important to note that each external change in global migration flows has often been accompanied by internal debates about the nature and role of diversity in U.S. society, and has brought with it questions about the role of language in education. In response to the diversity of the present, memories of the distant past are often imagined to have been more linguistically homogeneous. Thus, it is often forgotten that language diversity has always been a major feature of the American social landscape, and that there is an antecedent history rich with the languages and cultures of indigenous peoples followed by the intrusion of colonizers and settlers, entangled with imperial rivalries among Spanish, English, French, Portuguese, and Russian colonizers in the Americas. These were followed by clashes among the descendants of former colonizers, settlers, and blended peoples who fashioned for themselves newly minted identities as 'native' citizens or otherwise legitimate occupants. These newly 'native' Americans expanded the boundaries of the original 'nation' through expansionist wars and territorial annexations while populating the workforce and newly incorporated territories with 'foreign' immigrants (Wiley, 2014a). By taking a longer view, policy debates about the role of language in education amidst the multilingualism of the present can be seen as new iterations in ongoing contestation and negotiation of peoples of a heterogeneous society in a diverse world, shaped by forces of globalization and struggles related to power, status, access to resources, and identity.

Language policies can be differentiated in terms of their degree of formality or explicitness. Thus, it is useful to distinguish between explicit or official policies and those that are implicit or even tacit. They may also be distinguished in terms of their goals or orientations ranging from (a) promotion-oriented policies, (b) expediency-oriented accommodations, (c) tolerance-oriented policies, (d) restriction-oriented policies, (e) repression-oriented policies, (f) polices aimed at *erasing* the visibility and even historical memory of various languages, and (g) null policies, which refer to the significant absences of policies (see Wiley, 2004, for elaboration).

United States history generally reflects the full range of these policy orientations.

Within the U.S. context, constitutional factors have worked to moderate what might have been a stronger federal role in the formation of educational and language polices. Throughout U.S. history, there has been a tension between so-called *states' rights* and those of the U.S. federal government (McDonald, 2000). In the U.S. federal system, some authority or powers are clearly identified in the Constitution as being in the purview of the federal government, whereas others not specified are 'reserved' to the states. Matters relating to educational polices tend to fall under reticent powers, unless they conflict with federal laws or constitutional protections. Constitutionally, federal authority trumps state authority, which has been demonstrated in cases involving educational access and the requirement for linguistic accommodation (see the following discussion on *Lau v. Nichols*). More recently, however, the U.S. Supreme Court has deferred to the authority of states in determining the specific nature of educational language policy accommodations for language minority students (see Moore, 2014).

Again, among the most salient points to take away from reflecting on U.S. history is that the country has always been linguistically diverse. From colonial times through the 19th century, for example, there was general tolerance toward most European languages. Enslaved Africans, however, were not allowed to speak or transmit their native languages even as they were restricted from becoming literate in English. Colonial era 'compulsory ignorance laws' were incorporated into slave codes that were maintained in southern states until the end of the Civil War (1861–1865). Native language literacy was promoted in some Native American tribes until repressive policies were put in place along with the English-only boarding school movement that was instituted in the 1880s (Weinberg, 1995).

Instruction in some immigrant languages, particularly in German, was established early on from the late 17th century. German–English bilingual education was widely practiced in many areas of the country until the World War I era, when a wave of wartime xenophobia swept the country, resulting in widespread restrictions against the teaching of foreign languages (Blanton, 2004; Toth, 1990; Wiley, 1998). By 1919, some 34 states had passed restrictions on the teaching of 'foreign' languages such as German, despite the widespread presence of German and other immigrant languages in the general population. The Americanization Move-

ment (roughly 1914–1925) and its concomitant emphasis on English Only gained momentum both in response to large increases in linguistically diverse immigrant populations following the U.S. Civil War up to World War I, and then in response to the alleged threat of enemies during World War I. In spite of the influence of the Americanization Movement, local, community-based, and some parental efforts persisted in attempting to transmit immigrant and heritage languages after World War I (Tamura, 1993; Wiley, 1998, 2004, 2014a).

The legal tensions between those attempting to restrict instruction in foreign language education came to a head in a landmark U.S. Supreme Court ruling, *Meyer v. Nebraska*, 262 U.S. 390 (1923). Based on the argument that a 1919 Nebraska law restricting foreign language instruction in public schools violated the due process rights of parents guaranteed by the 14th Amendment, in a 7–2 decision, the Supreme Court ruled against Nebraska's restrictive policy. Several years later, in *Farrington v. Tokushige,* 273 U.S. 284 (1927), the Supreme Court unanimously ruled in favor of the rights of parents in what was then known as the Territory of Hawai'i to instruct their children in foreign languages through private means. These two cases are significant in providing a legal basis for the rights of parents to have their students learn foreign or heritage languages. They fall basically within the domain of tolerance-oriented policies but do not commit the state to promote these languages (Wiley, 1998). Despite the protections denoted by *Meyer* and *Farrington*, the ideology of English Only education as a principal tool of Americanization has had considerable influence on shaping school language policies, both in terms of the use of immigrant languages in schools and the emphases placed on foreign language education. Instruction in German as the most commonly taught foreign language in U.S. secondary schools plummeted following World War I, never returning to its former status.

A half century later, the U.S. Supreme Court passed another landmark case, *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 (1974). *Lau* is sometimes presumed to have sanctioned the use of bilingual education, but it merely established the right of non-English-speaking children to receive accommodations in learning English given its role as the medium of instruction. *Lau* did not prescribe bilingual education or a method of accommodation (Arias & Wiley, 2013). Nevertheless, from the 1970s into the 1990s, a majority of states implemented some form of bilingual education

programs for immigrant language minority students. Although these programs were primarily designed to accommodate the transition of speakers of languages other than English to English, many language educators saw the potential of these programs to promote bilingualism and biliteracy by tapping into the increasing pool of immigrants who spoke languages other than English as a potential resource to promote and extend language education in the United States.

Efforts to implement and expand bilingual programs, however, were met with resistance through a growing English Only movement that attempted to restrict bilingual education while promoting English as the official language. Although attempts to have English declared as the official language failed at the federal level, a majority of states passed statutes declaring English as the official language, and three states—California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, in that order—passed voter approved initiatives restricting bilingual education between 1998 and 2002. Federally sponsored Title VII programs were allowed to sunset in 2002, and the former Office of Bilingual Education and Language Minority Affairs was renamed the Office of English Language Acquisition (OELA). Since the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act in 2001, emphasis has been largely on English acquisition, although bilingual education is still permitted (Wiley & Wright, 2004). Based on estimates, approximately 11% of the total K–12 student population were from homes where a language other than English was spoken in 2010, which represented an increase of about 150% during the previous 20 years (Pandya et al., 2011). Thus, federal oversight of educational language policies has been becoming less responsive to the changing demographics of the nation's children.

Similarly, over the past half century, educational emphasis on foreign language education has largely been in decline, with the percentage of those enrolling in foreign language instruction in secondary schools and colleges declining. The only notable exceptions to declining federal support for language education were the passage of the Critical Languages Act in 2006 and support through the Department of Defense for the Flagship and STARTALK programs. Meanwhile, the U.S. Department of Education reduced funding for the Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP) by $650 million in December of 2010. Based on a comparison of educational policies in 24 countries, the United States ranked last in the age at which students enrolled in foreign language instruction and last in requirements

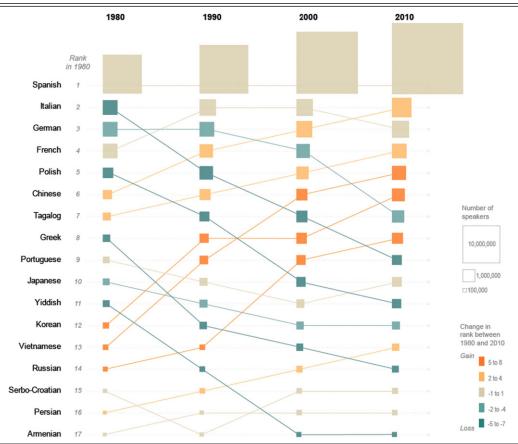for the study of foreign languages (Wang et al., 2010).

LANGUAGE DEMOGRAPHICS AND MIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The relative position or rank of languages other than English tends to follow global migration flows. However, these have been strongly influenced by immigration policies. Late 19th-century U.S. immigration policies, for example, restricted immigration from Asia, first with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Subsequent restrictions following World War I used a national origins formula that also excluded immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. Gradually, racially and ethnically based exclusionary policies were relaxed and, ultimately, substantially changed following the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Figure 1 shows the relative changes in the languages other than English spoken in the United States between 1980 and 2010. European languages such as Italian, German, French, and Polish declined sharply, whereas Spanish grew dramatically. More recently, significant increases have also been noted for Chinese and a number of Asian languages.

As noted, the large number of potential bilingual learners, that is, students living in homes where a language other than English is spoken, constitutes a potential pool of learners that could expand the linguistic capabilities within the general population. Among 5- to 18-year-olds, who live in homes where languages other than English are spoken, approximately 20% of the school-age children live in homes where Spanish is spoken (Fee, Rhodes, & Wiley, 2014).

The demographics of children living in homes where languages other than English are spoken point to a missed opportunity to promote multilingualism along with the dominant language. Table 1 presents a comparison of enrollments from selected states with the American Community Survey (ACS) data focusing on the number of school-age children living in homes where languages other than English are spoken and compares actual enrollment data based on the ACTFL enrollment data for selected states. The four states of California, Florida, New York, and Texas all have large numbers of speakers of languages other than English. Enrollment data do not disaggregate 'foreign' language learners from 'heritage' language learners. Nevertheless, the discrepancies between enrollment data in most cases indicate the dramatic mismatch between actual enrollments in specific languages versus

FIGURE 1

Top Languages Other than English Spoken in 1980 and Changes in Relative Rank, 1990–2010

February 14, 2013

In 1980, the five most commonly spoken languages other than English were Spanish, Italian, German, French, and Polish. By 2010, Spanish was still the most widely spoken language after English but it was followed by Chinese, French, Tagalog, and Vietnamese. More information about language spoken at home can be found at http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/language/.

Source: Decennial censuses 1980–2000 and 2010 ACS 1-year estimates

the potential pool of bilingual heritage learners. Again, because the actual enrollments of students include many 'foreign' language learners the discrepancy between the pool of potential bilingual students and those enrolled is actually much greater.

LANGUAGE POLICY IN U.S. SCHOOLS

As noted, educational institutions in the United States have historically played a significant role in both shaping and implementing language policy. Especially since the advent of public schools, educational institutions have functioned mainly to promote the development of 'standard' English among the masses and the acquisition of

English among immigrants. Despite this emphasis on 'standard' English, U.S. schools have also played a role in attempting to advance the bilingualism of the country's citizens. They have done so by establishing programs to teach foreign languages, as well as programs that use languages other than English as the medium of instruction, that is, bilingual education programs. We next describe these two types of programs.

Foreign Language/World Language Programs

These programs teach a language other than English as a subject. In an effort to make the learning of languages other than English a national local interest, rather than one for international

TABLE 1
Language Most Commonly Spoken in the Home, 5- to 18-Year-Olds Compared to Foreign Language
Enrollment Data by Selected States

State	New York		Florida		Texas		California	
	5- to 18-year olds*	ACTFL**	5- to 18-year- olds*	ACTFL**	5- to 18-year- olds*	ACTFL**	5- to 18-year- olds*	ACTFL**
German	9,876	10,483	5,736	7,897	10,350	21,037	11,061	16,202
French	43,609	116,236	85,404	60,613	9,019	79,163	19,107	120,960
Spanish	539,183	559,432	624,730	336,522	1,551,262	746,943	2,523,511	617,871
Russian	30,095	2,790	5,171	74	2,562	563	23,638	943
Chinese	69,206	6,919	7,323	1,604	18,672	1,449	134,431	12,710
Japanese	3,618	1,824	1,568	999	3,068	2,169	17,382	14,748

Note. *5- to 18-year-olds in homes where language is spoken, 2005–2009; **ACTFL enrollment data 2007–2008. Information based on American Community Survey data using the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (Ruggies et al., 2010, and ACTFL Student Enrollment Data, 2007–2008; ACTFL 2010; cited in Fee, Rhodes, & Wiley, 2014, p. 17).

contexts, many foreign language programs have adopted the term 'world language.' They are today a part of the established secondary school curriculum, with 91% of all high schools offering study of a language other than English (Rhodes & Pufahl, 2011). These programs are also offered for academic credit in tertiary institutions, and it is possible to major in a language other than English and its literature. Approximately 25% of elementary schools offer study of a language other than English, although the majority of these focus on just exploring these languages (Rhodes & Pufahl, 2011).

Traditional foreign language programs in the United States have a long academic tradition. Spanish, for example, started to be taught at Harvard University in 1816, but only to read, translate, and develop linguistic reasoning in English. It was that tradition, an approach known as the grammar–translation method (see Richards & Rodgers, 1986), that was then passed on to the secondary level, as the teaching of German, the language of the enemy during World War I, was substituted by the teaching of Spanish (for more on the history of Spanish language teaching in the United States, see García, 1993).

U.S. schools have failed, for the most part, to produce bilingual students. One reason for the failure has to do with the delayed start that Americans get in language learning, as compared to most other countries. Another reason for the failure is that little study is required. Most high school students in the United States study languages other than English for less than 2 years.

Bilingual Education Programs

In most U.S. schools today, bilingual education programs function completely separately from foreign/world language education. Whereas foreign/world language programs usually teach the language other than English as a subject, bilingual education programs use the language other than English as medium of instruction. Whereas traditional foreign language education programs operate mostly in secondary schools, bilingual education programs are more frequently implemented in elementary schools. Finally, whereas foreign language programs target students who speak English only, most bilingual education programs are directed toward students who are developing English.

Most bilingual education programs in the United States today fall into two general categories:

1. *Transitional bilingual education programs (TBE),* in which students who are acquiring English are taught some content through their home language and other subjects in English, in addition to Language Arts, but only temporarily until students are deemed fluent in English.
2. *Dual language bilingual education programs (DLBE),* in which students are taught some content through one language and other subjects in an additional language, in addition to Language Arts in both languages, with an explicit goal of developing their bilingualism and biliteracy. There are two types of dual language bilingual programs in the United States today: (a) a *two-way immersion program,* which includes students who are acquiring English as well as students who are acquiring the language other than English; and (b) a *one-way program,* also known as developmental

maintenance bilingual education program, which includes students in whose homes the language other than English is used and who are taught through the two languages.

As No Child Left Behind silenced the term 'bilingualism' to focus on English language acquisition (Wiley & Wright, 2004), bilingual education programs in the United States that aimed to promote bilingualism and biliteracy were mostly relabeled as 'dual language' by federal and state educational authorities (notice how previously we referred to this enterprise as dual language *bilingual education—DLBE—*to remind readers that they are indeed bilingual programs). Many educators and scholars supported the naming change to dual language since they argued that it recast bilingualism in a positive light, as an enrichment activity for all American children, and not simply as a transitional program for language minority children. Many English-speaking parents defended two-way dual language programs as the only way to develop their children's bilingualism in elementary schools. And many bilingual educators and scholars also supported the naming change, noting that this was the only way to save a space for bilingualism in education, in the light of the negative attitudes toward bilingual education in the country, and restrictive policies especially in states like California, Massachusetts, and Arizona. Early on there were critics (see especially Valdés, 1997) who warned that the needs of language minoritized bilingual children were not being met in programs where attention was focused on developing the bilingualism of language majority children.

Dual language bilingual programs in the United States have grown, but they certainly have not reached their potential to educate bilingually either language majority or language minoritized children. Their growth has been slow, and they often have little support. Two-way programs have been increasingly difficult to manage, as U.S. diversity increases and it is difficult to balance the number of children who are labeled as 'English language learners' with those who are not. Because of the nation's increased multilingualism, many dual language programs have become one-way in the sense that they serve mostly one language group, with children who are at different points of the bilingual continuum. Increasingly there has been criticism of the fact that these programs separate national languages strictly, working against the bilingual competence that they intend to promote (see, García, 2009; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Palmer et al., 2014).

Dual language bilingual programs have yet to fulfill the promise of bilingualism for all American children that they hold. On the one hand, English-speaking children are held to minimum standards in the other language. On the other hand, English language learners and other bilingual students are held to unrealistic standards to perform in English almost instantaneously, whereas little is expected of them in the language other than English. Furthermore, these programs tend to ignore the multilingual potential of their students who often speak languages other than the two used in instruction and whose multilingual competence transcends the strict adherence to the boundaries of two separate and autonomous national languages.

FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY

The role of families to intergenerationally transmit home languages, or to exert efforts, financial and otherwise, to enable their children to become bilingual has often been directly linked to the governmental top-down policies with regard to bilingualism, especially as carried out in schools. That is, historically multilingual American families have often been reluctant to speak their home languages to their children precisely because monolingual U.S. schools have tabooed the use of those languages and have insisted that all learning and assessment take place in English only. Additionally, monolingual American families have often been unwilling to demand that their children be taught additional languages in school, because bilingualism is still seen in many instances with suspicion. However, the role of U.S. families in the enactment of language policy, both in schools and in the heart of the family, is beginning to evolve, a response to the greater mobility and economic globalization of late modernity, which we will explore in a later section.

LANGUAGE POLICY IN EDUCATION TODAY: RESPONSES TO TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY AND ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

Language policy in education in the United States has been impacted by the increased transnational mobility and economic neoliberalization that characterizes late modernity. The increased interconnectedness of the world's peoples, and the loss of the state's monopoly in a postindustrial services-based market, is starting to impact both the perceptions about language diversity as well as the realities of language education. Types or 'models' of language

education have become destabilized as notions of 'standard' language, and stable group identities are disrupted by the processes of transformation of late modernity. Our notions of foreign language/world language education and bilingual education are being called into question (Wiley, 2014a).

Foreign/world language education programs are being questioned because they often do not consider the multilingual global context in which they operate (Cole & Meadows, 2013b; Dixon et al., 2012; Holliday, 2011; Pomerantz & Schwartz, 2011; Swaffar, 2006). Two important reasons for the criticism are: (a) There is nothing 'foreign' about most of the languages that are taught in these programs, (b) there is also nothing 'foreign' about many of the students who take these courses. As we saw in Table 1, Spanish is the language most often taught in foreign language programs, followed by French, German, Japanese, and Chinese. Rather than being 'foreign,' these languages are widely spoken today in many U.S. communities, in the case of Spanish by a fifth of the U.S. population and from the time of settlement (García, 2014b; Macías, 2014). That fact is transforming foreign language instruction, since bilingual students who are considered speakers of these heritage or community languages are present in almost every foreign language classroom, thereby challenging the foreign language/world language education field to adapt its teaching to the increased visibility of U.S. multilingualism and that of its students.

Likewise, many bilingual education programs are being contested for two reasons arising from our increased understandings of multilingualism in globalized contexts: (a) Students in bilingual education are not just learning an additional language as a 'second' language or maintaining a 'first' language, in strictly additive fashion, and (b) bilingual education students are not simply immigrants, but are Americans of all types and with different degrees of bilingual proficiency (Fitts, 2006, 2009; García, 2009, 2014; Gort & Sembiante, 2015; Palmer et al., 2014).

When the Bilingual Education Act was passed, bilingual education was seen as a program for 'non-English speakers,' in which English was taught as a 'second' language, while the students' 'first' language was often seen as a hindrance from which students had to 'transition.' But in today's global world, establishing the first or second language of bilinguals depends on the definition that one chooses to accept: Does it refer to the order of acquisition? What if both languages are acquired simultaneously, a common occurrence

in our globalized world? Does 'first' and 'second' or 'third' have to do with the language one uses most, or, perhaps, the language in which one feels more confident conducting different tasks? Or is it the language one identifies with or with which others identify the speaker (see Skutnabb–Kangas, 1984/2007, for this discussion)? Clearly the concept of what is a first language and what is a second or additional language in a multilingual world is becoming contested and cannot be simply applied in a bilingual education program. The concept of 'language maintenance,' an established concept in the sociolinguistic literature of the 20th century (see Fishman, 1966) has also been disrupted by poststructuralist sociolinguistic approaches that view maintenance as based on an autonomous static language connected to traditional aspects of 'purity,' standardization, and nation-building (Abdallah–Pretceille, 2004; Blommaert, 2010; Dervin & Liddicoat, 2013; Heller, 1999; Kramsch, 2006; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006). This, of course, has little to do with the ways in which people 'sustain' language practices in multilingual contexts, always in functional interactions with others (see García, 2011, for the concept of language sustainability).

U.S. bilingual education in the 20th century was conceptualized for immigrant students who started school speaking a language other than English (Crawford, 2004). U.S. foreign language education was also thought of as being for native-born American students who wanted to learn a language other than English (Wiley, 1996). But today's technology-mediated world has brought us face to face with the complex multilingual communication of people (Agha, 2011), and thus the traditional models of foreign/world language education and bilingual education need to adapt to the greater multilingualism of students they serve. Before we turn to discussing what this means for language teaching, it is important to acknowledge some positive trends in our national language education policy on behalf of bilingualism.

SOME POSITIVE POLICIES IN PROMOTING BILINGUALISM AND BILITERACY

Despite several decades of campaigns attacking bilingual education and multiculturalism in education, there have been some promising efforts to increase the learning of languages and promote multilingual outcomes at both the state and school levels. A number of states have now endorsed 'Seals of Biliteracy.' At the time of this writing these include California, Hawai'i, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, New Mexico,

New York, Texas, and Washington; meanwhile another dozen states are implementing or considering these endorsements. The Seal of Biliteracy is generally awarded at the time of graduation from secondary schools to acknowledge a student's mastery of two or more languages. Within the context of educational language policies, these seals largely symbolize a certain status and raise employers' and college recruiters' awareness of students' language skills. They are bestowed on those who demonstrate a mastery of English and an additional language. As of yet, there is no common rubric or assessment instrument that is used. Thus, many school districts have developed their own procedures, although a Linguafolio methodology has been developed and recommended by the National Council of State Supervisors for Languages (Californians Together, 2015).

Other promising efforts occur within the consortia of International Baccalaureate (IB) schools. There are over 3,700 IB schools internationally. Since the first IB program opened in the United States in 1977, it has seen tremendous growth: In 2015 there were 444 primary IB programs, 544 in middle schools, 830 in secondary schools, and 63 in Career Related Programs (www.ibo.org/en/country/US). IB endorsed schools can be either public or private. Either way, participating schools must promote the IB's mission, which is to develop inquiring, knowledgeable, and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect (IBO, 2015). To attempt to fulfill this mission, the IB requires that every IB school develop and implement its own school-wide language policy and otherwise follow the International Baccalaureate Organization's criteria. There is considerable flexibility in the selection and implementation of these policies but schools are required to offer study in two or more languages, which may include a national or regional language in addition to one or more world, foreign, or heritage languages. A recent assessment of selected schools by the Center for Applied Linguistics (Fee, Liu, et al., 2014) found most schools adhering to the policy, while there was generally room for improvement, which can be facilitated through greater teacher involvement and, in some cases, increased professional development. All of the programs' assessments were strong in promoting additional language study; however, the ability to more fully incorporate languages spoken among the families of students enrolled varied. Thus, one of the major challenges, even among those who value language teaching, is responsiveness to languages actually used and spoken in families and communities from which the schools' student populations are drawn.

RETHINKING LANGUAGE POLICY IN U.S. SCHOOLS

Language scholars now accept the fact that bilinguals are not simply two monolinguals in one (Grosjean, 1982). Even so, much language teaching in the United States today continues to teach the language other than English in isolation from English and expects students to perform in English and the other language as though they were monolingual. When students fail to perform to those expectations, we consider our language teaching enterprise a failure instead of imagining better ways of promoting the nation's bilingualism in schools.

In our globalized and technology-mediated world, simple additive bilingual policies where two languages never meet or come into contact may not succeed. The strict traditional separation of languages in teaching does not reflect the interactive multilingual spaces in which speakers communicate today. Bilingualism is dynamic (García, 2009), with bilingual speakers accommodating to the ridges and craters of communication with other speakers as they leverage their full linguistic competence. Yet, in viewing school language policies with a monoglossic lens that only recognizes national languages as autonomous and separate, we miss much of what will support a true multilingual policy for the future, a policy able to incorporate the linguistic competence of multilingual speakers and the ways in which these speakers use their full language repertoire to transcend named language boundaries.

Some educators and scholars have taken up the term *translanguaging*, first coined to refer to bilingual pedagogies in Wales, to refer to the heteroglossic language practices of bilinguals and the ways in which these language practices can be leveraged in education (see Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011; García, 2009; García & Li Wei, 2014; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012; Li Wei, 2011). Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015) define translanguaging as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (n.p.).

The use of translanguaging theory by different scholars points to what we might call a weak and a strong version. The weak version supports

national and state language boundaries and yet calls for softening these boundaries, supporting flexible instructional strategies in teaching additional languages (see, for example, Cummins, 2007, for bilingual education; Turnbull & Dailey–O'Cain, 2009, for second and foreign language education). The strong version argues that speakers do not speak named languages, but rather use their individual sets of lexical and structural features, their language repertoire. That is, a strong translanguaging theory proposes that all speakers have a translanguaging competence, a mental grammar that has been shaped in social interaction and that consists of linguistic features that are at times appropriate and at other times not. For bilinguals these features are associated with what has been constructed, a priori, as two national languages. At the same time, all translanguaging theories accept that national languages have real and material consequences, and are important.

So, what does a translanguaging theory have to say to language education policy? We already noted that many language education scholars have been critical of what Cole and Meadows (2013a) have called nationalist essentialism, the protection of national languages from contamination from other languages. A translanguaging theory puts multilingualism at the center of language education policy, leveraging the translanguaging competence that all speakers have and, at the same time, building the consciousness among speakers of which features are important to select and suppress when and where. To develop language education policies that would truly support multilingual U.S. citizens, we would have to remember that new features associated with the named language will only be appropriated by students as part of their own linguistic repertoire, and not simply as another national language external to them. A translanguaging education policy would, of course, provide students with opportunities to select the appropriate features of their repertoire to meet the communicative exigencies of the social situation at hand, but it would also provide students with opportunities to use their entire language repertoire, without regard to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages and the ideologies of language purity that accompany them.

Given the multilingual nature of U.S. society, an appropriate language education policy would combine both the weak and strong version of translanguaging theory. On the one hand, educators need to continue to allocate separate spaces for the named languages while softening the boundaries between them. On the other hand,

educators must provide an instructional space where translanguaging is nurtured and used critically and creatively, without speakers having to select and suppress different linguistic features of their own repertoire.

Translanguaging provides input for language education policy formation from the bottom up. That is, language policy in formal education has traditionally served the interest of nation-states, including the United States. Language education programs have been made to fit established patterns and pedagogical traditions, sometimes to curb bilingualism, at other times to promote it. Taking up a translanguaging policy in education means meeting speakers where they are, with bilingualism at the core of language practices, and of learning, teaching, and assessing.

Adopting a translanguaging lens when discussing language policy in education means three things: (a) abandoning a definition of language as simply what speakers of the same cultural or national affiliation have, and instead seeing language as a speaker's ability to freely deploy all his or her linguistic resources, both lexical and grammatical, without trying to adhere to socially and politically defined language boundaries, (b) giving up on teaching an additional language as a linear process that students eventually acquire and, instead, adopting a position that language is to be 'done,' performed in particular situations, and thus, always emerging, and (c) relinquishing the idea of only using the target language in instruction in favor of leveraging the entire student linguistic repertoire so as to develop new linguistic features in interrelationship with old ones.

For the language education field, a translanguaging policy would encourage students' use of all their language resources in learning new ones, rather than banishing their home language practices from the classroom. It would also mean empowering learners to help themselves and self-regulate their learning and language production as they add on features to their language repertoire, engage in meaning-making, and become better linguists and more curious about the language. It would allow learners to use their entire linguistic repertoire to express complex thoughts, to explain things, to persuade, to argue, to give directions, to recount events, to tell jokes, etc., rather than silencing students until they develop the capacity to do so only in the new language. A translanguaging policy, applied to teaching and learning languages, would mean making students more conscious of their entire language repertoire and how to use it,

at the same time that they develop awareness of which features are to be used when, where, and with what speakers and tasks. A translanguaging policy would go a long way in bringing down the barriers between foreign language education and bilingual education because it gives equal footing to all language practices and considers their complex interrelationship, as it develops the metalinguistic and metacognitive ability of speakers to use features of their repertoire selectively.

A translanguaging policy would especially leverage the practices of bilingual families and communities in order to meet the legislated language requirements of nation-states and their official school system. Whether those practices are being taken up in family and community language policy is the subject of the next section.

RETHINKING LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY IN THE FAMILY AND COMMUNITY

The research of Ronjat (1913) and Leopold (1939) introduced the one person–one language principle in raising bilingual children. However, in the 21st century this principle has been increasingly questioned, since most bilingual development takes place in families that flexibly use their languages (see, for example, Zentella's 1997 study of Puerto Rican girls growing up in East Harlem) and in new sorts of family configurations. Bilingual families in a globalized world simply translanguage.

We only have to step into a bilingual home to understand the complexity and richness of bilingual practices, with siblings, parents, extended family, acquaintances, all speaking in different ways. Bilingual families and individuals within such families can simultaneously use different language practices when they watch television; listen to the radio; read lists, labels, books, and newspapers; write to different interlocutors; use Face-Time and make entries in Facebook; and send text messages. The young child, the older child, the parents, the relatives, and the friends speak not only in different ways, but also using different language resources. Immigrant children show much language dexterity as translators for their parents (Orellana et al., 2003). In living a bilingual existence, bilingual families receive what Varenne (2007) calls a human education and establish for themselves a more flexible bilingual policy, a translanguaging policy that is not taken up in official schools.

Many bilingual families and communities organize their own educational spaces, referred to by Fishman (1980) as 'ethnic community–mother tongue schools,' and recently by García, Zakharia, and Otcu (2013) as *bilingual community education*. The naming change points to the increase in bilingual translanguaging practices in these schools, something that also has been recently attested in the studies of complementary schools in the United Kingdom by Blackledge and Creese (2010) and Creese and Blackledge (2010). In fostering their children's bilingual development, these bilingual community education efforts do not limit the educational experience to the language other than English. In fact, they are considered bilingual education programs because the children are immersed in performing language in music, theatre, arts, martial arts, religion, and activities such as hair braiding. That is, children are precisely performing these language/cultural practices in situated action, rather than just learning the language, and always in the context of their transnational and transcultural lives (see also Wiley et al., 2014).

Bilingual families and communities are not the only ones interested in promoting policies of bilingualism for their own children. Increasingly in our globalized world many Americans perceive the need for bilingualism in the absence of a national policy that supports the learning of languages other than English. In fact, this is precisely what has caused the greater flexibility in language use and the taking up of translanguaging in many bilingual community education efforts. These classrooms are now filled with children (and adults) who do not have any ethnic affiliation and yet are very interested in learning languages other than English. In the absence of national strong language education policy, and with the availability of new technologies, Americans are creating their own context for bilingualism.

Increasingly today, language education is in the hands of people. Audiotapes and electronic products to learn languages other than English, some produced by private companies, others by government units, and the thousands of websites and apps to learn an additional language, give evidence of this fact. In addition, translation engines such as Google Translate make it possible for people across the globe to communicate, now across 90 different languages. The ability to download multimedia files through podcasting is also enabling many to share their own languages, and others to acquire them on their own, without the help of schools or intermediaries. These technology-enabled language contexts are also important for bilingual speakers, who now can

read, write, and speak to others across geographical communities, and thus nurture their own language practices, and even acquire literacy in their heritage/community language.

What makes this family/community language policy interesting for the U.S. context is that in leaving it up to the speaker, it opens up spaces for greater flexibility in language practices and the leveraging of translanguaging. As individuals work with the new or heritage language, they leverage interpersonal as well as intrapersonal spaces, where they use their entire language repertoire to make sense of spoken and written texts. Individuals do not hold the language features that they have in abeyance; rather, they use them actively as they integrate them into their repertoire. More research on the ways in which families and communities are extending their language repertoire, both at home and in their own schools, is urgently needed.

CONCLUSION

The question of whether the United States needs a language policy and what the direction of that policy might be has been the source of speculation and controversy. Pragmatic arguments have long been made based on national economic, diplomatic, security, and economic needs (e.g., Simon, 1988). In a more recent analysis of this question, Spolsky (2011) suggested a set of guiding principles that could be used for the basis of a forward-looking federal policy. These would need to ensure (a) the absence of linguistic discrimination and the existence of both protective rights and rights to guarantee access to education (cf. Wiley, 2007), (b) adequate programs for the teaching of the dominant language to all, given its role in ensuring access to other societal benefits, (c) "the development of respect both for multilingual capacity, the cognitive advantages of which have been shown …, and for diverse individual languages" (Spolsky, 2011, p. 5), including heritage and community languages, and (d) the building of a multi-branched language capacity program. Such a program

> strengthens and integrates a variety of language education programs, connects heritage programs with advanced training programs, builds on heritage and immersion and overseas experience approaches to constantly replenish a cadre of efficient multilingual citizens capable of professional work using their multilingual skills, and provides rich and satisfying language instruction that leads to a multilingual population with knowledge and respect for other languages and cultures. (Spolsky, 2011, p. 5)

Spolsky's principles demonstrate that it is possible to conceive of what a progressive national policy might include. As noted, however, the factors that work against a federal policy are deeply rooted in an ideology of English-only monolingualism, as well as in the political and legal responsibility that individual states have constitutionally for the promotion of education broadly, including language education.

Yet another reason for the lack of a strong language education policy in the United States has to do with the monoglossic ideologies of bilingualism that surround much work in language education today. This article has proposed a way in which language education might benefit from the heteroglossic language practices of its multilingual population and their translanguaging competence to reshape U.S. national language education policies and, especially, the ways in which educators carry them out in schools and families do so at home.

Meanwhile, federal policy to promote multilingualism in the United States continues to be weak, despite the fact that multilingualism and multilingual encounters are very much part of our lives today. Beyond this, efforts to strengthen U.S. language education policy cannot rely on schools alone, since their understandings of what is language continue to be limited to the functions and characteristics of national language as used in schools. Instead, it must foreground the experience of bilingual families and communities, their translanguaging, and the ways in which they leverage those practices when learning among themselves, or learning on their own. A strong language education policy in the United States that would support bilingualism as a resource must start by acknowledging the language practices of U.S. bilingual communities, and not simply rely on the constructed understandings of national languages that have informed much language education policy in the past.

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