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# Language Education Policies in Multilingual Settings

**Exploring Rhetoric and Realities in Situ** 



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Laura Gurney • Lakshman Wedikkarage Editors

# Language Education Policies in Multilingual Settings

Exploring Rhetoric and Realities in Situ



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## Multilingual Education: Rhetoric and Realities



1

Laura Gurney and Lakshman Wedikkarage

Abstract Multilingual education is an umbrella term encompassing a vast array of curricula, practices, contexts, cultures, and linguistic practices. When researching multilingual education, it is necessary to both acknowledge this complexity, and to establish the parameters and characteristics of the particular situations we are investigating. This chapter explores some of the rhetoric and realities at play in shaping multilingual education. Multilingualism and multilingual education are framed through the multilingual turn, and the nexus of policy, beliefs and practices is highlighted. Fundamentally, the need to avoid universalising approaches to multilingual education is argued. The chapter frames the volume, which showcases a tapestry of complex, overlapping and dynamic ideas and practices concerning how we teach and learn (through) languages.

**Keywords** Multilingualism · Language education · Language policy · Translanguaging · Multilingual turn

### 1 On Multilingualism

Any research which explores multilingual education needs to grapple with the central notion of *multilingualism*. Despite often being taken for granted by governments and ministries of education which set policies and targets for language use and learning, contemporary notions of multilingualism stem from a long history of

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framing language – and identifying languages – in particular ways. At the outset of this volume, in which our aim is to explore both the rhetoric and *in situ* realities of multilingual education policies, an unpacking of multilingualism is a useful first step.

The use of multiple languages for the purposes of travel, trade, administration, education and more has an extensive history in many parts of the world. Ancient written records from Sumeria, Egypt and Rome suggest a long history of multilingual literacy (Franceschini, 2013), and multilingual practices which were not documented in writing were undoubtedly extensive. However, the ways in which we understand multilingualism, including how we make use of languages together and apart, have shifted over time and contexts (see for instance Del Valle, 2000; Poor, 2018; Rumsey, 2018).

While interest in multilingualism is certainly not new, the field of applied linguistics has undergone a 'a paradigm shift' (Canagarajah, 2017, p. 1) with regards to how multilingualism is understood, heralded by the so-called multilingual turn. One of the main drivers of the multilingual turn has been the move beyond a preoccupation with monolingual language use, and, with it, goals such as attaining 'native-like' proficiency as the primary marker of success in language education. Language learning is instead conceptualised as *adding* new skills to an existing base which learners have developed – otherwise known as their linguistic repertoire (Blommaert & Backus, 2013) – through their ongoing experience and learning. The turn away from monolingualism involves reconsideration of what language and communication are, how they are best learnt, and how languages might come together.

### 2 Conceptualising Language

Positioning language learners as multilingual communicators encourages educators to shift away from a deficit approach defined primarily by learners' perceived distance from the target language. Rather than arriving in the classroom as blank slates who lack target language proficiency, learners are repositioned as dynamic communicators who have existing skills and experiences which can be harnessed and extended with new linguistic and semiotic competencies. Even notions such as cross-linguistic transfer, while still attracting interest, are being revisited insofar as they manifest within multilingual spaces (Mkhize, 2023). The ability to make meaning across multiple languages, to varying degrees of proficiency, is also positioned as a skill which carries social and cognitive benefits (Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013; Hult, 2005).

Changing attitudes around language learning are connected to shifting understandings of what it means to communicate and use 'language'. Within applied linguistics research and practice, there has been a move to engage with language and communication beyond discrete language codes. This is exemplified by Makoni and Pennycook's (2006) highly influential work, *Disinventing and reconstituting* 

languages, which provocatively begins with "the premise that languages, conceptions of languageness and the metalanguages used to describe them are inventions" (p. 1, emphasis in original). The authors argue that languages, as commonly discussed, are constructed through social and political processes, including those associated with national identity-building and colonial expansion. This does not mean that languages do not exist per se; rather, they are cultural constructs instead of phenomena which reveal something universal about human linguistic practice.

A body of work has arisen to theorise and empirically explore the constructedness of languages, and to better understand how linguistic practices fit within the territories of particular language codes. Some researchers, for instance Gramling (2016), Demuro and Gurney (2018) and Canagarajah and Liyanage (2012), have looked into specific contexts to trace the patterns of language practice around the creation, delineation and interaction of languages. Demuro and Gurney (2018), for example, examine how Spanish (el castellano) was formalised during a point in history when Spain was consolidated as a state and began colonial expeditions into the 'New World'. Following the independence of Latin American nation states centuries later, Spanish was used for strategic unification and the elevation of a particular national identity: "Faced with demographic and cultural heterogeneity at the national and regional levels-the new nations comprised diverse ethnic and linguistic groups, cultures and histories-Spanish served a nation-building role" (p. 292). Overall, this is an apt example of language and culture as co-constitutive: "Language itself is the result of cultural, social and historical constructions and in turn shapes and impacts the cultural domain" (p. 289). This has become, according to Gal (2006) an unmarked and 'common sense' view of what language is and how it operates. As Gal (2006) writes,

It is a common sense view widely held by European elites that languages are organised systems with centrally defined norms, each language ideally expressing the spirit of a nation and the territory it occupies. Monolingualism is seen as natural, with languages separated by limits on mutual intelligibility. (p. 163)

Similarly, Love (2009) argues that, when we discuss languages (as bounded and enumerable entities), we are dealing with a particular linguistic culture characterised by "a prescriptivist discourse about language conducted by a subset of the state's citizens who have come to be appointed guardians of the purity of its official language" (p. 44).

### 3 Language and Identity

Different understandings of multilingualism and, by extension, language practice, abound and persist. In contexts beyond scholarly spheres – including language policy and planning – practices reproduce inherited ideas about language. Language is commonly considered a core element of individual and group identity, for users of both minoritized and majoritised languages.

However, the question of how language ties into identity is a complex one. If languages are key elements of group and individual identity, this does not necessarily correlate to an identity based on citizenship or residence within a nation state. Many nation states are multilingual, if not in policy then certainly in practice. Identities within nation states fracture along the lines of majority and minority cultural and ethnic groups, including indigenous and immigrant groups, as well as the many subcultures which exist within and around national territories (Holliday, 2010). As communities move online, shifting away from physical territories as their inhabited space, they develop cultures of interaction and membership (see for instance Wang, 2022). Our membership to such communities is only likely to increase. Furthermore, identities held by individuals are always multiple and overlapping, and they come to the fore differently in different interactions and situations. While there is no formula to predict how language users navigate the relationship between the language(s) they use and how they understand themselves, or a singular way to understand the role of a particular language in the world at a particular point in time, we can certainly observe that language is a key feature of identity, however we choose to define it.

As signalled earlier, the perceived connection between language and culture may rely on certain ideas about what language is. Anthropologically, this tells us about the cultures and practices within which these notions of language were and continue to be produced. If framed in that way, then they do not need to be assessed as correct or incorrect understandings of language or communication. However, they are instances of culture which wield significant influence in determining understandings of language in policy and education, and they spill over to understandings of multilingualism. It is therefore important to identify and understand them. Gal (2006) argues that multilingualism can be subject to the *sameness* that characterises languages. Referring to the European context, she argues:

To be sure, there is recognition of national language, minority and regional language, foreign, migrant and third- country languages; mother tongues, sign languages, lesser used languages, ethnic minority, indigenous and non-territorial languages. Nevertheless, all the linguistic practices considered worthy of mention conform to standardising and Herderian assumptions: they are named languages with unified, codified norms of correctness embodied in literatures and grammars. No other configurations of speaking are recognised. (Gal, 2006, p. 167)

Gal (2006) observes that standardisation "always occurs in a world of standards which are then in a field of contrast and competition with each other" (p. 166). Standard languages, imbued with authenticity and claiming universality, are recognised and measured by the same norms.

While there have been concerted critiques of language standardisation, and the pairing of language and nation (Canagarajah, 2006; Li, 2018; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Mar-Molinero, 2004, among others), these associations persist broadly around the world. They are visible in language policy, planning, and education, as well as political and popular discourse around who we are and how we speak (and, of course, how we do not speak). Examining this matter on an individual level, Martin-Jones et al. (2012) state,

If languages are invented, and languages and identities are socially constructed, we nevertheless need to account for the fact that at least some language users, at least some of the time, hold passionate beliefs about the importance and significance of a particular language to their sense of 'identity'. (p. 10)

These points are necessary for framing the discussions of language education policies in multilingual contexts in this volume. Education of any kind is always political, insofar as it is always directive and prescriptive, and aspires to a particular view of the future and those who inhabit it. Governments and ministries of education, with their fluctuating policies tending to come to prominence with shifts between political parties, are core agents propelling these politics. However, the enactment of policy in the classroom is not simple or always predictable.

### 4 Multilingual Education and Policies

To define language policy, we draw on Baldauf (2006) in defining policy as form (the plan) and planning as function (the implementation of the plan). Language policies are "bodies of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve some planned language change" (Baldauf, 2006, p. 149), often communicated via formal documents such as educational directives. Language planning goals may relate to the restoration or revitalisation of certain languages, the codification of particular languages, language use in certain domains, and language learning and teaching (Baldauf, 2006).

Language education policy refers more specifically to policy mobilised in the context of education institutions (such as schools and universities) which concerns languages. This includes "teaching foreign and second languages, addressing immigrant and home languages, the medium of instruction, the linguistic landscape of the school, language use in the classroom and in schools, language assessment, and the like" (Tannenbaum & Shohamy, 2023, p. 10). Language education policies are often associated with standardised versions of languages, which become the "norm to abide by throughout formal education" (Tannenbaum & Shohamy, 2023, p. 10), and which are accompanied by the prohibition or discouragement of other languages and language varieties in classrooms. Languages which fall outside policies, or may be outright banned by them, can include the home languages of students, additional languages used locally beyond the institution, and varieties of the target language considered to be inappropriate, underdeveloped or too informal.

However, while much policy is *macro* in the sense that it is top-down and formalised by governmental agencies, Baldauf (2006) reminds us that we should also take account of the *micro* – that is, of individuals tasked to implement policy. As he argues, "tensions may arise between macro-level policy and the micro situation, and teachers or other individuals can either conform to the policy, or resist by working to make what they do appropriate to their particular micro situation" (Baldauf, 2006, p. 157).

Within educational contexts, teachers are key agents determining the enactment and success of language policies, whether they are set by governments, ministries or institutions. While measures can be put in place to attempt to direct teaching, including professional development and systems to monitor teacher practice, we must also recognise the agency of individual teachers to craft what they do. Teacher agency, grounded strongly in beliefs, is a core element of understanding teaching and learning (Biesta et al., 2015) within all educational contexts, including language education. Teachers' priorities for their practice, including how they understand their subject and curriculum, and how best to teach and assess it, play a critical role in determining what happens in classrooms.

An apt example of the nexus between policy, beliefs and practices is provided by Kirsch (2018) in a study on a multilingual preschool in Luxembourg. In this context, education is trilingual (German, French and Luxembourgish) from the primary level onwards; faced with large numbers of children who lack proficiency in Luxembourgish, teachers are required by policy to focus on this language in the early years with the goal to ensure children have sufficient proficiency in simple Luxembourgish to express themselves about familiar topics by the time they enrol in primary school. However, the teacher participant in the study reported beliefs which differed from the national language policy, believing that the "monolingual-oriented policy contrasted with the multilingual society in which schools should prepare children to live" (p. 451). The teacher actively incorporated children's home languages into her instruction, and she used her multilingual skills across a range of languages - Luxembourgish, German, French, English and Italian – to make sure that the students understood her. Even with the teachers' efforts to promote multilingualism, however, the students developed their own ideas about language use in class, which were partly responsive to the national policy and to their experiences at home, including parental attitudes. Kirsch (2018) also demonstrates that "there is a policy within each practice" (p. 457), meaning that language users have reasons, attitudes and ideologies that underlie their purposeful language practice.

Understanding the importance of purpose and intention, the puzzle then involves not only how we think *about* languages, but what we think language *is*, and how particular languages should interact. Is our goal as language teachers to ensure that learners demonstrate standardised grammar, speak with native-like accents, learn to communicate across a range of scenarios, all of this, or something else? How comfortable are we in allowing students to use multiple languages, and do we think this helps or hinders their language learning? What do we think the goals of language teaching *are*, and how do we determine whether what we are doing is effective? Additionally, how do teachers understand themselves as language users and language learners, and what do these identities tell us about how they think about and teach language (Demuro & Gurney, forthcoming)? These are broad questions that relate to the substance of our work, and we cannot properly grapple with language teaching practice without understanding that it may represent a range of different things across the profession (Gurney & Demuro, 2024). Recent moves in the

literature, including away from monolingual approaches, may or may not reflect teachers' beliefs and practices on the ground, making this an important area of research.

### 5 Language Education Through the Multilingual Turn

Reflecting the direction of the multilingual turn, language teaching in the twenty first century has increasingly turned away from a monolingual focus and towards incorporating practices such as code switching, translanguaging, code meshing, and the promotion of multilingual and intercultural competence (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011). Some researchers have explored how moving beyond normalised monolingualism may be of benefit to learners (Canagarajah, 2011; García & Kleifgen, 2020; García & Wei, 2014; Lewis et al., 2012; Wei, 2023). The notion of *translanguaging* has found broad resonance within applied linguistics, capturing how we make, create and negotiate meaning across our language resources (Li, 2018). Arguments have also been made that translanguaging presents a potentially critical approach to education that may – at least in some contexts – be inclusive and emancipatory (Wei & García, 2022). For instance, Li (2018) argues that

By deliberately breaking the artificial and ideological divides between indigenous versus immigrant, majority versus minority, and target versus mother tongue languages, Translanguaging empowers both the learner and the teacher, transforms the power relations, and focuses the process of teaching and learning on making meaning, enhancing experience, and developing identity. (p. 15)

A significant increase in published research over the last few years illustrates growing interest in such approaches. With respect to translanguaging, Heltai (2023) sees its popularity connected to its rhizomatic characteristics and its capacity to travel across contexts. However, the vast array of contexts in which multilingual education occurs – as explored by the contributions in this volume – underscores the need to remain open and questioning in terms of approaches that may prove useful in teaching.

Teachers' decision-making and practices, grounded within their professional contexts, are key factors to help us to understand how and why this is the case. Multilingual education can involve students from different cultural, ethnic or linguistic backgrounds coming together to learn a language; students who share similar backgrounds learning an additional language; students who come together to study subjects through the medium of an additional language (see Tachaiyaphum, this volume); or multilingual school and institutional contexts, such as universities, where linguistic diversity amongst students and staff may be the norm (see Weinmann et al., this volume). Furthermore, multilingual teaching and learning occur beyond formal educational contexts, and can include learning resources for communities (see Buckingham, this volume), professional development (see Qi, this volume), and children's picture books (see Daly, this volume).

### 6 The Breadth and Diversity of Multilingual Education

Multilingual education is an umbrella term for an array of situations. As with any educational endeavour, instructional practices, curricula, and assessment should be tailored as much as feasible to the situation at hand. Languages and language varieties used within multilingual education also require flexibility and contextual responsiveness. Language educators operating in multilingual contexts require skills that go beyond knowledge of the language(s) which (or through which) they are teaching; teachers should also "leverage the language resources of students as assets in learning" (Liyanage & Tao, 2020, p. 3). Within the classroom, language use should take into account learners' and teachers' proficiency levels and conceptual knowledge, as Tachaiyaphum (this volume) discusses in her study of content and language integrated learning in Thailand. Teachers' backgrounds and shared linguistic resources also come into play, as discussed with grounded examples in the contributions by Lowe (this volume), McGaughey (this volume), Choi (this volume), and Prado (this volume). Beyond the classroom, local linguistic ecologies and attitudes should also be taken into account if pedagogical approaches are to be aligned; this implies problematising the default use of standardised varieties of a language as much as it does more innovative approaches, such as translanguaging or code meshing, depending on the situation. As Liyanage and Canagarajah (2019) argue,

Because the ways in which different communities manage language contact and desires are different, we have to be open to appreciating their community interests in developing a suitable pedagogy for them. What is current and progressive for some communities (such as code meshing) may not be suitable for others. (p. 451)

In a similar way, Gurney and Demuro (2022) ask to what extent a translanguaging approach is "necessarily aligned with all critical pedagogical endeavours in language teaching" (p. 509). While recognising the capacity for translingual responses to be appropriate or emancipatory in contexts where the use of multiple languages is common beyond the classroom (which may even be acknowledged in policy, see Mahapatra & Anderson, 2023), there is a need to avoid the assertion of new universals in language practice. As Liyanage and Canagarajah (2019) illustrate above, languages are not used for the same purposes or in the same ways across contexts. Treffers-Daller (2023) also points to practical difficulties educators may face when attempting to make use of multiple languages in the classroom – for instance, when students' language backgrounds are very diverse. Grounded research is necessary in order to understand how these matters play out *in situ*.

The status and vitality of languages in education also determine the ways in which they are configured in policy and deployed in classrooms. English, which has significant global use and status, has been appointed as medium of instruction across a range of contexts where the language is not commonly used beyond education. This is particularly notable in higher education (see Liyanage, 2018). However, multilingual education programmes can also focus on the preservation, revitalisation and maintenance of minority languages.

In postcolonial contexts, the promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity through providing a platform for Indigenous language education is a key example (Disbray et al., 2018). New Zealand provides an apt example of this. Education policies have seen concerted efforts to revitalise Te Reo Māori, formalise Māori-medium schooling, teach the language in English-medium schools, and develop teachers' proficiency through teacher education programmes (King, 2018). Studies on the revitalisation of Indigenous languages in other contexts, such as Ojibwe and Dakota in the United States, Secwepemctsin in Canada, and Indigenous minority languages in Timor Leste, underscore the importance and benefits of concerted efforts to grow the use of the languages (Disbray et al., 2018). In New South Wales, Australia, there is legislative support for the recognition and revival of Indigenous languages, and in the country more broadly, Disbray et al. (2018) argue that "recognition of traditional languages and the need to plan for their revival, revitalisation, and on-going use through education programs has become almost mainstream in public discourse" (p. 4).

Multilingual education policies and programs can also help preserve linguistic and cultural diversity by incorporating multiple minority languages into education, thereby providing a connection to students' home language use and a way to strengthen the language for future generations. To provide a recent example, in line with the National Education Policy 2020, the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) in India has promoted multilingualism in Indian education. The CBSE encourages the use of various Indian languages as alternative media of instruction with a view to nurturing linguistic diversity among students from different communities. Similarly, the introduction of Torwali, a language spoken in some parts of Northern Pakistan, as a medium of instruction in the primary grades before the students are exposed to Urdu, the main academic language, can be perceived as an attempt to preserve the language for future generations (Torwali & Troy, 2023). This approach is bolstered by research which argues that children learn more effectively when they are taught in a home language. The case of Sri Lanka is considered a success story in this respect (Brock-Utne, 2016; Liyanage, 2019; Wedikkarage, 2018).

### 7 Researching Multilingual Teaching and Education: The Contribution of This Volume

Learning languages – formally and informally – is subject to a vortex of social and political forces, as well as psychosocial experiences and motivations of the learner and teacher. We chose in this Multilingual Education Yearbook to explore the ways in which high-level understandings, policies and approaches to language learning intersect with the realities of language learning on the ground, as experienced by learners and teachers.

Our focus dovetails with an apparent increased interest within applied linguistics into the qualitative, grounded experiences of learners and teachers through research

approaches which aim to capture the routines, cultures, practices, encounters, frictions, challenges and joys of language learning. The chapters within this volume are exemplary of such an approach; many of the authors reflect on their own practices as teacher-researchers, making use of small-scale but in-depth qualitative and reflective approaches, including autoethnography (see Lowe, this volume, and Prado, this volume).

A drive to position researchers clearly within their own research, acknowledging their identities and experiences, is often discussed as a matter of ethical practice within educational research. Milner (2007) summarises well the issues at play when he writes about 'seen' and 'unforeseen' dangers in research where issues concerning race and culture (to which we might add language) may arise, and the importance of 'researching the self' to be aware of the experiences, understandings and lenses a researcher brings to their projects. While Milner (2007) writes within a North American context, these points are transferable to other contexts, especially where researchers' identities and experiences do not cross over with those of their participants (be they teachers, students, parents, and so on). Autoethnographic and duoethnographic research represent perhaps the strongest attempt to reconcile some of these issues with researcher visibility and positionality, where one researches the self. Recent literature suggests a growth in popularity of this approach (Stanley, 2019; Yazan et al., 2022).

There are many ways in which researchers may ethically and methodologically approach applied linguistics research, with a view to better understanding experiences and perceiving effective paths for languages education. While fields of research evolve, there is a danger in assuming that this evolution is on a trajectory towards always better – indeed, there is significant strength, and a lot to be learned, from many approaches to research, including those which are newer and those which are more established. Read together, the contributions to this volume provide examples of how researchers can interrogate language practice, teaching, and ideology in a situated way, taking account of the specificities of the context in which they operate. In the final section of this introductory chapter, each of the contributions to the volume is summarised. These summaries are intended to assist readers to navigate the volume by emphasising the key focus and contributions of each chapter.

Robert Lowe presents an autoethnographic chapter which interrogates native-speakerism and the paradoxes of internationalisation in language education. Lowe presents vignettes, through which he analyses his professional experiences as an English language teacher in Japan, confronting native-speakerist ideologies that simultaneously empower and disempower teachers. Lowe also discusses how institutional language policies can inhibit and obstruct multilingual practices and institutional goals. This chapter not only illuminates the effects of language ideology on teacher identity and practice; it provides a compelling example of the insights that can be provided by autoethnographic research in exploring these phenomena.

Koun Choi investigates and foregrounds the linguistic and cultural resources that international lecturers – who come from non-Anglophone backgrounds – bring to higher education contexts in which English is used as medium of instruction (EMI). Drawing on in-depth interviewers with two international lecturers at an EMI

institution in mainland China, Choi explores their awareness of their diverse linguacultural resources, ways to make use of them in teaching, and the potential benefits of doing so. Positioning these resources as highly valuable, Choi makes recommendations for professional development and institutional policies to more systematically increase teachers' awareness of how their linguacultural resources may be harnessed to benefit learners.

John McGaughey discusses how the willingness to engage in plurilingual teaching practices can be deeply connected to teachers' own learning trajectories and identities. Engaging two native English-speaking teachers who teach English at a South Korean university as participants, McGaughey conducts a Vygotskian genetic analysis to chart how both teachers incorporate the local language, Korean, into their English classes. McGaughey sees their practices as not only responsive to the pushes and pulls of the local context, but also as part of their development as language learners and teachers. Attention is also paid to how the ideologically charged context in which they work may shape their identities and practices, in dialogue with their past experiences.

Malila C. A. Prado shifts the focus from teachers to students, investigating how students perceive translingual pedagogic practices in a Chinese EMI university. In a reflective study, Prado situates herself as a language teacher-researcher motivated by promoting translingual practice with her students. Prado reports qualitative data gathered through interviews with students in one of her first-year linguistics courses concerning their reactions to the activities they did in class, as well as their attitudes to the use of language(s) in instruction. Prado's findings highlight students' beliefs and reflections concerning media of instruction, the use of English, storytelling as a pedagogic approach, and the pedagogic importance of valuing multilingualism.

Michiko Weinmann, Rod Neilsen, Israel Holas, Alistair Welsh, Su James, Ethan Colley, and Hend Elkharraz also explore students' perspective and roles as multilingual influencers in Anglophone higher education. Drawing on a 'students as partners' project with multilingual undergraduate students as co-researchers at an Australian university, Weinmann et al. discuss how students engage with everyday linguistic and cultural diversity in their educational and social communities. Arguing that the perspectives of students are under-represented, the authors highlight student voice to explore how English-dominant institutional framings of language and students' multilingual realities come together. The authors also present student-initiated suggestions for mobilising languages, cultures, and knowledges in higher education.

Grace Yue Qi shifts the focus to language teacher professional development. Qi explores how culturally responsive pedagogy – which has been emphasised across educational contexts, including in New Zealand, where the study was undertaken – is understood and practiced by language teachers. Focusing on experiences from an online community of practice formed with three other languages teachers, Qi shares concerns about multilingualism and multilingual education in New Zealand, teachers' experiences dealing with superdiversity in classrooms, and how culturally responsive pedagogy is understood and actioned as a response. She concludes the chapter with pragmatic recommendations for language teacher professional development.

Chiew Hong Ng and Cheung Yin Ling present a literature review which synthesises research on the enactment of bilingual and multilingual policies in Hong Kong and Singapore. Selecting published research from 2011 to 2022, the authors (this volume) analyse forty-five peer reviewed papers to explore issues and challenges in implementing bilingual and multilingual policies, as well as language practices and pedagogical approaches encountered in these contexts, including translanguaging and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). Comparing research across Hong Kong and Singapore, they conclude the chapter with recommendations for teaching practice as well as future research in such contexts.

Nutthida Tachaiyaphum focuses on language-driven CLIL in Thai secondary schools, and asks what kinds of professional knowledge language teachers need to work effectively with this approach. Working with pre-service teachers as participants, Tachaiyaphum discusses challenges they faced when transitioning into teaching both language and content. Key challenges included their knowledge of subject content, their understandings of the CLIL approach, and sufficient target language proficiency to teach the subject and facilitate student learning in class. Tachaiyaphum draws on her findings to craft recommendations for teacher education and professional development for language-driven CLIL in Thailand and similar contexts.

Birgit Brock-Utne, a researcher with significant professional experience with multilingualism in African contexts, explores the role of languages of instruction as markers of difference. Brock-Utne (this volume) explores not only the use of foreign or colonial languages as media of instruction in African educational contexts, and their effects on social stratification, but also the complexities in assigning regional languages in their place. Given the extensive multilingualism in African societies, catering to linguistic diversity via languages of instruction is a difficult task in national education systems which strive to extend education to more people. Brock-Utne explores several contexts in her discussion, interweaving research she has conducted with colleagues and doctoral students during her career to paint a picture of present experiences and how discussions have developed over time.

Nicola Daly explores the use of Māori-English dual language picturebooks to support the enactment of language policy in New Zealand educational contexts. Daly examines five recently published picturebooks which feature Māori and New Zealand English and conducts an analysis of the linguistic landscapes they present. Daly's discussion highlights the importance of such picturebooks for supporting teachers to bring the Māori language into classrooms, allowing Māori children to see and hear the language in schools, and ensuring that all children in New Zealand have better access to stories that reflect local identities.

The volume closes with Louisa Buckingham's research on public libraries in linguistically diverse communities. Buckingham sees libraries as key resources for communities and argues that local language practices should influence library resources, including in multilingual areas. Focusing on the city of Auckland in New Zealand, Buckingham tracks linguistic diversity across its 63 districts using census data gathered between 1996 and 2018. These data create a picture of which districts are most and least linguistically diverse, and which languages contribute to diversity