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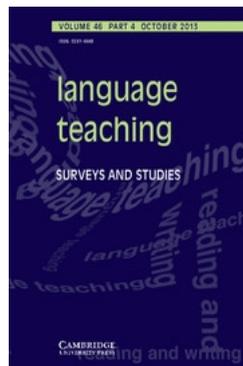
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## Emergent bilingual students in secondary school: Along the academic language and literacy continuum

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## State-of-the-Art Article

### Emergent bilingual students in secondary school: Along the academic language and literacy continuum

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*This article offers a critical review of research about emergent bilingual students in secondary school, where the academic demands placed upon them are great, and where instruction typically remains steadfast in its monolingualism. I focus on recent scholarship about the diversity within this student population, and center on 'students with interrupted formal education' (SIFE, new arrivals who have no home language literacy skills or are at the beginning stages of literacy learning) and 'long-term English language learners' (LTELLs, primarily educated in their receiving country yet still eligible for language support services). Little has been published about these students, making this a significant area of inquiry. Moreover, both groups are characterized by poor performance and together illustrate the characteristics of secondary students at various points along an academic language and literacy continuum. While existing research provides important information to help us improve secondary schooling for emergent bilinguals, it has also perpetuated deficit views of these students by focusing solely on their perceived academic shortcomings. Grounded in a new body of research in applied linguistics that examines the students' complex, creative, and dynamic language and literacy practices, I apply a translanguaging lens to critique the positioning of such students as deficient, with implications for research and practice.*

#### 1. Prologue

This State-of-the-Art article offers a critical review of research on the education of emergent bilingual students in secondary school. The term EMERGENT BILINGUAL (García 2009) here refers to students, typically immigrants, children of immigrants, or indigenous peoples, who are adding the dominant state language taught in school to their home language, and becoming bilingual in the process. While the vast majority of research in the field of bilingual education focuses on students in the primary grades, the purpose of this review article is to highlight current trends in bilingual education research about students at the secondary level. In particular, much recent research emphasizes that emergent bilinguals perform below their peers in many countries, taking many years to catch up academically, if they ever do. The most recent wave of research about emergent bilinguals at the secondary level shows great complexity in students' home language and literacy practices, and a wide range of

prior schooling experiences. Emergent bilinguals must develop both language and content knowledge in secondary school, and many must simultaneously acquire literacy skills.

In most places, the complex home language practices of adolescent emergent bilinguals and their disparate home language literacy skills are neither recognized nor fully understood in schools, where instruction typically remains steadfast in its monolingualism – in spite of a very convincing research base in bilingual education showing how building upon students' home language practices supports their language and literacy acquisition in the target language. In exploring bilingual education at the secondary level, I therefore focus on the great diversity within the secondary student population – particularly in terms of their language and literacy for academic purposes – while at the same time critiquing monolingual orientations that perceive the students as 'partial' or otherwise 'deficient' and that marginalize them for not yet having acquired the academic language and literacy skills that secondary school demands.

I begin by locating research about emergent bilinguals at the secondary level within scholarship in bilingual education in general, and then clarify the expectations of secondary schools in terms of academic language and literacy. I next offer a review of research probing the complexity and dynamism of secondary emergent bilinguals' home language and literacy practices, with attention to the reality that instruction in most schools is monolingual in the language of the state or otherwise rooted in monolingual ideologies.

To highlight that there is indeed a LITERACY SPECTRUM amongst emergent bilinguals at the secondary level, and that academic language and literacy development needs to be an embedded instructional objective in secondary schools, I focus on two groups of students with low literacy levels both in their home language and in the dominant state language. First are students with LIMITED OR INTERRUPTED FORMAL SCHOOLING, many of whom are REFUGEES. Second are students labeled LONG-TERM ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS, who have been primarily educated in the country where they are attending secondary school, yet whose schools have failed to provide them with the language and literacy skills needed to succeed academically. I apply a translanguaging lens to critique literature and educational practices that position such students as deficient, grounded in the empirical studies reviewed in this article that examine the students' home language and literacy practices. Finally, I share strategies identified in recent research to teach academic language and literacy skills explicitly to secondary emergent bilinguals, and conclude this review article with a summary and discussion of areas for future research.

## **2. The issue: Recent attention to secondary emergent bilinguals as 'overlooked and underserved'**

Several seminal studies documenting the schooling experiences of emergent bilingual secondary students have been generated over the past two decades (Olsen 1997; Valenzuela 1999; Walqui 2000; Valdés 2001; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco & Todorova 2008). That said, research about these students remains limited overall, as studies of emergent bilinguals typically focus on elementary students. As a result, secondary emergent bilinguals have been deemed 'overlooked and underserved' both in research as well as in educational practices (Faltis & Wolfe 1999; Ruiz de Velasco & Fix 2000; Short & Fitzsimmons 2007; Rance-Roney

2009). In response, new empirical research is being generated about adolescent emergent bilinguals, which deepens understandings in the field about the diversity within this population and their differing educational needs.

Much of the research that has been generated shows wide disparities between emergent bilinguals and other students, particularly at the secondary level. For instance, secondary emergent bilinguals in the United States are disproportionately represented in national rates of dropout, grade retention, and course failure (McNeil & Valenzuela 2000; Ruiz de Velasco 2005; Valencia & Villarreal 2005; Menken 2008). Likewise, Watt & Roessingh (2001) report that the dropout rate for emergent bilinguals in Canada is extremely high, at 74%. A 2006 report by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) compares Programme for International Students Assessment (PISA) performance of immigrant students at the secondary level to non-immigrants in 17 OECD and partner countries with significant immigrant student populations.<sup>1</sup> As the report states,

Successful integration of immigrant populations is essential for ensuring social cohesion in immigrant receiving nations. . . [I]mmigrant students often perform at significantly lower levels than their native peers in key school subjects, such as mathematics, reading and science, as well as in general problem-solving skills. . . Of particular concern is the fact that in the majority of countries at least one in four immigrant students do not demonstrate basic mathematics skills as defined in the PISA 2003 assessment. As such these individuals could face considerable challenges in their future professional and personal lives. (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2006: 3)

Thus immigrant students in secondary school are found in many countries to perform below their non-immigrant peers not only in language and literacy, but in mathematics as well.

Research by Luciak (2008) in Austria confirms these findings. Students in Austria attend academic secondary schools or less academically challenging general secondary schools, and a small proportion attend special schools intended for students with disabilities. Luciak (2008) finds that the greatest proportion of immigrant and ethnic minority students who speak a language other than German at home are found attending the school types that are less academic, and specifically more likely to attend special schools rather than the other school types (24% attend special schools, compared to just 9% of students whose home language is German). The finding that emergent bilinguals are overrepresented in special education programs is not limited to Austria, but found also to be the case in other immigrant receiving countries such as Germany (Powell & Wagner 2002), Sweden (Berhanu 2008), Switzerland (Lanfranchi & Jenny 2005), and the US (Artiles, Trent & Palmer 2004; Artiles, Rueda, Salazar & Higareda 2005). As Luciak (2008) concludes, emergent bilinguals 'face disparities and disadvantages that have not ceased over the years despite the fact that many of these students have lived in Austria all their lives' (p. 55).

It takes many years for emergent bilinguals to perform to the level of their peers on tests in the language of the state, if indeed they ever do, particularly when instructed monolingually in that language. For instance, longitudinal research in the US shows that it takes emergent bilinguals on average five to ten years to perform to the level of their monolingual English

<sup>1</sup> These are: the OECD countries Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States as well as the partner countries Hong Kong-China, Macao-China, and the Russian Federation (OECD 2006).

speaking peers on tests administered in English (Collier & Thomas 2002). Home language instruction is a factor, in that students who receive no home language instruction were found to take seven to ten years to achieve the age and grade level norms of English monolinguals, while emergent bilinguals who received two to three years of home language instruction in their country of origin typically took five to seven years to perform to the level of native English speakers.

Research by Levin & Shohamy (2008) in Israel suggests that language learning may take even longer, and that some students never achieve the level of students born in Israel. Their research compares the performance of immigrants to Israel from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia, the two largest groups in the country's last immigration wave, to the performance of students born in Israel. In their data on secondary level students, they found that 11th graders from the former Soviet Union took nine to twelve years to perform to the level of Israeli-born students on mathematics exams, while they still performed below their Israeli-born peers on academic Hebrew exams assessing reading comprehension and writing. Students from Ethiopia never achieved the level of their Israeli-born peers in mathematics or academic Hebrew. As Levin & Shohamy write:

The results reported above demonstrate that the academic achievements of immigrant students in both mathematics and academic language (Hebrew) are significantly lower relative to their native Israeli counterparts, even after a long time of residence. It does take many years of residency and schooling to reach similar achievement in these two areas, if at all. (2008: 8)

Because language learning does take a long time, it is important to look critically at research, schooling practices, and educational policies that fail to take this into account.

### 3. Academic language and literacy expectations in secondary school

The expectations within secondary schools are great for the emergent bilinguals who attend them. Content is increasingly rigorous, as the curriculum introduces new concepts and skills while building upon the content of previous years of study. At the same time, new text types are introduced, seeking to expand language uses and practices among all students. Emergent bilinguals must develop this new content while also learning a new language. As will be discussed further below, many emergent bilinguals do not possess strong ACADEMIC LANGUAGE AND LITERACY SKILLS in their home language, and secondary schools are typically ill-equipped to teach both content and language, which intensifies the demands placed upon these students.

#### 3.1 Language demands in the era of high-stakes testing

The pressures placed upon emergent bilinguals in secondary schools around the world are only intensified by the fact that many students are expected to participate in high-stakes tests and to perform on par with their peers who are proficient in the language in which such tests

are administered. These exams not only impact instruction but also greatly impact the lives of test takers, as has been well documented internationally (see, for instance, Shohamy 2001; McNamara & Roever 2006).

In the US, for example, federal education policy entitled *No Child Left Behind* has since 2002 required that emergent bilinguals take and pass high-stakes exams in English, including tests of mathematics and English language arts. The scores from these tests are used by the federal government as a means of holding each school – and thereby each state – accountable for the federal funding they receive (Menken 2009). The law requires that emergent bilinguals show continual progress on academic content assessments in English as well as on English language proficiency assessments, with failure resulting in high-stakes consequences for individual schools (such as school closure and loss of federal funding) as well as for students (such as grade promotion and graduation) (Menken 2008; Solórzano 2008). Because it is impossible to truly divorce language from content on a test administered in English to emergent bilinguals, researchers argue that the test scores attained are not valid for these students and should not be used for high-stakes decision-making such as school evaluation or to determine high school graduation, grade promotion, and program placement (Gándara & Baca 2008; Solórzano 2008). Yet the practice continues, resulting in the disproportionate failure and penalization of emergent bilinguals on such tests, as exemplified in lower secondary school completion rates in US states where emergent bilinguals must pass high school exit exams to graduate.

These findings are supported in Canada by Odo (2012), where emergent bilinguals in British Columbia are required to participate in provincial high school exit exams in English, math, science, and social studies. He reports that emergent bilinguals are two to four times more likely than monolingual English speakers to fail these assessments, and are barred from high school graduation as a result. Odo's (2012) analysis of a sample exam draws into question its validity because, as in the US case, the assessment of language and content on the exam are confounded when administered to students learning English.

The linguistic and literacy demands of these exams are great for emergent bilinguals in all subject areas, not only language tests. Emergent bilinguals in the US score an average of 20–50 percentage points below their English proficient peers on state assessments, not only of English language arts but also of other content-area subjects such as mathematics (Abedi & Dieta 2004; Government Accountability Office 2006). A word frequency analysis by Menken (2010) of high school exit exams used in New York for mathematics and English language arts shows that the exams in both subjects are linguistically complex, involving uncommon words in English that would be incomprehensible to emergent bilinguals, in accordance with Nation's (2006) argument that 98% of the words in a given text must be the most frequent English words for them to be comprehensible to an emergent bilingual. Not surprisingly, disparities between emergent bilinguals and other students are wide, not only on language exams but also on mathematics exams, as exemplified in the Israeli research by Levin & Shohamy (2008) cited above.

In Australia, all students since 2008 have been required to participate in the National Assessment Program: Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN). While scores are not used to close low-performing schools as in the US case, the Australian exams are still high-stakes in that scores are available to parents and publicized in the media (Lobascher 2011; Polesel, Dulfer & Turnbull 2012). As elsewhere, these high-stakes exams have been criticized for

their inappropriate use with emergent bilinguals (McTaggart & Curró 2009; Wigglesworth, Simpson & Loakes 2011). In their examination of past NAPLAN numeracy tests at the secondary school level, Quinnell & Carter (2011) clarify some of the challenges in subjects such as mathematics when they write:

Referring to previous NAPLAN numeracy tests it is evident that every question demands an understanding of everyday language and mathematical language which includes specific mathematics terminology and the concise use of vocabulary as well as symbols, graphs and other representations of mathematical operations and concepts. (2011: 1)

They note how some words that are used in what they term everyday ‘natural’ English have different meanings when used in ‘mathematics’ English, and that NAPLAN mathematics test items are lexically dense and lack contextual cues (Quinnell & Carter 2011).

Negotiating the language demands posed by content tests is challenging for all students, and particularly for emergent bilinguals. Moreover, Luke (2011) argues that this ‘culture of accountability, performance, and measurability’ (p. 370) is indeed a global phenomenon, greatly impacting schools in many different countries, and thereby intensifying the challenges that emergent bilinguals must face in secondary school.

### 3.2 Defining academic language and literacy for emergent bilinguals in secondary schools

This section clarifies the complex language demands of secondary schooling, particularly for emergent bilinguals. Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa (1976) first noted how emergent bilinguals can often appear to educators to be fluently bilingual on the surface, for example when using language for social purposes, while still performing below grade level on academic skills and tasks. Cummins (1981, 2008) drew the influential distinction between basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency skills (CALP). BICS involve contextualized language that is supported by paralinguistic cues such as gestures, facial expression, and tone of voice as well as other interpersonal and situational cues to create meaning. By contrast, CALP involves more abstract language with fewer such cues, and is required of students in order to complete school tasks and assessments like those described above. Cummins (1981, 2008) found that students typically acquire BICS more rapidly than they do CALP. Amidst many critiques of the BICS/CALP distinction over the years, worth noting is Bailey (2007: 9) who cautions against thinking of social language as less cognitively demanding, and who instead argues that differences between BICS and CALP are ‘in the relative frequency of complex grammatical structures, specialized vocabulary, and uncommon language functions’. MacSwan & Rolstad (2003) take this further, arguing that CALP does not involve more complex language and that the BICS/CALP distinction conflates language ability and academic achievement, a consequence of which is ‘the ascription of special status to the language of the educated classes’ (p. 329). This perspective, in turn, has been found to foster a pathologizing of students who do not use language in ways that schools require – a point I return to later in this manuscript.

In any case, as content grows increasingly complex in secondary schools and literacy practices become more and more specialized within the subject areas, so too do the demands for the language needed to acquire this knowledge (Carrasquillo, Kucer & Abrams 2004). Like other scholars who study the academic language demands of secondary schooling for emergent bilinguals (e.g., Zwiers 2007; Gibbons 2009), Schleppegrell (2004) employs functional linguistics (following Martin 1992 and Halliday 1994) to examine the grammatical features of academic language used in school and to explain why particular aspects of the school curriculum are linguistically challenging for emergent bilinguals as well as speakers of language varieties other than the standard (see also Fang & Schleppegrell 2008). Colombi & Schleppegrell (2002) note how secondary students must acquire what they term ‘advanced literacy,’ which they define as:

[T]he kind of meaning-making that is typical of secondary and postsecondary schooling, and that is also required for participating in many of the professional, technical, bureaucratic, and social institutions of our world. We focus particularly on educational contexts, where students need to work in content areas that have particular ways of making meaning. Students’ learning of disciplinary knowledge requires participation in social contexts where texts are actively constructed. Students need to be able to participate in literacy in ways that enable them to contribute to the evolution of knowledge. . . (Colombi & Schleppegrell 2002: 1)

Implicit within their analysis of the academic language that secondary school entails is a belief that failure to ensure that secondary students acquire advanced literacy is tantamount to denying them opportunities for full participation in school and later in life.

In recent years, research has identified academic language and literacy as a primary reason for differences in performance among emergent bilinguals. Rather than being academically homogenous, emergent bilinguals in secondary schools arrive with disparate levels of academic language and literacy skills, content knowledge, and prior schooling experiences (Freeman, Freeman & Mercuri 2002; Abedi 2004; Ruiz de Velasco 2005). Academic language and literacy skills are crucial for achievement, particularly at the secondary level (Colombi & Schleppegrell 2002; Zwiers 2007; Menken 2008; Freeman & Freeman 2009; Gibbons 2009). Short & Fitzsimmons (2007) highlight what they term an ‘academic literacy crisis’ amongst emergent bilinguals at the secondary level, which they argue should be of serious concern.

In the wake of these findings, new studies have emerged that argue the importance of academic literacy for secondary emergent bilinguals (Ruiz de Velasco & Fix 2000; Colombi & Schleppegrell 2002; Snow & Biancarosa 2003; García & Godina 2004; Rubinstein-Avila 2004; August & Shanahan 2006; Meltzer & Hamann 2005; Short & Fitzsimmons 2007; Yi 2007). While explicit literacy instruction is usually considered a task for elementary teachers, too remedial for instruction at the secondary level, there is growing recognition that the teaching of academic literacy across content areas also needs to become a regular part of secondary school curricula and instruction, particularly in the education of emergent bilinguals. As Koelsch (2006) writes of emergent bilinguals in the US, referred to as ‘English language learners’:

The development of strategies – both at the policy and instructional level – to promote literacy among adolescent English language learners is a critical component of improving educational outcomes, including increasing high school graduation rates and 4-year college and university completion rates. Adolescent

literacy at the high school level entails the development of disciplinary knowledge and the use of that knowledge in oral interactions, reading and writing. (p. 5)

While working to ensure students attain the knowledge and skills that secondary schooling demands, it is equally important to examine those demands critically. Departing from earlier research that was inattentive to issues of language and power, the body of research in New Literacy Studies (NLS) posits that academic language is not neutral, but rather should be thought of as involving a series of social practices embedded in uneven power dynamics (Gee 2000; Street 2003). Likewise, acquiring language for academic purposes involves written and spoken language across multiple modalities such as internet and digital literacies. As Street (2003) writes:

NLS, then, takes nothing for granted with respect to literacy and the social practices with which it becomes associated, problematizing what counts as literacy at any time and place and asking ‘whose literacies’ are dominant and whose are marginalized or resistant. (p. 77)

There is a very real need for schools to support emergent bilinguals in their acquisition of academic language and literacy, but a criticism is how the very definition of academic language and literacy privileges some while marginalizing others.

#### 4. Dynamic languaging: Translanguaging and schooling practices

Globalization and increasing language contact have engendered reactions by scholars against traditional, rigid conceptualizations of language with territorial links, galvanizing a paradigm shift in applied linguistics. Specifically, a new line of research has emerged that is attentive to issues of language and power, and that seeks to break away from static language constructs. Scholarship aligned to this view offers more complex and fluid understandings of language as part of what is termed here DYNAMIC LANGUAGING (following Flores 2012) – shaping understandings of bilingualism, and carrying important implications for the education of emergent bilinguals. This new research base in dynamic languaging and translanguaging provides a useful theoretical framework, which I apply later in this review when analyzing and critiquing the literature about secondary emergent bilinguals who are in the earlier stages along the academic language and literacy continuum.

Shohamy (2006) uses the term LANGUAGING to:

‘[R]efer to language as an integral and natural component of interaction, communication and construction of meanings... [S]uch views of language are in contrast to existing, widespread and commonly accepted views, often supported by linguists, where language is perceived as a closed and limited entity, governed by fixed boundaries and controlled by strict rules of correctness in terms of grammar, lexicon, spelling, syntax, discourse and accent. These views perpetuate notions of language as ‘good vs. bad’, ‘accurate vs. inaccurate’, ‘acceptable vs. unacceptable’, ‘native vs. non-native’, ‘standard vs non-standard’, ‘official vs. unofficial’, ‘multilingual vs. semilingual’... (p. 2)

Scholars aligned to this view call into question the very notion of language, and write about hybridity, plurality, and fluidity in their protests against traditional, fixed language

categories (e.g., Makoni 2003; Pennycook 2004; Jacquemet 2005; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Blommaert 2010). Blommaert (2010) refers to this as a ‘critical sociolinguistics of globalization’ that concerns itself not with ‘language-in-place’ but rather with ‘language-in-motion’ (p. 5). In their provocative edited volume, Makoni & Pennycook (2007) posit that language itself was invented, and argue for the need to ‘disinvent and reinvent’ current notions of language, including boundaries between different languages; their book takes on several revered terms and concepts within linguistics, such as mother tongue, native language, codeswitching, and language rights. This perspective offers a very different way of seeing the language practices of emergent bilinguals in secondary school, a point I return to later in this review.

#### 4.1 Bilinguals’ translanguaging practices

Conceptualizations of dynamic languaging extend further, drawing into question traditional notions of bilingualism and the language practices of bilinguals. Brutt-Griffler & Varghese (2004) argue for new understandings of how bilinguals both think and use their languages:

Far from being monolinguals in two languages, as it were, they carve out their own space as BILINGUALS. . . . An increasing body of evidence shows that they do not use language the way monolinguals do. They refuse to hold their two (or more) languages as distinct, disconnected systems. (Brutt-Griffler & Varghese 2004: 93 [authors’ emphasis])

Pushing back against traditional views of bilinguals normed on the language practices of monolinguals, which portrays them as possessing two entirely separated language codes as if they were two monolinguals in one, these authors study the interconnectedness of bilinguals’ languages. Brutt-Griffler & Varghese (2004) describe the language practices of bilinguals along a continuum of language rather than as a binary between first and second language.

Along this vein, numerous researchers are also now studying and writing about TRANSLANGUAGING to describe the fluid languaging practices of bilinguals, particularly emergent bilinguals in school contexts. The term was coined by Williams (1994) to describe the alternation between languages in instruction as a pedagogical strategy, in the context of Welsh-English bilingual classrooms, and was later extended by García (2009) to describe the language practices of bilinguals, who use their linguistic resources flexibly to create meaning. García (2009) rejects views of bilingualism as ‘monolingualism times two’ (p. 70), which she depicts as a bicycle with two wheels, and notes that such views are rooted in monolingual and what she terms ‘monoglossic’ ideologies based on the ideal of the fully balanced bilingual. Instead, she argues that a more accurate depiction of the language practices of bi/multilinguals in the twenty-first century would be an all-terrain vehicle, with wheels that ‘extend and contract, flex and stretch, making possible, over highly uneven ground, movement forward that is bumpy and irregular but also sustained and effective’ (García 2009: 45).

As she writes in defining translanguaging:

When describing the language practices of bilinguals from the perspective of the users themselves, and not simply describing bilingual language use or bilingual contact from the perspective of the language itself, the language practices of bilinguals are examples of what we are here calling TRANSLANGUAGING, . . . MULTIPLE DISCURSIVE PRACTICES in which bilinguals engage in order to MAKE SENSE OF THEIR BILINGUAL WORLDS. . . Bilingual families and communities must translanguange in order to construct meaning (García 2009: 45 [author's emphasis]).

García (2009) offers as an example a bilingual family's mealtime, in which some family members are bilingual and others monolingual, and shows how speakers must translanguange in order to communicate with one another in ways that are inclusive of everyone at the table.

As noted in Canagarajah's (2011a) review of literature to date, translanguaging has been written about in the fields of sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and literacy studies, as well as language and literacy education. The following terms have been used to refer to translanguaging and the fluid language practices of bilinguals: flexible bilingualism (Blackledge & Creese 2010), plurilingualism (Council of Europe 2000), third spaces (Gutiérrez 2008), metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010; Pennycook 2010), fluid lects (Auer 1999), heterography (Blommaert 2008), hybrid language practices (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejada 1999), and poly-lingual languaging (Jørgensen 2008). When describing translanguaging practices in bilinguals' writing, the following terms have been used: codemeshing (Young 2004; Canagarajah 2011b), transcultural literacy (Lu 2009); translingual writing (Horner et al. 2011), multiliteracies (Cope & Kalantzis 2000), continua of biliteracy and transnational literacies (Hornberger 2003; Hornberger & Link 2012), hybrid language practices and textual third spaces (Gutiérrez 2008), pluriliteracies (García, Bartlett & Kleifgen 2007), and heterography (Blommaert 2008). Moreover, translanguaging research depicts the language and literacy practices of emergent bilinguals in secondary schools as dynamic and highly complex, thereby providing more nuanced understandings of these students, particularly as compared to the literature that simply describes the students' academic language and literacy skills as seen through a monoglossic lens.

Translanguaging also occurs in classroom contexts, and has been referred to as: hybrid classroom discourse practices (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejada 1999), multilingual classroom ecologies (Creese & Martín 2003), a four-quadrant pedagogic framework for developing academic excellence in a bilingual program (Joseph & Ramani 2012; Hornberger 2013), supportive bilingual scaffolding (Saxena 2010), flexible bilingual pedagogy (Blackledge & Creese 2010), and a multilingual holistic approach or focus on multilingualism (Cenoz & Gorter 2011a). All of these practices point to permeable boundaries between languages.

While the practice of translanguaging has been observed occurring in classrooms, translanguaging as pedagogy addressing how to leverage the dynamic languaging of emergent bilinguals strategically in order to enhance their learning remains less well understood (Creese & Blackledge 2010). As Canagarajah (2011a) writes:

A further set of questions relate to the possibility of teaching translanguaging in classrooms. The pedagogical side is underdeveloped in general. While we have studied the practice of translanguaging in social life – i.e., in urban youth encounters, linguistic landscapes, and the Internet – we haven't figured out how to develop such proficiency among students in classrooms. (Canagarajah 2011a: 8)

In this review, I apply a translanguaging framework first to critique research that frames emergent bilinguals at the secondary level as ‘deficient’ when they do not possess the academic language and literacy skills that secondary school demands, or that suggests solely monolingual pedagogies to meet their needs. I then overview research that considers the pedagogical implications and potential of translanguaging and other bilingual pedagogies to meet the needs of emergent bilinguals at different places along the literacy spectrum.

## 4.2 Persistent rigidity in language education and schooling

Schooling practices often stand in stark opposition to the more fluid languaging practices of bilinguals described above.

Multilinguals establish ‘soft boundaries’ between their languages – that is, boundaries that are permeable and allow for interaction between the languages. In contrast, ‘hard boundaries’ have been built between languages in school contexts, both in the case of second/foreign language acquisition and bilingual education. (Cenoz & Gorter 2011b: 357)

Rigid language separation in schools would include the association of one teacher with one language, the use of a specific classroom for a specific language, and syllabi and curricula for the different languages (for example, the regular classroom teacher teaching through the dominant language and the foreign language teacher teaching an additional language). This approach prevails in schools serving emergent bilinguals, particularly at the secondary level, and is what Heller (1999: 271) terms ‘parallel monolingualism’ and Cummins (2005: 588) calls the ‘two solitudes’.

In spite of what is now a robust and well-known body of research in support of BILINGUAL EDUCATION, schooling in many immigrant-receiving countries remains monolingual for emergent bilinguals. Research provides evidence that emergent bilinguals who are able to develop and maintain their home languages in school through bilingual education typically outperform their peers in monolingual programs and experience greater academic success (Thomas & Collier 1997, 2002; Krashen & McField 2005; Baker 2011). Notwithstanding the critiques of his work noted above, Cummins (2000) has shown in research conducted in Canada how the academic language and literacy skills students acquire in their home languages are found to transfer to similar skills in their additional language. His interdependence hypothesis, or theory of linguistic transfer, holds that students who have developed their home language literacy skills ‘will tend to make stronger progress in acquiring literacy in their L2 [second language]’ (Cummins 2000: 173). Likewise, research shows conclusively that teaching students to read in their home language promotes higher levels of reading achievement in their additional language (August & Shanahan 2006; Goldenberg 2008). Moreover, maintenance and development of both languages over time is associated with a range of academic, linguistic, and cognitive advantages (Cummins 2000; Bialystok 2007). When the home languages of emergent bilinguals are not developed in school, as is typically the case, researchers argue that they cannot benefit from their bilingualism in the same ways (Baker 2011).

It is well documented how school practices in many countries rebuff the research base in support of home language instruction, particularly at the secondary school level. For instance, Little's report (2010) for the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe seeks to promote home language instruction in the education of migrant children as a 'basic human right' (p. 13), in response to the reality that this is rarely the case within the educational systems of its member states. The report reacts to this reality by offering a framework to encourage plurilingual and intercultural education through language policy development.

Likewise, in her research about teachers of English as an additional language (EAL) in the UK who are themselves bilinguals (in Turkish, in this case) and working in mainstream English classrooms, Creese (2004: 189) notes how 'the bulk of the language support in English schools is non-bilingual and is delivered in English'. She goes on to write:

Educational policy in England encourages the use of other languages only for transitional purposes; that is, until the student is proficient enough to learn the subject curriculum through English. The current policy has been developed around an argument that the huge diversity in languages which exist in English schools makes bilingual education in mainstream schooling impossible and undesirable. (p. 191)

A report for the Mayor of London's Office conducted by Issa, Allen & Ross (2008) in fact attributes poor educational attainment of students from Turkish, Turkish Kurdish, and Turkish Cypriot communities to the lack of bilingual education in English schools. These authors recommend that schools in London develop policies that 'value and recognise the importance of the first language and distinctiveness of culture within all ethnic groups', and ' earmark funds for initiatives that seek to raise the attainment of under-achieving pupils, such as long-term investment in bilingual learning initiatives across the curriculum' (Issa, Allen & Ross 2008: 36).

In their report on the education of minority language speakers in Europe, Dooly & Vallejo (2009) write the following, referring here to several other country reports by the Educational Policies that Address Social Inequality (EPASI) program:

It is possible to see, for instance in the Spain country report (Dooly & Vallejo 2008) how there is little attempt by the central government to teach or use minority languages (e.g., Tamazight) in provinces where at least 25 percent of the population speak these languages as their primary language . . . Similarly, it has been indicated that immigrant populations are among 'the groups that are most prone to being identified as functionally illiterate' in Greece (Spinthourakis et al. 2008: 14). In the Czech Republic country report, immigrant and Roma populations are directly linked with issues of social integration (especially economic) with a subsequent focus on the teaching of Czech language. (Dooly & Vallejo 2009: 24)

These authors argue that the failure to provide home language instruction results in poor performance of emergent bilinguals in school, limiting the students' literacy development and opportunities for success.

The attack on bilingual education has been well documented in the US, where home language instruction has become highly politicized and tied to heated national immigration debates. While in the past only a minority of all emergent bilinguals in US schools ever received bilingual education, there are even fewer opportunities for such students to do so now (see, for instance, Wiley & Wright 2004; Hornberger 2005; Crawford 2007; Menken 2008; Gándara et al. 2010; Wright 2010; Arias & Faltis 2012). For example, the states of California, Arizona,

and Massachusetts, which serve large numbers of emergent bilinguals, have in recent years adopted ballot measures that seek to eliminate bilingual education altogether, resulting in a dramatic reduction of bilingual programs in those states (as documented in Crawford 2007; Gándara & Hopkins 2010; Arias & Faltis 2012). The term ‘bilingual education’ has also been altogether removed from federal education policy in the US, so that, for instance, what was the *Bilingual Education Act* has been replaced by *Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students* and the ‘Office of Bilingual Educational and Minority Languages Affairs’ is now called the ‘Office of English Language Acquisition’ (Menken 2008; García 2009). US federal education policy now requires high-stakes testing in English, which has resulted in a further reduction of bilingual education programs in the country (Wiley & Wright 2004; Hornberger 2005; Crawford 2007; Gándara & Baca 2008; Menken 2008; Menken & Solorza forthcoming). Moreover, while bilingual education is implemented in many countries around the world, it is not typically the favored approach for emergent bilinguals, who often come from minoritized backgrounds, to acquire the dominant language.

## 5. Emergent bilinguals along the academic language and literacy spectrum in secondary schools

In this review, attention now turns to emergent bilingual students who are in the process of simultaneously developing academic language and literacy knowledge while learning content at the secondary level. Although secondary schools are best prepared to meet the needs of emergent bilinguals who already possess high levels of academic language and literacy skills in their home language, there are large numbers of students arriving in secondary schools at the earlier stages of academic language and literacy development. Moreover, secondary level emergent bilinguals are a diverse population, and it is important that the complexity of their language and literacy practices be recognized and targeted accordingly in educational programming.

Specifically, research has identified the following three main groups of emergent bilinguals at the secondary level (Olsen & Jaramillo 1999; Ruiz de Velasco & Fix 2000; Freeman et al. 2002; Menken, Kleyn & Chae 2012):

- 1) New arrivals with adequate schooling,
- 2) Students with interrupted and/or limited formal education (including refugees), and
- 3) Long-term English language learners.

The first group includes emergent bilinguals who are NEW ARRIVALS, who have attended school in their new country for five years or fewer, and who are literate in their home language. These students often perform poorly in the state language at first, but will acquire academic language in a relatively short period of time (Callahan 2006). Most research studies of secondary emergent bilinguals and the educational programs commonly implemented for these students cater to this first group and were designed only with them in mind (Menken, Kleyn & Chae 2012).

In this review, the second and third groups listed above are described in greater detail below. The second group, NEW ARRIVALS WITH INTERRUPTED AND/OR LIMITED FORMAL EDUCATION, many of whom are refugees, have no home language literacy skills or are at the beginning stages of literacy learning, and thus perform at least two grade levels below their peers (Ruiz de Velasco & Fix 2000; Freeman et al. 2002; Klein & Martohardjono 2006; DeCapua, Smathers & Tang 2007). The third group, called LONG-TERM ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS, have attended school in their receiving country for seven or more years (Ruiz de Velasco & Fix 2000; Freeman et al. 2002; Freeman & Freeman 2009; Menken & Kley 2010; Olsen 2010). These students are usually orally proficient in the state language, often sounding indistinguishable from students who are monolinguals in that language. While the students are able to use their languages for social purposes, they are characterized by low levels of academic language and literacy in the dominant language and in their home language (Ruiz de Velasco & Fix 2000; Menken & Kley 2009, 2010; Menken, Kley & Chae 2012).

New empirical research being generated shows how typical secondary school programs assume that students possess strong literacy skills, and thereby fail to meet the needs of those students who do not (Freeman et al. 2002; Olsen 2010; Menken, Kley & Chae 2012). Taken together, what these research findings highlight is the need to think about emergent bilinguals in differing locations along a complex language and literacy spectrum, both in the dominant state language and in their home language. Moreover, research has identified academic language and literacy as a primary reason for differences in performance among emergent bilinguals, drawing attention to the need for appropriate educational programming at the secondary level.

As was described above in Section 4 of this review article, reconceptualizations of language norms as socially constructed have allowed for the recognition of the language practices of bilinguals as dynamic, fluid, and innovative as opposed to deficient (Shohamy 2006; García 2009; Blackledge & Creese 2010; Canagarajah 2011a). But this embracing of dynamic language practices and fluid identities has not yet been applied in the literature about SIFE or LTELLs, or adopted in the educational programming that bilinguals receive in secondary schools.

### 5.1 Students with interrupted formal education/refugee students

As noted above, secondary students who are new arrivals but who are at the earliest stages of academic language and literacy development are termed STUDENTS WITH INTERRUPTED FORMAL EDUCATION (or SIFE). These students are also referred to in research as students with 'Limited Formal Schooling', 'Limited Prior Schooling', or 'Limited Formal Education' and as 'Newcomers' (e.g., Constantino & Lavadenz 1993; Short 2002; Short & Boyson 2004). As a number of these students hold official refugee status and, conversely, many refugees are labeled SIFE, the literature about adolescent REFUGEES is also presented below. Much of the research reported here highlights what researchers perceive as limitations in the students' language and literacy for academic purposes; while the academic needs of SIFE are important to note, later in this review I critique the tendency among researchers to focus solely on the

students' deficits, and apply a dynamic languaging lens in making my critique. First I outline the research as it is presented, and return to the critique in the sections that follow.

While there remains limited research about SIFE overall (Freeman et al. 2002; Ontario Ministry of Education 2008), here I overview what has been published to date. In the US, where much of the research about these students has been conducted, Ruiz de Velasco & Fix (2000) reported that 20% of all emergent bilinguals in high school and 12% of emergent bilinguals in middle school have missed two or more years of schooling. Australia, another top refugee resettlement country along with the US and Canada (according to McBrien 2011), generates a good deal of research about refugee students, and the state of Victoria reports that about 8% of the student population is comprised of new arrivals with little, no, or severely interrupted schooling (Brown, Miller & Mitchell 2006). Literature about SIFE across these countries highlights concern for the poor performance of these students and their disproportionate course failure and dropout rates ([Canada] Kanu 2008; Toohey & Derwing 2008; [US] Freeman et al. 2002; Boyson & Short 2003; [Australia] Brown, Miller & Mitchell 2006; Matthews 2008).

In describing the characteristics of SIFE in the US, Freeman et al. (2002) write:

They have not developed literacy in their first language, they have not developed the academic concepts that other students their age have, and their English is very limited. Thus, there is a gap between their current language and academic proficiency and the proficiency that schools expect from students their age . . . Teachers need to prepare these students to compete with native English speakers and with other English learners who are also new arrivals, but who have a strong academic background in their first language. (Freeman et al. 2002: ix–x)

As with much of the literature about SIFE, these authors point to the need for the students to acquire the academic language and literacy skills that secondary schooling demands both in the state language as well as in their home language, all within a limited period of time. In this passage, Freeman et al. (2002) describe the challenges SIFE face in acquiring language and literacy simultaneously, on top of the need to acquire academic content, particularly within the high-stakes testing context that characterizes US secondary education at present. However, rather than noting the students' dynamic languaging practices, the students are described here through a monolingual lens with a focus on English acquisition.

Boyson & Short (2003) confirm the findings of Freeman et al. (2002) with regard to the difficulty of developing language and literacy skills while simultaneously acquiring a new language within such a short time frame. They note how emergent bilinguals who arrive in US secondary schools with strong prior academic preparation have the greatest likelihood of educational success given appropriate instruction, and compare SIFE to these students in the following passage:

Their [SIFE] schooling may have been interrupted for reasons of war or other military conflict, isolated locales, and seasonal agricultural demands, among other reasons. In some countries, adolescent students are only required to attend school part time. Public education in parts of Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean can end after sixth grade . . . The newcomer students with limited formal schooling and below grade-level literacy are most at risk for educational failure. These students have weak literacy skills in their native language, lack English language skills and knowledge in specific subject areas, and often need additional time to become accustomed to school routines and expectations in the United States. (Boyson & Short 2003: 2–3)

As these authors observe, prior schooling and corresponding home language and literacy skills appears to be a great predictor of academic success in an additional language in secondary school (a finding supported by August & Shanahan 2006). Again, the exacting pressure of high-stakes testing in the US and high school graduation requirements demand that SIFE acquire both language and content very quickly, an unrealistic task for most.

As Boyson & Short (2003) indicate in the quotation above, the schooling of SIFE may have been interrupted for the range of reasons they mention, or it might have been limited for other reasons. What is more, the challenges these students face in school might not have been caused by actual interruptions to their schooling, but rather by differences in the schooling they received. While many school systems define SIFE as having received at least two years less schooling than their peers and functioning at least two grade levels below in reading and mathematics, Klein & Martohardjono (2006) found in their research study that some SIFE students enrolled in US schools had never missed any schooling at all. Instead, these students attended school consistently in their country of origin without significant interruption, and simply received what these authors term 'nonparallel schooling'.

Carrasquillo, Kucer & Abrams (2004) focus on the role of cognitive development in the challenges that SIFE face. As they write:

[S]ince most literacy skills are transferable among languages, ELL students with mastery of native language literacy skills may transfer these skills into their second language. We hypothesize that this is perhaps not the case with the 'struggling ELL,' and that the low English literacy of a significant group of ELLs stems from their difficulty in developing a cognitive language framework or foundation for learning English and English literacy (reading or writing). (Carrasquillo et al. 2004: 13)

In this passage, the authors reference Cummins' (2000) linguistic interdependence hypothesis and the idea that academic skills such as literacy that are developed in a students' home language will transfer to the second language. Or, taking a more dynamic view of bilingualism with fluidity between 'first' and 'second' language (as per García 2009), 'skills are skills'; accordingly, academic skills a student develops in either language are skills that the student possesses. What Carrasquillo et al. (2004) propose, however, is that emergent bilinguals may need to have a stronger cognitive foundation for them to perform well in school. This portrayal of SIFE students as somehow mentally limited simply because they do not have high levels of language or literacy for academic purposes, is a problematic extrapolation. For instance, the cognitive foundation of English monolinguals is not drawn into question when their literacy skills are limited, a line of critique I return to later in this review.

Whatever the reason for emergent bilinguals to be labeled 'SIFE', and in the absence of any description of their linguistic resources, much of the research about this student population generated outside the US also focuses on their need to acquire academic language and literacy. For instance, Brown, Miller & Mitchell (2006) conducted qualitative research about the experiences of Sudanese refugees attending high school in Melbourne, Australia and, from their interviews with students and teachers, identified academic language and literacy as presenting great challenges to the students in school. These challenges include subject-specific knowledge, involving the grammar, spelling, and technical or specialized vocabulary in subjects such as social studies and science. Further challenges cited by students included cultural literacies (for example, that would allow students to understand

a culture-specific concept such as ‘Gold Coast Tourism’) and pedagogy (such as small group work, commonplace in many Australian schools but to which many emergent bilinguals are unaccustomed). The need to focus attention on SIFE academic language and literacy development is addressed elsewhere in Australian scholarship about this student population (Cassity & Gow 2005; Matthews 2008; Naidoo 2009; Cranitch 2010; Dooley & Thangaperumal 2011).

Johansson et al. (2001) likewise divide Canadian SIFE, whom they term ‘English as a second language (ESL) literacy students’, into the following three categories according to their home language literacy levels: 1) pre-literate and non-literate, 2) semi-literate, and 3) functionally literate. They set guidelines and expectations for the students’ literacy acquisition according to level. Kanu’s (2008) research in Canada notes a number of challenges that SIFE face, including difficulty with academic skills such as a fast-paced curriculum, limited differentiation of instruction for SIFE students in mainstream classrooms, and difficulty with note-taking, studying, academic writing, critical thinking, literacy and numeracy, and organizational skills. Kanu (2008) notes further challenges specific to the subset of SIFE who are also refugee students that may impede their learning, such as acculturation stress, separation from families, and numerous psychosocial challenges of having experienced trauma.

While the body of research reported in this section provides important understandings of SIFE students and their needs in school, much of it, and particularly that which describes the students and their characteristics, focuses on their lack of academic language and literacy skills and even cognitive deficiencies. As a result, these studies can promulgate the deficit view of the students that is already prevalent in many schools. By contrast, other paradigms, such as translanguaging research promoted by García (2009) and others cited above, highlight the students’ complex home language and literacy practices. I propose that this more recent body of research about dynamic languaging offers a different way of seeing SIFE students, by sharpening our focus on the linguistic resources the students bring with them to school, rather than seeing them mainly for what they fail to bring.

## 5.2 Institutional barriers faced by SIFE and refugees in secondary schools

In many contexts, the challenges that SIFE face in acquiring the academic language and content that secondary school demands are compounded by the structure of traditional secondary schools. In the US, for example, traditional high schools are organized by subject area, with strict departmental divisions according to discipline. Such a structure provides little room to make language learning a high priority or to focus on the needs specific to SIFE.

Unfortunately, the institutional structures of most comprehensive American high schools create barriers rather than pathways to achievement for ELLs. English language learners need high schools that offer flexibility and responsiveness to their multi-faceted linguistic, academic, economic, social and cultural needs. Adolescent ELLs flourish when educators are able to cultivate scholastically challenging, multicultural, multilingual learning environments. (Spaulding, Carolino & Amen 2004: 8)

Some SIFE students attending US schools receive specialized instruction focused specifically on their learning needs, typically through attending a one-year or summer program for

SIFE, or in SIFE classes set apart from those of other emergent bilinguals. In spite of research highlighting the importance of home language instruction for SIFE (Klein & Martohardjono 2006; DeCapua, Smathers & Tang 2007; DeCapua & Marshall 2010; Lukes 2011), Short & Boyson (2011) find in their evaluation of newcomer programs nationally that the majority of SIFE programs offer only English as a second language (ESL) rather than bilingual education. Thus, instruction within these programs serving SIFE is typically in English only. What is more, SIFE in most school systems attend English monolingual classes in which they are mixed with other emergent bilinguals and often with native English speakers as well, in spite of the wide differences between the learning needs of each of these student groups. What is more, many SIFE in Canada and the US are also routinely placed into ninth grade upon arrival, regardless of their age, to offer them more time to meet graduation requirements. These placement practices mean that many SIFE are older than their grade-level peers, which offers a further layer of psychosocial complexity in the schooling experiences of these students (Johansson et al. 2001; Freeman et al. 2002; Dávila 2012).

In his qualitative study of SIFE from the Vietnamese Central Highlands attending school in the southeast US, Dávila (2012) finds that emergent bilinguals in the high school he examined are enrolled in one 90-minute ESL class daily, with the remainder of their school day spent in 'mainstream' or non-ESL classes with native English speakers. He documents how instruction in the mainstream classes is rarely differentiated for emergent bilinguals, let alone for those who are SIFE. Dávila (2012) terms this a 'sink-or-swim' situation in that the needs specific to SIFE students are left unaddressed, and points out how 'certain normative school structures and interactions prove detrimental to their language learning, their self-esteem and their motivation to succeed' (Dávila 2012: 139). Specifically, he argues that placing SIFE in mainstream classrooms which demand that they perform to the level of their English monolingual peers, in the absence of modified curricula or assessments, is a form of oppression that will ultimately perpetuate uneven power and class dynamics, limiting chances for upward social or economic mobility.

Research also points to structural issues in Australian secondary schools that limit their ability to meet the needs of students with interrupted formal education, as indicated in the following quote:

Currently Australian schools are poorly funded and ill-equipped to provide effective English as a Second Language teaching and support. A new cohort of refugee students mainly from Africa and the Middle East are struggling. (Matthews 2008: 31)

Many SIFE in Australia who are of secondary school age attend specialized six- or twelve-month intensive English programs called Intensive English Centres that vary in design from state to state, and are then mainstreamed (Miller, Mitchell & Brown 2005; Ferfolja & Vickers 2010).

There is a good deal of Australian literature that emphasizes the difficulty of the transition out of the Intensive English Centres for SIFE students, highlighting the lack of school and teacher preparedness in mainstream schools to meet the students' needs, as well as the demand for longer programming options specialized for this population (Nsubuga-Kyobe &

Dimock 2002; Miller, Mitchell & Brown 2005; Miller 2009; Naidoo 2009; Cranitch 2010; Ferfolja & Vickers 2010).

The English language support system that has evolved over the past half-century is built on the assumption that an initial six- or twelve-month ESL program would be sufficient to teach English to children who were literate in their first language and had mostly attended school for several years. Teaching pre-literate children to read is quite different from teaching English reading skills to children who are fluent readers in their mother tongue. Yet there has been no change in the original policy under which support for new arrivals was limited to just four terms, or 12 months, in an IEC. (Ferfolja & Vickers 2010: 160)

Specific pedagogical challenges that arise for mainstream teachers include appropriately differentiating instruction for students with such a wide range of abilities and prior knowledge, developing curricula and pedagogy appropriate to the literacy needs of SIFE, availability of appropriate materials, and addressing the emotional needs of refugee students who have experienced trauma (Miller, Mitchell & Brown 2005).

To further support secondary school SIFE who are refugees in making the transition from Intensive English Centres into mainstream classrooms, Naidoo (2009, 2010) and Ferfolja & Vickers (2010) describe the Refugee Action Support program in Greater Western Sydney. The program provides an approach to literacy development that employs small-group tutoring provided after school by university pre-service teachers in secondary teacher education working as tutors for teenage refugee SIFE. Specific benefits of the program for the students that are cited in these qualitative research studies include increased academic skills particularly in language and literacy, multiple identity construction, improved student performance, student empowerment through involvement and engagement in education agendas, and pedagogy and curricula that are student-centered. The main purpose of the program is to fill the gaps left by the school system's Intensive English Centres, which these authors argue do not offer sufficient support to meet the needs of SIFE.

As is the case in the US, instruction of SIFE in Australia is also typically in English only. For instance, Hatoss & Sheely (2009) share the results of a sociolinguistic survey-based study of the Sudanese community in a regional settlement in South-East Queensland. Their findings demonstrate that even though the Sudanese refugee community in Australia is 'strongly attached' to their home language, Dinka, English was typically the sole language of instruction in schools.

Thus, monolingual instruction persists in schools serving SIFE internationally in spite of research arguing the benefits of home-language instruction for them (Carrasquillo, Kucer & Abrams 2004; August & Shanahan 2006; Klein & Martohardjono 2006; DeCapua, Smathers & Tang 2007; DeCapua & Marshall 2010; Lukes 2011). Similarly, culturally relevant instruction for these students to foster their acquisition of language for academic purposes is rarely provided (Nykiel-Herbert 2010), reflecting a continuation of deficit views of SIFE students and their families as well as wide cultural and linguistic dissonance between home and school language practices (García 2009; Roy & Roxas 2011).

### 5.3 Long-term English language learners and generation 1.5 students

As noted above, students who have attended school in their receiving country for seven years or more and are still eligible for language support services such as ESL and/or bilingual

education programming are labeled Long-Term English Language Learners (LTELLs) in the US (Freeman et al. 2002; Menken & Kleyn 2010; Olsen 2010). While not conflating the terms, there is, as I describe later in this section, overlap in the literature describing LTELLs and that of students labeled YOUNGER-ARRIVING ESL LEARNERS or GENERATION 1.5; so later in this section I include research about these student groups.

While there has been little research to date about LTELLs or educational programming specifically tailored for them, there is great demand from educators in the field for further information about how to serve this population of emergent bilinguals, whose needs differ from those of new arrivals, and who account for a significant proportion of the emergent bilingual population at the secondary level. In the US, for instance, LTELLs now comprise approximately one-third of all secondary emergent bilinguals in New York City and in Chicago (New York City Department of Education 2008; Chicago Public Schools administrator, personal communication, 12 November 2010). At the state level, LTELLs comprise 23% of all emergent bilinguals in Colorado, and 50% in California (Olsen 2010). As is the case for SIFE, the research about these students typically focuses on their perceived academic deficits, at the expense of exploring their complex and dynamic languaging practices and presenting more holistic ways of seeing this student population. Below I apply this critique to my own earlier research about this student population.

Freeman et al. (2002) conducted one of the earliest formal studies of LTELLs, involving a small sample of students at the secondary school level in the US. Like others since then (e.g. Bernstein 2004; Menken & Kleyn 2010; Olsen 2010; Calderón & Minaya-Rowe 2011; Menken, Kleyn & Chae 2012), they found that these students experienced inconsistencies in their schooling, ‘in and out of various English as a Second Language [ESL] or bilingual programs without ever having benefited from any kind of consistent program support’ (Freeman et al. 2002: 5). They note how the academic performance of LTELLs lags far behind that of their grade level peers, a point confirmed in other research. A study of emergent bilinguals in Texas conducted by Flores, Batalova & Fix (2012) shows that LTELLs scored below their peers not only in English but also in mathematics. As they write: ‘Whereas 86 percent of students who exited an ELL program in three years “met the standard” in math in the 11th grade, only 59 percent of long-term ELLs “met the standard”’ (Flores, Batalova & Fix 2012: 12). Another study of LTELLs in the Dallas Public Schools (Texas) shows that the overall academic performance of these students does not consistently improve over time, as there appears to be a ceiling to their level of academic language and literacy attainment in English (Yang, Urrabazo & Murray 2001). Accordingly, LTELLs are disproportionately likely to fail courses, be retained in grade, or drop out (Menken & Kleyn 2010).

Menken, Kleyn & Chae (2012) conducted a descriptive, qualitative study in New York to provide information about the academic and social characteristics of LTELLs. The students are found to regularly translanguage in their daily lives, in that they fluidly move between the languages they speak. Their research highlights inconsistencies in the education of LTELLs within and between programs, schools, and countries. Drawing on interview data, they identified three main categories of LTELLs (noting that students may fall into more than one category):

- 1) Students with inconsistent US schooling, whereby the system has shifted them between bilingual education, ESL programs, and mainstream classrooms with no language support programming;
- 2) Transnational students, who have moved back and forth between the US and their family's country of origin; and,
- 3) Students with consistently subtractive schooling, who were enrolled in subtractive models of bilingual education and/or ESL in the US, which failed to provide a strong foundation in English or their home languages. (Menken, Kleyn & Chae 2012: 127–128)

Based on a mixed-methods study of LTELLs in New York City schools, Menken & Kleyn (2010) elaborate how the experiences of these primarily US-educated students can be described as 'subtractive', regardless of the above categories into which they fall, in that their home languages have not been developed in school and instead largely replaced with English. They find that this has been a significant contributing factor to the students being labeled 'long-term ELLs' over time. The authors offer recommendations to curtail the number of students who eventually become LTELLs, by ensuring that emergent bilinguals 'be offered the opportunity to develop their native languages in US schools in programs with clear and consistent language policies, which seek to develop bilingualism and biliteracy' (Menken & Kleyn 2010: 413). Together, these studies (Menken & Kleyn 2010; Menken, Funk & Kleyn 2011; Menken, Kleyn & Chae 2012) promote educational programming for LTELLs at the secondary level that is differentiated from that of other emergent bilinguals, and which teaches academic language and literacy skills explicitly in all subjects through the medium of English and the student's home language.

Olsen (2010) produced a report seeking to spotlight the large numbers of LTELLs in California, drawing upon a survey of 40 districts in the state. Offering further support for the findings presented above, in spite of differences in methodology, this report identifies challenges LTELLs face in school, notes that their prior schooling has been characterized by inconsistent and inappropriate language programming, and highlights how 'few districts have designated programs or formal approaches for them' (Olsen 2010: 2). Olsen (2010) problematizes that there are any LTELLs at all, a population who she asserts would not exist with improvements to policy and language programming. As she writes, her report, entitled *Reparable Harm*, is 'a wake up call to California educators and policymakers to recognize the large number of English Learner students amassing in California secondary schools. . . [who] are still not English proficient and have incurred major academic deficits' (Olsen 2010: 1). While the author's main point is to improve California secondary schools, and this point is well taken, it is worth noting that the depiction of the students' language practices is negative and framed in terms of what they lack rather than what they bring.

Rubinstein-Avila (2004) provides a case study of the complex literacy practices of an 8th grade LTELL named Miguel. The case study found that despite the fact that Miguel used a great deal of literacy in his home, as the translator of important documents for his mother, he continued to struggle in school because of his academic language skills in both English and Spanish. The author documented some strategies that Miguel's 8th grade teachers used to improve his literacy including sustained silent reading and the explicit teaching of strategies such as the use of subheadings and context clues. The author argues that all secondary teachers must be trained in how to effectively teach LTELLs.

Based on their research about these students in Canada, Roessingh & Kover (2002) use the term YOUNGER-ARRIVING ESL LEARNERS to refer to LTELLs, whom they define as immigrant students who were born in Canada or entered Canadian schools at a young age. They note how many were exited from ESL programming, yet experienced academic difficulties at the high school where the study was conducted. Accordingly, the staff created a program to assist this population of students, involving a sheltered English class in the 9th and 10th grades in conjunction with an ESL adjunct class, in which the sheltered English class primarily focused on concepts and the ESL adjunct class focused on explicitly teaching the learning strategies and academic language needed for the students to understand those concepts.

There is some overlap between LTELLs and students termed GENERATION 1.5 in US, Canadian, and Australian literature, a population of emergent bilinguals primarily educated in their receiving country. As Harklau (2003) defines the term, Generation 1.5 students immigrated to the US when of school age or were born in the US, but speak a language other than English at home and have different learning needs from other emergent bilinguals because they are familiar with US culture and schools, and yet 'they are usually less skilled in the academic language associated with school achievement, especially in the area of writing' (Harklau 2003: 1). Roberge (2002) includes transnational children who migrate with their families back and forth between the receiving country and their country of origin in his description of Generation 1.5 students. Generation 1.5 researchers have primarily focused on the challenges these students face in college, particularly in their writing, rather than the needs of these students in high school (Harklau, Losey & Siegal 1999; Roberge 2002; Harklau 2003; Miele 2003; Thonus 2003; Schwartz 2004; Singhal 2004; for exceptions, see Forrest 2006 and Yi 2007).

Singhal (2004) identifies the following six characteristics of Generation 1.5 students based on research conducted in the US:

- 1) nontraditional ESL learners (familiar with American culture)
- 2) ear learners (learned English primarily through hearing it and not through reading or writing)
- 3) limited knowledge of home language (whom the author terms 'academically illiterate')
- 4) growing knowledge of English
- 5) good aural/oral skills, and
- 6) inexperienced readers and writers.

Based on research on Generation 1.5 students placed into mainstream English composition classes rather than ESL classes upon entrance into college, Schwartz (2004) notes that the defining characteristics of these students include a lack of academic language in English or their home language, a familiarity with American culture, and a resistance to being labeled 'ESL'. Similarly, Gawienowski & Holper (2006) depict Generation 1.5 students as a disengaged group who no longer consider themselves ESL students and resent being placed in ESL classes. Again, the focus on student deficiencies is worthy of critique.

In writing about Generation 1.5 students in Canada, Vasquez (2007) analyzes a student who was able to use her advanced oral/aural proficiency in English to develop positive relationships with her Intensive English Program (IEP) professors and the international

students in her class, which positioned her as highly motivated and more knowledgeable than her peers. However, this masked the difficulties she continued to experience with academic language. Thus, despite achieving high marks in her IEP classes, her teachers assessed her writing skills as average or poor. Williamson (2012) shows similar findings in Australia, and writes:

By virtue of being schooled locally, these students often lack the usual markers of cultural or linguistic difference. Moreover, their native-like 'sound' leads educators to assume students are more proficient in academic language than they are. (Williamson 2012: A1)

In this quotation, the author describes the invisibility that this ability to pass as an English monolingual creates for Generation 1.5 students in Australia and elsewhere. The students' strong oral language, particularly when language is used for social purposes, makes it difficult for educators to recognize their need to develop academic language and literacy skills (Menken, Kleyn & Chae 2012). In the next section, I describe the mismatch between existing school structures and the students' needs, and then move on to further critique of the ways that the students are often negatively framed in the literature and in schools.

#### 5.4 Structural and ideological barriers to meeting the needs of LTELLs in secondary schools

As is the case for SIFE, the challenges that LTELLs and Generation 1.5 students face are compounded by the rigid and monoglossic structures (García 2009) of traditional secondary schools. Research notes how LTELLs are often dismissed by educators as failures, how many teachers are reluctant to teach this sub-group of emergent bilinguals, and how language programming for them is typically mismatched to their actual learning needs (Menken, Funk & Kleyn 2011; Menken, Kleyn & Chae 2012). For instance, Menken, Kleyn & Chae (2012) describe how secondary schools in the US are mainly set up for new arrivals with strong academic language and literacy skills in their home language, and do not differentiate instruction or distinguish programming for LTELLs from that of new arrivals. Accordingly, LTELLs usually attend ESL classes with new arrivals, where the curriculum and instruction they receive fails to account for their strong oral language skills when language is used for social purposes. LTELLs are also found to be easily confused with English monolinguals by their teachers. The reality is that these students require instruction that builds upon their language practices and that expands their academic language and literacy skills both orally and in writing. As these authors conclude: 'high schools can no longer ASSUME prior literacy ability among their ELL students, but instead must be prepared to TEACH literacy in explicit ways' (Menken, Kleyn & Chae 2012: 136).

Menken, Funk & Kleyn (2011) observe how this requires a shift in orientation for teachers, in that content-area teachers must also begin to think of themselves as language teachers, and language teachers (for example, of ESL or 'foreign' language) must begin to think of themselves as literacy teachers – a task which many resist, as documented in this study. The authors note that although ESL and bilingual teachers at the elementary level are typically prepared to teach literacy to their emergent bilingual students, secondary school teachers are

ill-prepared in their teacher education programs or professional development workshops to meet the needs of students learning literacy as well as language and academic skills. What is more, the rigid structures of discipline-based secondary schools run counter to the needs of SIFE and LTELLs who are acquiring academic language and literacy, making it harder for instruction to be differentiated appropriately for these students.

Many LTELLs and Generation 1.5 identify as native speakers of the language of school, and thus resist their placement in language support programming. Talmy (2004) observes how LTELLs and Generation 1.5 high school students in Hawai'i often resent being placed in ESL classes and ultimately reproduce the same linguisticism they have experienced in school by distancing themselves from new arrivals, whom they term 'fresh off the boat' (FOB), and positioning themselves as superior. To illustrate how the students are treated by their teachers, Talmy (2004) presents a classroom scenario in which the teacher asks the students to pick a holiday from their 'own country or culture' for a research project. She then rejects the suggestions of her LTELL students when they propose Christmas or New Year's as their holidays of choice for the assignment (instead, she accepted Chinese New Year's or other 'foreign' holidays). The author posits that the teacher's rejection of her students' holiday choices implies that Christmas and New Year's belong only to her, as an American, and not to the students, whom she positions as 'Others' – a positioning that the students in turn resist.

Similarly, Kleyn, Flores & Menken (forthcoming) find that students labeled LTELL often not only contest their placement into ESL classes and their official designation as 'English language learners' in the US, but also resist language arts classes taught in their home language, Spanish. The problem is that the home language practices of the students are frequently corrected and thereby marginalized by their Spanish teachers, who were prepared to teach Spanish as a foreign language to English monolinguals. This article rejects portrayals of LTELLs as somehow limited or deficient, and argues that the students instead be seen as complete and dynamic, along the lines of the arguments made in the next section. Moreover, it is evident that schooling needs to change to attend to the diversity of emergent bilinguals who are at different locations along the academic language and literacy spectrum.

## 6. SIFE, LTELLs, and Generation 1.5 students: From deficiency to dynamism

While perhaps helpful in order to identify areas where SIFE, LTELLs and Generation 1.5 students need academic support, we must critique that much of the literature analyzes the students through a monolingual lens. In so doing, much of the research about these secondary emergent bilinguals spotlights the students' perceived linguistic 'deficiencies', going so far as to suggest that such students have 'no language'. The following quotation offers an example of this orientation, in a passage about Generation 1.5 students:

Many of these students may become 'dual nonnative speakers' because they are not fully proficient in either their L1 or their L2 – English. Finally, while they may see themselves as native-English speakers because of their social and verbal skills, they are often less skilled in the academic skills necessary for college-level courses and the cognitive and linguistic demands of discipline-specific academic classes in English language institutions of higher learning. (Singhal 2004: 2)

From Singhal's (2004) perspective it appears that limited academic skills can strip students of native speaker status, even those who are native born. Further examples can be found elsewhere in the literature, which describes bilingual students who 'lack language' and are defined by 'low literacy skills' and 'poor performance'.

Some of my own earlier work about LTELLs is culpable in perpetuating such limited understandings, by focusing solely on the challenges these students face in secondary schools with regard to their academic language and literacy learning. One example is the article entitled 'The difficult road for long-term English learners' (Menken & Kleyn 2009), in which we describe these challenges in detail while failing to acknowledge the creative and dynamic ways the students actually use language.

Taking this further, these students have been termed 'non-nons', 'clinically disfluent', 'languageless', and 'semilingual' by educators and linguists (Valadez, MacSwan & Martínez 2002; Rosa 2010), and are seen as deficient in linguistic knowledge largely due to their failure to become English monolinguals. MacSwan (2000) refutes evidence for semilingualism from studies of language variation, structure of language, school performance, and language loss, and argues that 'semilingualism is essentially indistinguishable from classical prescriptivism' (p. 3) – prescriptivism being the view that some varieties of language are of inherently higher value than others, a doctrine that was rejected by linguists in the early twentieth century. Moreover, LTELLs are positioned as languageless semilinguals in this way despite the fact that, were they simply monolinguals, they would be considered proficient in either of their languages.

There are a few noteworthy exceptions to such deficit views within the literature, by authors highly critical of traditional, monoglossic ways of seeing emergent bilinguals, particularly those labeled SIFE, LTELL, or Generation 1.5. For example, Benesch (2008) argues there is a 'discourse of partiality' underlying the construct of Generation 1.5, comprised of: (1) the partiality of demographics, (2) the partiality of language, and (3) the partiality of academics. She argues that these three partialities perpetuate monocultural and monolingual ideologies, and portray Generation 1.5 students as in-between or deficient rather than as fluid and multiple. In juxtaposition to these partialities, the author provides counter-discursive texts by self-identified members of Generation 1.5 who see themselves in these more fluid ways, and offers recommendations on how to make educational institutions more welcoming and accountable for addressing this fluidity, for example by discussing race and Generation 1.5 perspectives in curricula, hiring more faculty of color, and creating campus-wide initiatives that explore multiple identities.

Gutiérrez & Orellana (2006) are highly critical of current research practices regarding emergent bilinguals and literacy. In specific, the authors critique the 'selective exemplification' practiced by researchers whose research serves to either perpetuate stereotypes or romanticize the experiences of these students, framing emergent bilinguals as the 'Other' to an unnamed mainstream culture. They argue that even the seemingly benign cultural mismatch theory falls into the trap of essentializing and pathologizing the 'Other' in suggesting that a change in culture will lead to increased academic achievement. The authors conclude with a call for a radical reformulation of research on emergent bilingual literacy, arguing that dualistic notions of Us–Them be replaced with a hybrid notion or one that explores similarities rather than differences.

Cenoz & Gorter (2011a) examine complex and dynamic languaging practices in Europe, centering on multilinguals in the Basque country in Spain. As they write:

However, in school contexts, the idea that non-native speakers are deficient communicators is still widespread. The goal for second-language learners and users is often to achieve native command of the target language, and this creates a feeling of failure and incompleteness. In this issue [of *The Modern Language Journal*] we consider that multilinguals and learners who are in the process of becoming multilingual should not be viewed as imitation monolinguals in a second language or additional language, but rather they should be seen as possessing unique forms of competence, or competencies, in their own right. (Cenoz & Gorter 2011a: 340)

Secondary emergent bilinguals with limited literacy skills are usually seen solely through a monolingual lens, as these authors describe and, accordingly, are regarded by educators and portrayed in scholarship as failures and/or as incomplete (or ‘partial’, to use the language of Benesch 2008).

In his article examining British Chinese children in complementary school classes through a multilingual, rather than a monolingual and monocultural lens, Wei (2011) dryly writes:

The multilinguality of the minority ethnic communities and their children seems to be a key contributing factor to the complex stigma associated with them. . . Their apparent inability to manage their linguistic repertoire by using only English creates communication barriers with mainstream society and gives rise to a ‘semilingual’ state of mind (i.e., deficient knowledge of any language). (Wei 2011: 372)

In response to this stigma, Wei (2011) analyzes the students’ multilingual and multimodal practices from a multicompetence perspective, which captures the students’ knowledge in a holistic way by accounting for all of their languages, the norms for using their languages in context, and how the different languages interact and produce ‘well-formed, contextually appropriate mixed-code utterances’ (p. 371), or what other scholars would term translanguaging (García 2009; Creese & Blackledge 2010). Wei (2011) uncovers complex, creative, and highly developed language practices in the ways that children use their languages flexibly and resourcefully to make meaning in schools that offer spaces for multilingualism and multilingual practices.

Likewise, Yi (2007) provides a case study of the beyond school literacy practices of a Generation 1.5 adolescent of Korean descent, with description of the online community of Korean Generation 1.5 students in which the research subject participated, and examines the multiple literacies, genres, and fluidity of language used in her writing. Yi (2007) argues that ignoring these out-of-school literacy practices provides only a partial picture of the students, who display sophisticated writing techniques outside of the classroom, but whose literacy practices are marginalized in school. Supporting this argument, Villalva (2006) presents findings from US case studies of two Latina bilingual high school writers engaged in a year-long research and writing project. Using a multiple literacies perspective, the author argues that the students engaged in ‘hidden literacies’ that indicated potential for the development of academic English.

Very often in the literature on multiple literacies, school literacies and home or personal literacies are presented as being in opposition to each other (Edelsky 1982; Gallego & Hollingsworth 2000). Even when value is not assigned to one sort of literacy over another, the home literacies of linguistically diverse

communities often are presented as diverging from school norms and expectations. Rarely is a case presented in which home literacies of linguistically diverse youth are shown to demonstrate skills required in school but presented in culturally unique ways. (Villalva 2006: 117)

The author points out how students demonstrate research skills and features of academic English that differ from the standard, with the result that they were invisible to the teachers. Villalva (2006) suggests reframing common approaches to the study of academic English by examining how out-of-school experiences shape understandings and how this knowledge can be incorporated into school-based literacy practices. Taken together, these studies point to missed opportunities in schools for educators to build on the language and literacy practices of secondary emergent bilinguals in order to extend these to the development of language for academic purposes.

## 7. Strategies for teaching academic language and literacy to SIFE and LTELLS

In the wake of recent research about secondary emergent bilinguals at differing stages of literacy acquisition, studies have recently been published that argue the importance of academic language and literacy for secondary emergent bilinguals (Ruiz de Velasco & Fix 2000; Colombi & Schleppegrell 2002; Snow & Biancarosa 2003; García & Godina 2004; Rubinstein-Avila 2004; Meltzer & Hamann 2005; August & Shanahan 2006; Short & Fitzsimmons 2007; Yi 2007) and that explore how to develop literacy among secondary students (Fisher & Frey 2003; Martin 2003; Chevalier 2004; Meltzer & Hamann 2005; Forrest 2006; Villalva 2006; Cloud, Genesee & Hamayan 2009; Freeman & Freeman 2009).

Some of these recommendations involve monolingual instruction. For instance, based on a study of an English literature program that was designed for a year seven boys' class (the first year of high school) in an Australian public school, Hammond (2006) argues for instruction and curriculum that are high challenge and high support, in which academic language is taught explicitly, and language and content instruction are integrated. The author recommends this approach in reaction to the more common Australian response of modifying the curriculum for emergent bilinguals, who then fall behind on important course content.

Fisher & Frey (2003) describe a 'gradual release model' for approaching writing with struggling adolescent readers, in which the teacher initially does most or all of the writing and gradually puts more of the responsibility for writing on the students. Their quantitative study involving struggling 9th graders in the US found improvement in student performance after implementation of this model, including a statistically significant improvement in the number of words students were able to write in a minute on a given topic, a statistically significant improvement in reading level, and the ability of 79% of the students to move on to high school level English classes compared to 50% school-wide for comparable students.

A number of the strategies proposed in the literature for the instruction of academic language and literacy instruction to emergent bilinguals involve bilingual approaches. For instance, Chevalier (2004) describes home language instruction to support learners in moving from social language, which many of the learners already possess, to academic discourse that

they do not possess. The author proposes a pedagogical model that could meet these needs, which is divided into the following four stages (each involving an oral and written phase): (1) conversation, (2) description and narrative, (3) evaluation and explanation, and (4) argument.

Forrest (2006) provides nine recommendations for a high school-level program designed to meet the needs of Generation 1.5 students. These are divided into curriculum-centered, learner-centered, and educator-centered recommendations. The curriculum-centered recommendations are to: (1) establish higher track classes as opposed to lower track classes, (2) provide a balanced approach to develop academic literacy skills across content areas, and (3) develop critical literacy. The learner-centered recommendations are to: (4) recognize and focus on meeting the diverse needs of learners, (5) consider the motivational levels of the learners, and (6) provide continued instruction in the learner's home language. The educator-centered recommendations are to: (7) provide balanced and holistic assessments, (8) make pacing and approaches to learning flexible, and (9) provide staff development that addresses English acquisition and literacy development strategies.

Martin (2003) describes the implementation of a Spanish language arts class for US Latino emergent bilinguals with 'insufficient schooling'. The principles of the course include building off literacies that students bring to class such as oral storytelling and understandings of narrative structures, a balance between higher order and lower order literacy and thinking skills, and individualized instructional plans for each student. He concludes with a call for greater collaboration between literacy, ESL, and content teachers to work on making these connections explicit.

However, even the literature advocating bilingual approaches still comes from a monoglossic perspective and addresses each of a bilingual's languages separately, without acknowledging the possibility that the minds of bilinguals work differently in ways that involve dynamic languaging, and that therefore demand new pedagogies and classroom practices. Moreover, there is a monolingual bias in the literature as well as in language teaching, particularly surrounding academic language and literacy instruction. As Hornberger & Link (2012) write in describing the continua of biliteracy:

Furthermore, when we consider biliteracy, the conjunction of literacy and bilingualism, it becomes clear that these multiple continua are interrelated dimensions of highly complex and fluid systems; and that it is in the dynamic, rapidly changing and sometimes contested spaces along and across multiple and intersecting continua that most biliteracy use and learning occur. . . [T]he call for opening up implementational and ideological spaces for fluid, multilingual, oral, contextualized practices and voices in educational policy and practice becomes an even more powerful imperative for contesting the social inequalities of language. (Hornberger & Link 2012: 265)

While acknowledging the ways that current educational policy in the US and elsewhere privileges monolinguals, through the continua of biliteracy they argue for embracing transnational literacy and translanguaging practices in schools as a means to 'envision and incorporate students' mobile, multilingual language and literacy repertoires as resources for learning' (Hornberger & Link 2012: 274).

In response to traditional research and pedagogy grounded in monolingual ideologies, Cenoz & Gorter (2011b) promote what they term a 'focus on multilingualism', which incorporates the entire linguistic repertoire of bi- or multilingual students and also

the relationships between their languages in research, teaching, and assessment. Using questionnaires and their analyses of formal and informal writing samples of secondary students who are home language speakers of Basque and/or Spanish in the Basque Country (Spain), these authors examine the students' trilingual development of writing skills in Basque, Spanish, and English. Their findings highlight the permeable relationship and interconnectedness of each of the students' languages, and creative language practices in their writing. Cenoz & Gorter (2011b) argue that their multilingual approach provides new insights about the way languages are learned and used. Along with others cited in Section 4.1 above (e.g., García 2009; Blackledge & Creese 2010; Creese & Blackledge 2010; Canagarajah 2011a, 2011b), these authors promote building upon the dynamic languaging of multilingual students through translanguaging pedagogy.

While there is at present no body of research setting guidelines for translanguaging pedagogy, García, Flores & Woodley (2012) begin to approach this by documenting secondary school teachers' translanguaging in Spanish and English when teaching in two New York City high schools where, on paper at least, the official program model provided is ESL. The authors argue that the traditional ESL vs. bilingual education dichotomy that has prevailed in English speaking countries does not apply to these school contexts, where teachers and students move fluidly between English and Spanish. In specific, they uncover how translanguaging supports the following three functions in these schools: 1) the contextualization of key words and concepts, 2) the development of metalinguistic awareness, and 3) the creation of affective bonds with students (García, Flores & Woodley 2012: 54). As the authors write:

Educators transgress English-only spaces in an effort to effectively educate Latino adolescents in an era of high standards for all. This Spanish–English BILINGUALISM IN EDUCATION is different from that of traditional BILINGUAL EDUCATION programmes where languages are kept separate. Instead, teachers and students use their discursive practices fluidly in order to educate effectively, building on translanguaging pedagogies. . . [T]ranslanguaging as pedagogy offers educators a way to harness the increased linguistic variation of students in the classrooms of today in order to educate meaningfully. (García, Flores & Woodley 2012: 73 [authors' emphasis])

In documenting how educators translanguage in classrooms, these authors are contributing towards the development of a body of research about translanguaging as pedagogy.

Taking their understandings further, the City University of New York/New York State Initiative for Emergent Bilinguals (CUNY-NYSIEB)<sup>2</sup> has developed a translanguaging guide, authored by Celic & Seltzer (2011), as an early attempt to move research about translanguaging into pedagogy through concrete strategies for educators. Part 1 of the guide lays the foundation for translanguaging work in schools, including instructional design, collaborative work, and the use of multilingual resources. Part 2 focuses on using translanguaging strategies to acquire academic content and advanced literacy practices, and Part 3 explores how translanguaging can assist with specific aspects of language development (Celic & Seltzer 2011). Efforts such as these would engender deeper understandings about how educators should translanguage and leverage the dynamic languaging of emergent bilinguals strategically in order to enhance their learning.

<sup>2</sup> Ofelia García and Kate Menken are the co-principal investigators of this project.

## 8. Conclusion: Implications for practice and future research

This review provides an overview of research about emergent bilinguals at the secondary level and focuses on recent scholarship about students who arrive in secondary schools at the earlier stages along the academic language and literacy continuum. The article summarizes international bilingual education research about secondary school students, much of which maintains that emergent bilinguals in general underperform as compared to their monolingual peers. An overview of research about language and literacy for academic purposes is provided, highlighting what is required of emergent bilinguals by the secondary schools they attend, where instruction is typically monolingual or steeped in monoglossic ideologies in spite of substantial research promoting the positive effects of bilingual education.

To highlight the growing body of literature about secondary students along a literacy continuum, I focused this review article on two groups of emergent bilinguals: 1) students with interrupted formal education, many of whom are refugees and 2) students labeled long-term English language learners and Generation 1.5. Little had been published about these student groups until quite recently, making this a very significant area of inquiry in order to deepen understandings of emergent bilinguals at the secondary level as a whole. The research about these students centers on their academic language and literacy skills, both in their home language as well as in the dominant state language, and seeks to uncover how best to address their needs. Yet in so doing, researchers as well as educators in this area – myself included – have perpetuated deficit views of the students by focusing solely on their perceived academic shortcomings, which are rooted in seeing the students as partial monolinguals rather than as complete bilinguals.

To critique and extend the literature and educational practices in the secondary schools that the students attend, I draw heavily on new research documenting the dynamic languaging practices of emergent bilinguals, and specifically translanguaging. This research, much of which has been conducted in schools, highlights the complex and creative home language and literacy practices of emergent bilinguals – including those at earlier points on the academic language and literacy continuum. This review presents bilingual and monolingual strategies identified in recent research for the explicit teaching of academic language and literacy skills to secondary emergent bilinguals.

My argument in this review holds a number of implications, both for practice and for further scholarship. Regarding implications for practice, it is evident that the schooling that SIFE and LTELLs receive needs to change in secondary schools around the world. First and foremost, what distinguishes these students from other emergent bilinguals must be recognized by educators and policymakers to ensure the adoption and implementation of appropriate curricula and instruction. Towards this end, teacher preparation programs must make sure that the secondary school teachers they certify understand the diversity within the emergent bilingual population and are prepared to teach academic language and literacy explicitly to students all along the spectrum, including SIFE and LTELLs. Professional development for teachers who do not have this expertise must be provided by the school systems in which they are teaching. Starting from the early grades, I recommend that schools serving emergent bilinguals provide bilingual education programs whenever possible and incorporate

translanguaging pedagogies in instruction so that students can develop the academic language and literacy skills that secondary schools demand.

In terms of implications for bilingual education scholarship, further research is needed about SIFE and LTELLs in general, and specifically about their dynamic languaging and literacy practices, so that their knowledge and skills can be built upon and extended in instruction. More information is necessary about the students' academic strengths and challenges, and about their educational experiences prior to arriving in secondary schools, so that instruction can be tailored to their needs. Because translanguaging is cited in recent studies as holding great potential as pedagogy for all emergent bilinguals, further research is needed to better understand how SIFE and LTELLs translanguage in classrooms and in their lives outside school so that these practices can be harnessed and leveraged in instruction. Moreover, further research is needed about emergent bilinguals at the secondary level in general, particularly those students at earlier points along the academic language and literacy continuum, which acknowledges and seeks to build upon the students' dynamic languaging and complex literacy practices.

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