

International Journal of
MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION

ISSN: (Print) ISSN 1987-9601

(Online) E ISSN 1512-3146

Journal homepage: <http://multilingualeducation.org/>

**Reconsidering Monolingual Strategies of Bilingual
Education through Translanguaging and Plurilingual
Educational Approaches. Are We Moving Back or Forward?**

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To cite this article: Shalva Tabatadze (2021): Reconsidering Monolingual Strategies of Bilingual Education through Translanguaging and Plurilingual Educational Approaches. Are We Moving Back or Forward?: International Journal of Multilingual Education, #17, pp. 48-64.
DOI: 10.22333/ijme.2021.17003
To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.22333/ijme.2021.17003>
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Reconsidering Monolingual Strategies of Bilingual Education through Translanguaging and Plurilingual Educational Approaches. Are We Moving Back or Forward?

ABSTRACT

This study explores monolingual and multilingual strategies in bilingual education by investigating translanguaging practices in the Georgian monolingual Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). Two research questions guided this research: (1) What Translanguaging practices do teachers use in the CLIL Natural Science program with a monolingual approach? (2) What is the rationale for teachers' translanguaging pedagogical approaches in monolingual Natural Science lessons in the CLIL? The study utilized a classroom observation qualitative research method to answer the designed research questions. The findings reveal that the planned and implemented curricula differ considerably. The translanguaging approach is more emergent instruction rather than a well-planned and organized process. Second, teachers use translanguaging in scaffolding to support students and explain new teaching materials to be comprehensible. Third, translanguaging makes the instruction more student-centred. when switching to translanguaging, students become more active and more actively engaged in the learning process Fourth, translanguaging in the Georgian separated CLIL model is a more spontaneous strategy derived from classroom dynamics than planned to support learners' linguistic repertoire. Accordingly, it can be characterized as one of the pedagogical practice of translanguaging, codeswitching, rather than translanguaging itself. Finally, translanguaging is an instrument for teachers' empowerment.

Keywords: *Translanguaging, Bilingual Education, Georgia, Monolingual and Multilingual Approaches*

Conceptualizing Translanguaging/The Evaluation of Term of Translanguaging

The term translanguaging appeared first in the scientific literature by the end of the 20th century and evolved significantly. The following descriptions have appeared in the scientific literature: (a) Translanguaging as a pedagogical approach (Williams, 1996; (García and

Otheguy, 2020; Baker, 2001, 2006; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011); (b) Translanguaging as an individual's language repertoire (García, 2009a; Canagarajah, 2011; García & Li Wei, 2014); (c) Translanguaging as semiotics and a pedagogical approach for communication (García & Li Wei, 2014; Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015); (d) Translanguaging in society and social function of languages (García, 2009b; Goodman & Tastanbek, 2021).

The term translanguaging was used in Welsh by teacher Cen Williams in 1994 as a pedagogical approach that allowed students to use Welsh and English language in the classroom in different situations to develop receptive and productive skills (García & Otheguy, 2020). The term first was used as a pedagogical approach, and subsequent authors defined it. For example, Cenoz & Gorter (2011) referred to translanguaging as the “combination of two or more languages in a systematic way within the same learning activity” (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, 359). Similarly, Baker (2011) defined translanguaging as “the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, understandings, and knowledge through two languages. Both languages are integrated and coherent to organize and mediate mental processes in learning” (Baker, 2011, 288). The definition was transformed evolved from teaching strategy to the social function of languages.

García (2009a) expanded the pedagogical term of translanguaging, describing it as “multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage to make sense of their bilingual worlds” (p.45). This definition portrays multilingual practices from the perspective of users rather than the language itself (García 2009a). Similarly, Canagarajah (2011) regarded translanguaging as “the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system (García, 2009a, 401). These definitions switched from linguistic understanding of translanguaging to the language resource as an integrated repertoire possessed by multilingual speakers. The primary focus became multilingual speakers and their language repertoire (García & Li Wei, 2014).

The term evolved further, and multimodal semiotics as a resource for communication was articulated (García & Li Wei, 2014). According to Otheguy, García, & Reid (2015), translanguaging refers to the “deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages” (García, & Reid, 2015, 281). From this perspective, language is an essential tool for communication with its full representation. As a pedagogical approach, Li Wei (2018) defined it as transsemiotic practices “that involve flexible use of named languages and language varieties as well as other semiotic resources” (Li Wei, 2018, 14). The pedagogical practice of translanguaging is most frequently implemented through

code-switching and translation methods; however, scholars underline the difference between these strategies and translanguaging itself. Code-switching and translation methods are monolingual approaches to multilingualism, while the understanding of translanguaging is the holistic multilingual vision of multilingualism (Cummins, 2021; García & Lin, 2017). Still, these leading classroom practices occur during the translanguaging pedagogical approach (Goodman & Tastanbek, 2021).

The most comprehensive understanding of translanguaging lies in the social function of languages. Ferguson (1959) used the term diglossia to describe the context where “two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play” (Ferguson (1959)325). Fishman (1967) extended the term and described the context of diglossia, where not two varieties of one language but two different languages function with different roles. Baker (2003) described diglossia in which distinct and separate functions are allocated to different languages. García (2009b) criticized the term diglossia, arguing that diglossia strictly separates languages in social function, and it is a more monoglossic view of languages rather than diglossic, that “sees bilingualism as the sum of two separate languages” (Goodman & Tastanbek, 2021, 3). Scholars supporting the idea of translanguaging began advocating for the heteroglossic view of languages and viewed the term translanguaging through a heteroglossic lens. García (2009b) stressed the difference between diglossia and heteroglossia: “Languages are not compartmentalized in a diglossic situation, but rather they overlap, intersect, and interconnect” (as cited in Goodman & Tastanbek, 2021, 6).

Monolingual Strategies of Bilingual Education

Translanguaging became the leading direction of bilingual education research in the 21st century (Cummins, 2021). The practical and theoretical popularity of translanguaging is well reflected in new books, international scientific papers, and annual academic conferences (Poza, 2017). Prominent scholars, including Jim Cummins, Ofelia García, Canagarajah, Otheguy, Li Wei, Lin, and many others, actively support the translanguaging pedagogical approach (Canagarajah, 2011, 2013; Cummins, 2007, 2017, 2021; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009a, 2009b, 2017, 2019, 2020; Li Wei, 2018a, 2018b; Lin, 2019). As Li Wei emphasizes:

The term Translanguaging seems to have captured people’s imagination. It has been applied to pedagogy, everyday social interaction, cross-modal and multimodal communication, linguistic landscape, visual arts, music, and transgender discourse. The growing body of work gives the impression that any practice that is slightly non-conventional could be described in terms of Translanguaging (Li Wei, 2018a, 9).

Other scholars share a somewhat critical vision of translanguaging (Edwards, 2012, Grin, 2018, Jaspers, 2018). As Jaspers (2018) notes, “There is considerable confusion as to whether Translanguaging could be an all-encompassing term for diverse multilingual and multimodal practices, replacing terms such as code-switching, code-mixing, code-meshing, and crossing. (Li Wei 2018, p. 9). Further, Jaspers (2018) argues,

Translanguaging is likely to be less transformative and socially critical than is suggested, because translanguaging research has more in common with the monolingual authorities it criticizes than it may seem, because it trades on causality effects that cannot be taken for granted, and because translanguaging, in some of its representations, is becoming a dominating rather than a liberating force (Jaspers 2018, p. 1).

Despite these critics, translanguaging is an important direction in the scientific field of bilingual education, and applied linguistics “is now a household name in international conferences, symposia, and summer schools, and the central topic of highly cited publications (Jaspers 2018, p. 1).

Bilingual Education Approaches in Historical Context

The four essential directions of bilingualism and bilingual education can be identified in the historical development context. The first, *rejecting bilingualism*, was perceived as detrimental from the 19th century through the mid-to-late 20th century. This assumption was based on intelligence test results, where monolinguals outperformed bilinguals (Baker, 2006); however, the results were derived from an improper research methodology (Baker, 2006). Rejecting bilingualism in favor of practice and ideology related to only-language instruction dominated educational systems worldwide.

Second, the more positive view of balanced bilingualism emerged through the *additive context of bilingual education* and with separated monolingual strategy. This approach appeared primarily in the United States and Canada in the mid-to-late 20th century. Specifically, dual bilingual educational programs were implemented in the United States (Baker, 2006) and French language immersion programs in Canada (Cummins & Swain, 2014). Both programs had significant positive results in acquiring two languages, mastering different subjects, and achieving high academic performance (Baker, 2006; Cummins & Swain, 2014). This approach has also been widely used in other continents (Jaspaert & Ramaut, 2000; Kroon & Sturm, 2000; Pérez-Cañado, 2012). The approach was widely used in the former Soviet Union after its collapse (Dvorjaninova & Alas, 2018; Mehisto & Asser, 2007). From this perspective, *multilingualism* is seen from a monolingual point of view as language separation and was an

essential strategy in these programs. The language separation approach emerged in many scholars' writings. Heller (1999) used the term parallel monolingualism, in which "each variety must conform to certain prescriptive norms" (Heller, 1999, 271). Swain (1983) called this context "bilingualism through monolingualism" (p. 4); Creese & Blackledge (2008) used the term "separate bilingualism," and Cummins (2008) used the term "two solitudes."

Third, *the subtractive context of bilingualism for minority students* with a monolingual approach to multilingual education emerged together with additive bilingual education models. The same monolingual approach was used in both additive and subtractive programs of bilingual education; however, these subtractive programs could not achieve bilingualism, and their students were monolingual at the end (Baker, 2006). For minority students in many countries, acquiring two languages was unrealistic as the context was subtractive (Baker, 2006 - about the United States; Ferguson, 2003; García, 2009; Moodley, 2007 - about Africa).

Finally, *translanguaging* viewed bilingualism and bilingual education from multilingual lenses, acknowledging the importance of multilingual approaches for multilingual education (Canagarajah, 2011, 2013; Cummins, 2007, 2017, 2021; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009a, 2009b, 2017, 2019, 2020, García & Otheguy, 2020; Li Wei, 2018a, 2018b; Lin, 2019).

Bilingual Education approaches in Georgia

Monolingual education is dominant in the Georgian education system; however, bilingualism with monolingual strategies is also implemented in additive and subtractive contexts in Georgia. Out of 2085 public schools, 1879 use the Georgian language exclusively for instruction, and English is taught as a foreign language. Although the English language was introduced, it is not considered a tool for achieving bilingualism. A clear example of this is the competencies of students in English. Even the minimum competencies for the English language are not achieved in most school graduates (Tabatadze, 2017; Tabatadze & Gorgadze, 2017; Tabatadze & Gorgadze, 2018a). The English language is an important obstacle at university entrance exams for rural and town school graduates (Chankseliani, Gorgadze, Janashia & Kurakbayev, 2020). Other examples of single-language instruction include 79 Azerbaijani language schools and 117 Armenian-language schools. These schools prepare monolingual graduates who are fluent only in their mother tongue (Tabatadze, 2015; Tabatadze, 2019).

Another approach of only one language instruction is language sectors in schools. Language sectors are specific for the Georgian context. Language sectors indicate only one language approach as two or three language sectors operate in public schools instead of implementing bilingual educational programs. There are 95 Armenian, Azerbaijani, Russian,

and Georgian language sectors in the Georgian public schools (Tabatadze & Chachkhiani, 2021). Table 1 depicts the number of sectors for specific languages.

Table 1

Number of Language Sectors by Language of Instruction

Sector	Language Sectors
Azerbaijani-Russian	2
Georgian-Azerbaijani	36
Russian-Armenian	1
Georgian-Azerbaijani-Russian	1
Georgian-Russian	42
Armenian-Russian	
Georgian-Armenian	10
Georgian-Armenian-Russian	1
Total	95

Eleven public schools with the Russian language of instruction can be considered as a subtractive bilingual education in Georgia. The Russian schools in Georgia are attended by students with a mother tongue other than Russian. For 70% of Russian language school students, Russian is not a native language but a second language (Tabatadze & Gorgadze, 2021). Accordingly, students in these schools develop Russian language competencies while losing their native language. This situation can be regarded as the subtractive context of bilingualism. Some scholars refer this approach to monolingual approach to bilingual education and consider this approach a “Prestigious-immigrational” monolingual approach to bilingual education (Tabatadze, 2010).

The additive bilingualism and enriching bilingual education programs with monolingual approaches are also available in the Georgian education system; This approach is widely utilized in international private schools of Georgia. These schools develop bilingualism through Georgian and English or French, German, Russian, and Turkish monolingual teaching. These schools are primarily available for students from high socioeconomic backgrounds (Tabatadze & Gorgadze, 2014; Tabatadze & Gorgadze, 2018b). Accordingly, this additive bilingualism can be classified as elite bilingualism for students with high socioeconomic backgrounds.

The monolingual vision of multilingual education is rooted in bilingual education programs implemented by the Center for Civic Integration and Inter-ethnic Relations in 2017-2020 in 20 pilot public schools of Georgia. The project envisaged teaching Natural Science in

grades three through six only in the Georgian language. In contrast, other subjects are taught in minority languages. The Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) approach was applied to teach Natural Science in the target Georgian language. The strict separation of languages and, accordingly, monolingual approach to multilingual education is evident in Georgia's 20 pilot public schools. The same approach is used in a new Ministry of Education and Science project, implemented in 25 public schools. Natural Science, Civics, and Arts are also taught in the Georgian language based on strict separation of languages.

Research Methodology

This study explored the issues of monolingual and multilingual strategies in bilingual education. The study aimed to research translanguaging practices in the Georgian monolingual CLIL program used by teachers. The following research questions were designed: What Translanguaging practices are used by CLIL teachers in teaching Natural Science with a monolingual approach? What rationale is behind using the teachers' translanguaging pedagogical approach in monolingual CLIL lessons of Natural Science? The study utilized a classroom observation qualitative research method to answer the designed research questions.

This research study is part of the project "Integration of Society through Multilingual Education" funded by Osce High Commissioner on National Minorities and implemented by the Centre for Civil Integration and Inter-Ethnic Relations. The project was implemented from 2017 to 2020. Twenty non-Georgian language schools implemented pilot bilingual education programs in the framework of the project. The pilot programs use a monolingual approach to bilingualism, and the classes of Natural Sciences in grades 3-6 were conducted only in the Georgian language with Georgian language teaching and learning materials. The current study analyzed 20 monitoring visits carried out in the target schools. The monitoring group visited lessons of science (nature) for grades three and four in 2019. The monitoring visit aimed to understand the bilingual lesson practices and identify those strong and weak sides, which the teachers have concerning the bilingual instruction.

A unique observation checklist was developed, which served as an effective tool for the detailed review of the lessons and identifying multiple components of effective instruction. Out of 20 lessons, 8 lessons of the grade 4 and 12 of grade 3 were observed. The observation covered the following components of the lesson: (1) materials used during the lesson; (2) language medium of the lesson; (3) instructional strategies and approaches concerning the language; (4) instructional strategies and approaches concerning the subject content; (5) the

general pedagogical approaches and focus on child-centered instruction; (6) students learning and feedback; and (7) assessment strategies.

For this study, the two components of the lesson observation checklist are analyzed: the language medium of the lesson and instructional strategies and approaches concerning the language. To learn the trends and tendencies of the lessons deeply, the observational checklist was constructed so that four phases of the lesson (introduction/ entry/ activation of prior knowledge (unfold/explanation) enforcement of knowledge – assessment of understanding) were well defined and outlined. Besides, the usage of particular instruction could be evaluated by its intensity from 1 (weakly observable) to 3 (strongly observable). The desired instructional approaches and students' learning responses were listed so that the person attending the class could mark the observable approach/strategy and assess it by the subsequent score.

Research Findings

Based on the specially developed observational tool, classroom observation showed some interesting trends in monolingual and bilingual strategies in bilingual education. The findings can substantially impact developing the academic and scientific field and implications for pedagogical practice.

Emergent Curriculum and Instruction

As already mentioned, the teachers had an unequivocal instruction within the existing pilot project to use only the target Georgian language in the teaching. The teaching and learning materials were also in the Georgian language. The classroom observations showed that the planned curriculum and the implemented curriculum are very different from each other. Only four cases out of 20 observations were used only without the inclusion of the native language. The daily practice changes the conventional approaches. In 16 cases, teachers replaced monolingual approaches with translanguaging approaches, which they did not plan. Translanguaging seems to be a more naturalistic process of teaching that consistently influences the planned process, and planned monolingual strategies are often transformed into multilingual ones, especially when the target language is not a non-native language of students.

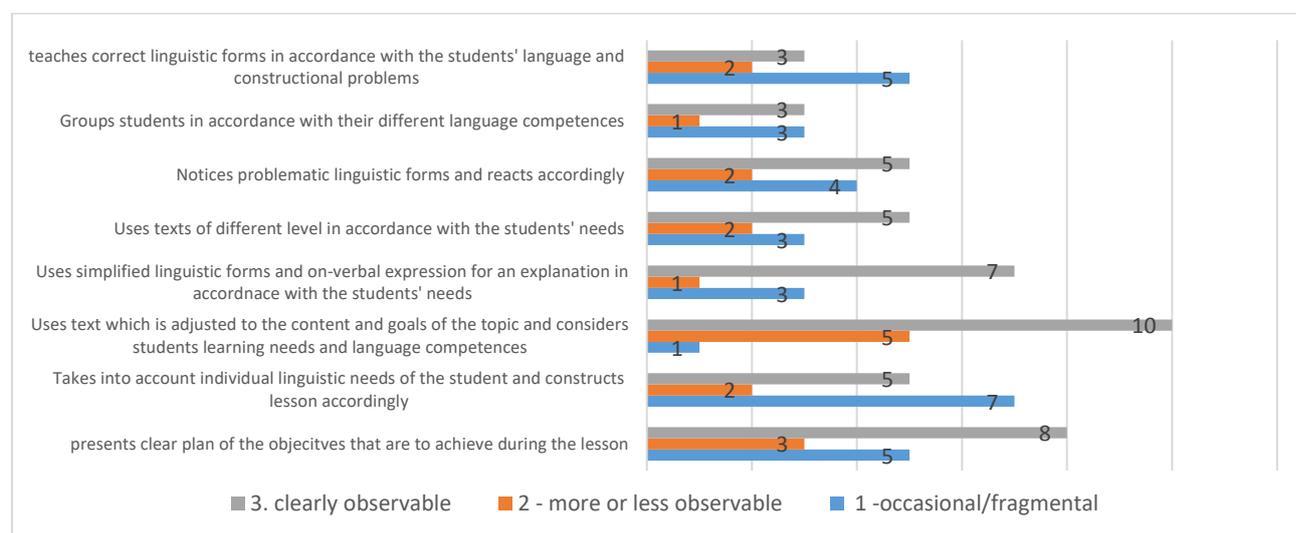
The translanguaging approach is more emergent instruction rather than a well-planned and organized process. As already mentioned, the observation was carried out within the program's framework, which envisaged the principle of separation of languages, and teachers planned the lesson according to the principle of separation of languages. Consequently, it was clear from the observation that the planned lesson was based on a monolingual separated approach.

However, it was realized with translanguaging elements, which emerged within natural classroom dynamics. Emerging pedagogy and instruction are essential directions in terms of minority student education (Hyun, 2006). Future research can be conducted with an emphasis on translanguaging as an emergent curriculum and its effects on minority students' academic achievement and well-being.

Translanguaging as Scaffolding

The study showed that the translanguaging approach was used mainly by the teachers in the explanatory phase. Teachers found it challenging to provide material to the students in the non-native language. After checking for understanding, it was evident that students could not comprehend the materials, and they were passive participants in the teaching process. Students needs and interests are triggers for switching to mother-tongue instruction. Figure 1 below shows usage of the native and second languages by the observed teachers during the lessons. The figure shows that the observed teachers used the second language medium instruction more frequently and intensively than the native language. However, translanguaging is observable, and students' usage of the native language is frequent if all lesson stages are based on students' needs.

Figure 1. Translanguage and language use strategies in natural science classes



Note. Figure is taken from Narrative Report of Centre for Civil Integration and Inter-Ethnic Relations submitted to OSCE HCNM

It is noteworthy that classroom observation revealed that translanguaging is used for scaffolding purposes by teachers. There are monolingual Georgian language teachers who

participated in the pilot project, and they speak only one language and have minimal lexical knowledge of students' mother tongues. Even this minor lexical knowledge was used by teachers when needed, especially to familiarize students with new lexical terms. Accordingly, both code-switching and translation approaches were used to assist students. These approaches are considered part of the translanguaging pedagogical approach (Cummins 2017; García & Lin 2017).

Student-Centered Instruction

Classroom observation showed that a separated one language approach makes the teacher more active during the instruction process. When switching to translanguaging, students become more active and more actively engaged in the learning process. Our observation revealed that separated language instruction in minority students with the lack of language competencies in the target language makes the instruction teachers-centered. At the same time, translanguaging transforms it into student-centered instruction.

Codeswitching Rather than Translanguaging

Classroom observation revealed that translanguaging did not aim to support the multilingual repertoire of learners in a classroom setting. Instead of a complex pedagogical approach—a spontaneous strategy driven by classroom dynamics is used. Strategies based on classroom dynamics and practical needs may be more productive than imposed translanguaging approach to develop learners' multilingual repertoire. Based on classroom observation, it is reasonable to conclude that the strategy used by the teachers can be more considered under the term code-switching rather than translanguaging, as translanguaging refers to “pedagogical and language practices in classrooms that support teaching and learning and affirm students' multilingual identities (Goodman & Tastanbek, 2021, p .2). As already mentioned, scholars underline the difference between the pedagogical strategies of translanguaging and translanguaging itself. Code-switching method is perceived by these scholars as a monolingual approach to multilingualism, while the understanding of translanguaging lies in the holistic multilingual vision of multilingualism (Cummins, 2021; García & Lin, 2017).

A Pedagogical Approach that Empowers Teachers

Translanguaging as an approach was also an instrument for teachers' empowerment. The pilot schools, where classroom observations took place, involved bilingual teachers in the

teaching process. For these bilingual teachers, the target teaching language was not their mother tongue and, therefore, their language competence in the target language was relatively low. These teachers had higher competence in the students' native language. Consequently, these teachers often used translanguaging approaches and switched from the target language to the student's native language. Switching enabled the teachers to explain new content in teachers own native language. Conversely, through translanguaging, teachers concealed the problem of their language competencies as they lack the knowledge of target language. Translanguaging enabled teachers to keep their authority and not to uncover the lack of competencies in strate i.e. target language and at the same time they managed to teach the students in the native language. This approach echoes the results of research that translanguaging is vital for teachers as it "focuses the process of teaching and learning on meaning-making, enhancing experience and developing identity"(Li Wei, 2018, p.15).

Conclusion

The research showed that, in Georgia, *one language-only instruction* prevails. The approach is used in Georgian as well as minority language schools. Other approaches include the prestigious immigrational approach that prevailed in Russian language schools as a *subtractive context of bilingual education* with monolingual strategy and elite bilingualism in international schools attended by students with high socioeconomic status as form of *additive bilingualism with monolingual approach*. The pilot bilingual programs are implemented in 25 non-Georgian language schools with a separated language approach, which falls under the monolingual strategies of multilingual education.

This research study revealed some interesting trends in the use of bilingual strategies in bilingual education. Specifically, the findings can have a substantial impact on the development of the academic and scientific field, as well as implications for pedagogical practice. First, the translanguaging strategy implemented in separated monolingual classrooms showed that the planned and implemented curricula differed. Tranlanguaging seems to be a more naturalistic process of teaching that permanently influences the planned process. The translanguaging approach is more emergent instruction rather than a well-planned and organized process.

Second, translanguaging is used for scaffolding purposes by teachers to support students' learning and explain new teaching materials in a comprehensible way. Third, translanguaging makes the instruction more student-centred. when switching to translanguaging, students become more active and more actively engaged in the learning process. Fourth,

translanguaging in the Georgian-separated CLIL model is a more spontaneous strategy derived from classroom dynamics than planned to support learners' linguistic repertoire. Accordingly, it can be characterized as codeswitching rather than translanguaging. Moving from code-switching to translanguaging can be an essential destination for utilizing multilingual approaches in the multilingual education reform of Georgia. Finally, translanguaging as an approach was an instrument for teachers' empowerment. All findings, however, are essential for designing and implementing bilingual education with multilingual strategies to improve the learning process in Georgian classrooms.

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