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**TEACHING OF ASIAN MOTHER TONGUES
IN SCOTTISH SCHOOLS:
AN ANALYSIS OF THEIR ROLES IN COGNITIVE,
SOCIAL AND PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT**

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Dedication

To my late father, Motilal Deb, who loved and valued education as the true gateway to fulfilling one's highest potential, and whose loving memory continues to inspire me long after he is gone.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the teaching and learning of ethnic minority Mother Tongues in primary and secondary schools in Scotland in the 1990's. It is based on an evaluation of the current policy and practices employed by local councils in teaching and learning of minority ethnic Mother Tongues and construction of a detailed account of the rationale behind the practices as perceived by the stakeholders.

The evaluation employed a range of qualitative and quantitative procedures over a wide range of issues concerning Mother Tongue teaching and learning in order to assess the weaknesses and strengths of the provisions. Evaluation groups consisted of local council representatives, teachers, minority ethnic parents and bilingual pupils played an important role in assessing the current situation and thoughts in this area.

The thesis begins by examining the definition and role of Mother Tongue for ethnic minority pupils living in Scotland, with a view to understanding how Mother Tongue learning contributes to the development of self-identity, cultural values and individualism. This opening chapter also explores the philosophical implications of the multicultural ideology and how inequality and exclusiveness in the education system contribute to cultural hegemony. Chapter 2 analyses the historical and linguistic background of five major community languages spoken in Scotland with a view to providing a deeper appreciation of the languages and their speakers. Chapter 3 deals with the schooling of ethnic minority pupils and the role of Mother Tongue in nursery, primary and secondary education for minority ethnic pupils, with a view to assessing the extent of formal usage of minority Mother Tongue in Scottish schools. This chapter also explores the relationship between ethnocentric curriculum, racism and the education of linguistic minorities in a multiethnic society. Chapter 4 highlights the main issues of bilingualism with additional emphasis on 'interdependence principle' (Cummins, 1986b) and additive bilingualism. Chapter 5 analyses the rationale in adopting the methodology in this study and chapters 6 and 7 investigates attitudes of local councils and minority pupils on Mother Tongue teaching and learning respectively. In Chapter 8, a statistical investigation is undertaken in order to re-examine the 'interdependence principle' that the more children develop in their first language academically and cognitively at an age appropriate level, the more successful they will be in academic achievement in their second language. Chapter 9 investigates

through case studies the expectations, anxieties and attitudes of minority parents towards their children's learning of Mother Tongue in schools or elsewhere.

Chapters 10 and 11 discuss the findings that Mother Tongue learning by minority ethnic pupils in schools facilitates rather than interferes with learning of English and other European languages. Mother Tongues, however, were not recognised by councils in Scotland as an essential element for personal and academic growth in ethnic minority pupils but rather as a transitional tool in gaining competence in second language. These Chapters also dealt with the findings that although some anxieties remained amongst minority parents about the time and sequence issues in Mother Tongue learning in mainstream schools, all parents believed that Mother Tongue learning was vital in understanding roots, history and culture, exploring individual positions in the ethnically mixed society and perpetuating ethnic values and norms to the next generations. Chapter 11 summarises the main findings in this thesis and recommends an action plan for local authorities, schools and teacher training institutions.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION, AIMS AND CONTEXT

1.1 Introduction

The primary purpose of this study was to explore the extent and impact of learning and teaching of ethnic minority Mother Tongues in primary and secondary schools in Scotland. The mainstream thinking, for over twenty five years, has been that the cultures of minority groups would diffuse, through assimilation, transition and one-way integration process, into the mainstream culture, and that the second and third generation immigrants would no longer feel the necessity to learn about their language, history, culture and heritage (Grant, 1995). Scarman (1981) in the report of an enquiry after Brixton disorders (April, 1981) suggested that:

...if alienation among the black community is not to develop, there should be a more ready recognition of the special problems and needs of the ethnic minorities than hitherto.

(Scarman, 1981, p132)

The report highlighted the need for improvement in the educational provision for ethnic minority pupils in the areas of their cultural awareness and in understanding the expectations of minority group children and parents. Eighteen years on, Macpherson's (1999) report, published after the tragic death of Stephen Lawrence, concluded that institutionalised racism exists in the police force and minority communities continue to be the victims of racial harassment and discrimination in Britain. Ironically, as internationalism and globalization have increased in the last two decades, the desire to maintain ethnic identity has also increased as it has been observed in the devolution towards Scottish and Welsh parliaments. Many minority ethnic groups are becoming more aware of their needs to maintain their ethnicity, culture and language in the midst of growth and urgency of internationalism (Grant, 1995).

The reality of today's multiethnic and multicultural Scottish society is that ethnic minority communities with their distinctive culture, lifestyles and values are and will continue to live as part of the wider community. One of the aims of Education, in the context of minorities, is to inform and raise their competence in communication to a level where they can get involved and participate in negotiating their place and identity within a

mixed society (Cummins, 1998). Xenophobic nationalism, on the other hand, is driven by cultural protectionism, its premise being that the nation has a 'destiny' and that it is superior to other nations. Giddens (1998) in his analysis of social democracy described nations as ethical communities where all citizens find focus for self-determination and feel empowered. Moreover, a nation should develop state structures that allow citizens to decide for themselves matters of general importance and urgency. In explaining ethnic identities Giddens (1998) stated that:

Ethnic identities are not any less socially constructed than are national identities-all ethnic identity is the outcome in some part of the use of power and created from diverse cultural sources. In the area of ethnicity, as in nationalism, there are no thoroughbreds

(Giddens, 1998, p131).

The aim of a cosmopolitan nation would be to counter the exploitation of oppressed groups; this can not be done, however, without the support of the broad national community, or '*without a sense of social justice that must stretch beyond the claims or grievances of any specific group*' (ibid. p133). In an information age there has been a massive growth in the number of co-operative organizations working at a global level. At the turn of the century, for example, there were twenty international governmental organisations and 180 transnational non-governmental organisations. Today there are over 300 of the former and nearly 5000 of the latter (ibid. p140).

In recent years 'globalization' has been the centre of much political and business discussions. Globalization is not mere economic interdependence between countries, it affects individual thinking and understanding as well. The dietary habits of Scottish nationals have changed after the migration of South Asians in different parts in Scotland. Therefore, the food producers living in the other side of the world would feel the consequences and take business decisions, which would have global implications. Globalization has also prompted debates in academic circle; how does it influence education in a multicultural, cosmopolitan society, for example?

The aim of education in a pluralist, cosmopolitan society in a global context is, according to Giddens (1998), to develop in each individual a sound sense of self-awareness, 'new

individualism', confidence and security in responding to the changing needs of the society as well as a healthy and mutually respectful appreciation of and tolerance for each other in order to help achieve one's true potential. The aim of schools is to create a climate where individuals will be accepted for who they are, with their cultural and linguistic diversities, and allowed to build on their knowledge of their own ethnicity and world knowledge and become active and contributing members of the racially mixed society. In explaining the new role of a 'cosmopolitan nation' Giddens argued that:

A cosmopolitan outlook is the necessary condition of a multicultural society in a globalizing order. Cosmopolitan nationalism is the only form of national identity compatible with that order.

(Ibid. p136)

Cosmopolitan nationalism can be discussed in the context of 'inclusion' which in turn, presupposes differences in people in terms of ability, gender, class, creed or race. The tension between establishing newly inclusive operations within exclusive societies needs to be conditioned by future vision and cosmopolitan national identity. Participation by disadvantaged minorities in the discussion of designing an inclusive society is important in a democratic society with egalitarian norms. Broad and open discussion on issues of mutual concerns would be debated between minority and majority to disclose exclusivity so that inclusion does not become just a slogan. Evans (1999) in the discussion of inclusive practices in education mentioned that:

Involving parents and the community in schools, is also a key element, not only for accountability purposes and funding, but also in linking employers with schools. The aim of this is to establish work opportunities and to provide realistic curricula choice.

(Evans, 1999, p236)

Education is one of the most important vehicles in the future development of a harmonious, multiracial, multicultural society and in the maintenance of the well being of all its citizens. Active participation and involvement by the minority community in children's education is of paramount importance to ensure that the education system responds to social and individual needs of all pupils. Attempts have been made in this study to involve minority parents in discussion on the needs of Mother Tongue learning and how wider society can participate in their endeavour.

Adults from both majority and minority communities often desire to ensure that educational institutions are guaranteeing equal educational opportunities and endorsing children's rights to receiving an education which is favourable to developing critical awareness of social justice, inclusiveness and values as well as preparing the child for a vocation. The concept of 'inclusion' is by no means new (see, for example, Thomas, Walker and Webb, 1998); educationists and philosophers sown the roots through out the twentieth century, but only recently the idea started circulating in reference to special education being included in mainstream education in UK. The concept of inclusion provides social individuals with a capacity to understand that even in a democratic society there are groups who do not enjoy the same benefits as the others and that a part of a society is excluded from equal educational, social and economic participation. Process of inclusion has also been associated with large-scale political, economic and social changes in the emergent democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. In the context of discriminated, oppressed, and disfranchised groups in countries such as Germany or Australia, inclusion is associated with increasing participation by minority communities in social changes. The concept is also applicable to the process of globalization in a free market economy, where the concept of inclusion would design a set of criteria for human rights, freedom and equality.

In the field of inclusive education consideration needs to be given to providing a unified legal framework to guide policy making. The aim of the legislation would be to cover education for all, not just part of school-age population. The specific issues affecting minority pupils with special educational needs need not be resolved at a later stage or outside mainstream education. Funding arrangements need to be based on equality; there has to be no financial advantage in segregating part of pupils in separate schools; in the case of ethnic minority pupils in weekend or community classes. Policy makers, in an inclusive education system, will be consistent with the philosophy that support services should have the main goal of empowering the school and helping it to become a learning organization for everyone.

The situation with curriculum development in education is no less worrying. The local and national governments and educational institutions in a democratic society may create

an appropriate and suitable environment for all ethnic groups to achieve greater potential and help them become adaptable to today's and tomorrow's society. Schools that remain inward looking in delivering a curriculum designed for a monocultural society may leave ethnic minority pupils to experience and adapt to the outside world by themselves. The need for European awareness and readiness for Scottish pupils are undisputed, however the responsibility lies with educational institutions to prepare all pupils with a sense of individuality and belongingness to their immediate environment before fitting them into the wider world.

The purpose of this study also extends to provide a critical and empirical analysis of the first language dependency theory that level of learning in first language influences levels of learning in second and subsequent languages. Whether first language acquisition, in the case of minority pupils, interferes or supports majority language acquisition has been a contentious issue amongst teachers, policy makers and parents for decades in Britain and other parts of the world where the majority language has been the lingua franca and minority languages have been considered as problematic. This contention has led to confusion, culture gap, identification conflict, poor achievement and discontinuity in the education for many minority language pupils in schools. A quantitative, statistical approach in determining correlation between language achievement levels in community languages, English and French, has been undertaken in this study to identify if any interdependence exists between the above.

The field study includes statistical data from four secondary schools and a number of community run weekend and after school classes from four local education authorities where a large number of language minority pupils are present. Out of 32 Local Authorities in Scotland 22 Authorities responded to the questionnaire survey. Examination records and opinions from around 700 ethnic minority pupils were collected from 1995-1999; analysis of this data helped develop a general pattern in bilingual pupils' attainment levels in first and second language leading to a number of findings. The findings from this study helped formulate general and specific recommendations for decision makers in schools.

The themes of self-identity, values, language and empowerment, integration, minority and majority culture, cognitive benefits of bilingualism, conformity vs. innovation, inclusion vs. exclusion have permeated throughout the thesis. Resurgence of the Gaelic language in the Scottish educational curriculum (SED, 1965) as well as the researcher's accumulated experiences and concerns within the ethnic minority communities were inspirational for this assignment. The motivational aspect also derived from a sense of desolation experienced by most community language teachers in Scotland as well as the unavailability of a framework of a discourse needed by ethnic minority parents to reflect on the necessity, validity and effectiveness of Mother Tongue learning.

The parameters of the literature search in this study was influenced by the demands of the study; in order to gain a comprehensive view on origin, script and grammar of Asian languages, in addition to materials written in English, Hindi and Bengali books were also consulted. Relevant books, articles, periodicals and journals on bilingualism, bilingual education published in U.K, Canada, U.S.A, Holland, Italy were consulted to gather a broader perspective. Some of these books contained articles written by authors from Australia, India, Scandinavian countries, Israel, Malaysia, Holland. The time period selected was from 1970 onwards as significant research (Cummins, Philmore), case studies (Collier and Thomas, 1998), experiments and discussions (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1987, Edwards, 1988) have taken place on issues of minority bilingualism and on the value of Mother Tongue learning in the context of the acquisition of second language. Altogether 16 schools in Scotland, England and Northern Italy were visited in the process of gaining a broader scope and understanding of ethnic minority language teaching and learning and the importance of political, linguistic and personal influence in the maintenance of it.

1.2 Aims and Context

The overall aim of this research was to explore the extent and impact of learning and teaching of ethnic minority Mother Tongues in schools in Scotland and examine what influence it may have in the education of minority pupils in multicultural Scotland. The aims of this study were:

1. to investigate if teaching of Mother Tongue in main stream schools would be beneficial in building up self-esteem and a stronger sense of identity for ethnic minority pupils.
2. to explore what impacts non-Mother Tongue teaching have in family life where the minority language is the main communication vehicle.
3. to examine statistically the co-relation between bilingual pupils' Mother Tongue attainment and in English and French.
4. to assess the extent of formal and informal use of Mother Tongues by ethnic minority pupils living in Scotland and their perception of place for learning.
5. to collate and analyse information from the local education authorities in their attempts to helping and adapting to the linguistic, cognitive and social needs of the ethnic minority pupils.

The extent to which the absence of Mother Tongue teaching could affect ethnic minority pupils' personal, social and emotional development, remained a source of concern for many minority adults and parents in multiucultural, multiethnic societies (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988). The roots of underachievement in education for linguistic minority pupils in many western countries were simplistically attributed to factors within the child, whether those arose from low intelligence, specific physical, sensory or cognitive deficits or impaired motivation or self-esteem. The education of minority children in Britain were influenced by a 'deficit model' (Verma, 1989), it was believed that minority children needed compensatory measures for their '*innately lower intelligence*' or for '*inferior linguistic skills*' (Verma, p194). The Swan report (DES, 1985) discussed ways in which underachievement and low attainment were related to racist and stereotyping attitudes in society in general and how low income, unemployment and poor housing were more likely to be experienced by ethnic minority communities than by the indigenous working class community.

From an examination of literature on the development of racial awareness, it became apparent that children as young as three years old become aware of their ethnic identity (Katz, 1976) and they attached feelings of likes and dislikes to their own group and to others from such an early age. The research findings of both Milner(1983) and Davey (1983) with British-born South Asian, black and white children showed the 'in-group'

preferences of children irrespective of their ethnic origin. Smith and Tomlinson (1989) concluded in their large scale investigation on group preferences in multicultural secondary schools that:

...there is a fairly strong tendency for children to chose friends within their own group...this shows that no ethnic group tends to be generally popular or unpopular.

(Smith & Tomlinson, 1989, p33)

The findings of Roberts and Satchdev,(1996); Madood et al. (1997) on young people living in England, demonstrated that a high degree of racial prejudices were held by white youths towards Asians in the UK. In this social climate ethnic minority communities were seen by educationists as presenting problems(Cornford,1989). First because the linguistic minority pupils required special teaching in English and secondly because they made demands for recognition of their Mother Tongues. Cornford (1989) commented that:

Both have been and remain serious problems, but they should not be allowed to obscure the fact that a large British bilingual population is an asset and a resource, which ought to be welcomed and exploited.

(Cornford, 1989, p222)

Subsequent DES consultative papers on foreign language teaching gave scant recognition of the possibilities of including community languages in the curriculum. Cornford (1989) further commented that:

A more radical reappraisal of language policies should in future include the Mother Tongue of linguistic minority pupils within the compass of languages available to all pupils, as well as making greater provision for their academic study by bilingual pupils.

(Ibid. p222)

The ethnic minority adolescents in their process of identity development change their images of themselves; they see themselves as separate individuals rather than as extension of their parents. They form their own opinion about dress, fashion, music, marriage, relationships, food and so on. The relationships within an Asian family are close, dependent and emotional; they are relationships of support, obligation and loyalty. Khan

(1979) in her observation of ethnic minority lifestyles amongst the Panjabi migrants commented that:

The individualism and independence so valued in the west appears selfish and irresponsible to a Pakistani who expects and values the elements of dependency and loyalty in a relationship.

(Khan, 1979, p43)

Madood et al. (1994) observed in a qualitative study on South Asian adolescents' identity related issues that religion played an important part in defining their ethnicity and although they feel 'culturally British' their distinctive ethnicity were not accepted by the white British. The authors concluded that:

Most of them wanted to retain some core heritage, some amalgam of family cohesion, religion and language...but did not expect this to mean segregated social lives, for they lived and wanted to live in an ethnically mixed way.

(Madood et al. 1994, p110)

A significant number of ethnic minority young people in the inner city areas of the UK feel alienated both from their own community and from the wider society (Ghuman,1999). The role of the schools and education authorities is pivotal in developing ethnic identities and preparing young British Asians for adult roles. Tajfel (1981) defined ethnic identity as

...that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership

(Tajfel, 1981, p255)

For South Asian migrants their community languages are the important vehicles for teaching of their values, attitudes, personal and social skills to their young. Cummins (1988) argued that Mother Tongue learning is important for personal and social identity markers. However, provisions for the teaching of minority languages remained insignificant in 1970's and 80's as the Bullock report (1975) and subsequent report by Swann (1985) on the underachievement by ethnic minority pupils in schools failed to

identify the importance of ethnic minority languages in the maintenance of ethnic cultural identity as well as developing linguistic skills and did not recommend their inclusion in the curriculum of schools. Very few studies have been done on the language attitudes of the South Asian language speakers, adults and adolescents in respect of both first language and English and maintenance of their first language in subsequent years. The attitudes of local education authorities in terms of recognising languages of ethnic minority communities and including these languages in mainstream education remained unexplored in Scotland.

Before engaging into a discussion of the above issues in the Scottish context, an overview of the present Mother Tongue learning situation involving the culturally and linguistically diverse minorities in a number of European countries is presented below with a view to providing a broader perspective to this topic.

1.3 Minority Mother Tongues in other European countries

Although there are 50 million speakers of minority languages in the 12 European Community countries, the EC has come to realise that the classroom is where a long-term battle in preservation of culture and self-identity can be won or lost. Until General Franco's death in 1975, Catalan, Galician and Basque were outlawed in schools in Spain. Today, these languages are strongly encouraged in their respective regions, along with Castilian, designated as the national language of all Spain. The atmosphere is very different in France. In 1972, the then president Georges Pompidou decreed that there is no place for regional languages in a France, which was '*destined to stamp its seal on Europe*'. (TES 17 June 1991, p28)

The Occitan and Breton speakers in France have been fighting such a dictum for 300 years. In the nineteen-eighties minority parents took initiatives and opened ten nurseries and five primary schools at Beziers (ibid). Occitan medium education, however, is not available in secondary level, and pupils have to switch entirely to French. In this situation, ethnic minority languages, mainly Arabic, spoken by the Algerians and Moroccan immigrants in France have little hope for mainstream inclusion. On the other hand

Ukrainian, Mandarin Chinese, Arabic in Canada, Spanish and Navajo in U.S.A are not only protected also developing alongside European languages.

Germany, while taking a long time for its multi-cultural society to be recognised, has, relatively recently, made a commitment to the education of its minority groups. The notion that Mother Tongue teaching is an essential element in the development of self-esteem of the immigrant child, and the guaranteeing of better academic performance generally has been the key issue in Germany's inter-cultural pedagogy. The inter-cultural approach stresses that all children, German and foreign, have to be addressed and involved with regards to the mutual understanding of each other's culture and problems. In Bavaria, Turkish speaking children may participate in pilot projects promoting bilingual education in Turkish and German for all. In Austria and Switzerland Turkish language is used in some sections of the national or local curricula and such enterprise is supported by specialist initial and in-service education for teachers.

In the Netherlands, roughly 7.5% of the population are considered as belonging to ethnic minority groups including second generations. (Kroon and Vallen,1995).. Almost half of these immigrants come from the former Dutch colonies of Surinam, the Dutch Antilles and the republic of Indonesia, including approximately 40,000 Moluccans. The other half comes mainly from Turkey and Morocco. Italians, Spaniards and immigrants from former Yugoslavia are also present in smaller numbers. In the early 1980's the Ministry of Education and Science and the Home office published documents where intercultural education was mentioned as one of the main aims of education. The Dutch system places emphasis on *Intercultural* education where bipartite or multipartite understanding and respect towards each other's cultures is the norm, and is expected to stimulate the acculturation of minorities and majority members of Dutch society. Presently Turkish and Arabic are taught in schools as a subject among other subjects. Since Mother Tongue teaching method is used in teaching of these minority languages, the restriction is that these subjects can not be taken by all pupils.

The children of the migrant workers in Northern Italy speak languages like Arabic, Polish, Albanian, Urdu, Romany and many more and there are no Mother Tongue teachers in those languages as the teachers trained outside Italy are not recognised as such. Some

primary schools use the services of Moroccan and Somalian mediators whose duties involve liaison with Arabic speaking parents and pupils outside classrooms. This stop-gap measure has aroused serious concerns amongst the mediators over the authority's lack of cultural and educational awareness of the needs of the minority pupils. The main immigrant groups in Bolzano are Moroccans and Albanians. Amongst 96,000 inhabitants in Bolzano nearly 2.5% (2522) are immigrants who have come mainly from Albania, Morocco and the rest are gypsies. Nearly 300 gypsies and chintis (a tribal group) live with their families in various areas of Bolzano. All minority language pupils are submerged into the majority language without any support in their Mother Tongue. Underachievement amongst migrant pupils have become a major concern in Italy and they are looking at other EC countries for new approaches. (Study Visit to Italy, 1997))

The Ladins form the second largest minority group in Northern Italy. Like the Welsh, Scots, Bretons, Catalans and Asians living in Britain, the Ladins are struggling to preserve their identities amidst speakers of major European languages. The Ladins' homeland, the Dolomite mountains of Northern Italy is now predominantly inhabited by Italian and German speakers. In Italy the Ladin speakers live in two autonomous regions, itself divided into two autonomous provinces Bolzano/Trento and Friuli. There are also Ladin speakers in Veneto, Switzerland and language is the single unifying feature of the Dolomite Ladins. Like French, Italian and Catalan Ladin is a neo-Latin language, that is the result of the encounter and mixture of Latin with the languages spoken at the time of the Roman conquest.

Around 30,000 Ladin speakers live in the Dolomites (Poppi, 1995). The children begin their Kindergarten education in Ladin; this is followed by a speedy introduction to Italian and German. Pupils learn History and Mathematics in German, Geography and Art in Italian. All children get two hours of Ladin lessons every week for cultural awareness. In secondary schools Ladin speaking pupils get one hour a week Mother Tongue teaching.

Most European countries are multilingual and the EC recognises the importance of maintaining minority Mother Tongues as an important vehicle for ensuring equity and freedom. Yet there is only one lingua franca for formal education in many countries for minority language pupils, with a few exceptions. Children learn to read for the first time

in a language that they don't speak and learn to perceive their own language in a diglossic situation where their first language is considered as inferior.

1.4 Definitions of Mother Tongue

Not only has Scotland been acknowledged as multicultural, but also here every child is expected to be treated as special (Strathclyde Regional Council, 1985). Does this signify that minority and majority Mother Tongues should have the same rights and support in Scotland? If so, on what evidence? Before engaging into the discussion of the place, form, importance and reasons for Mother Tongue learning in multicultural Scotland, the clarification of the term 'Mother Tongue' is necessary as this would provide an opportunity to assess if every child should have access to his or her Mother Tongue learning in mainstream schools.

The term Mother Tongue has been a subject of discussion and debate amongst scholars and layman alike, especially in multiethnic, multilingual settings. The survival and maintenance of Mother Tongue has been the cause of many nations to divide and unify around the world. The United Nations (1969) adopted the definition of Mother Tongue as:

... the language usually spoken in the individual's home in his early childhood although not necessarily used by him at present.

(Leiberson, 1971, p291)

This early definition precludes present phenomena of active bilingualism in later life and includes linguicism, the dominance of one language at the expense of others.

One's Mother Tongue can be described as the language one has learnt first from his or her mother, the very first person a child learns to relate to. It is the language through which a child perceives the world and through which initial formation of concept takes place. It is the language through which a child establishes relationships with other children and adults around him or her and experiences a sense of belonging. It is a tool that serves a child's early socialisation. Srivastava (1981) mentioned the socialisation function, identity function and psychic function of the Mother Tongue. All such functions influence a child in his formative years and help develop a sense of cohesiveness and affinity to one's speech community. Mother Tongue anchors a child to its culture, tradition, religious

practices, beliefs and values. A child learns about his culture through myths, folklore told by parents and grandparents as well as through portrayals of Gods and demons at home and temples, feasts and fast, performing arts and religious observances. Moreover, as Pattanayk stated

The Mother Tongue is that language, the loss of which results in the loss of rootedness in traditions and mythology of the speech community and leads to intellectual impoverishment and emotional sterility.

(Pattanayk, quoted in Spolsky, 1986, p7-8)

Such strong influences of Mother Tongue are valid in both monolingual and multilingual settings where a child grows up with more than one language but in such cases the child usually has a greater emotional pull towards one of the languages which is identified as the Mother Tongue. Even if the child does not know the Mother Tongue, it becomes a solidarity symbol, an unifying force to a community. Illich (1981) distinguished between a taught mother language and a vernacular tongue and demonstrated how radical monopoly of taught Mother Tongue over speech can result in 'vernacular paralysis'. Pattanayak (1981) suggested that when one language is confined to the intimate domain and another language is used in all other domains, the latter may be called the culture language; furthermore, the relationship between a home language and a culture language may involve a dialect and a standard or a vernacular and the taught Mother Tongue or two Mother Tongues.

The concept of multiple Mother Tongues was discussed by Skutnabb-kangas (1984) as Mother Tongue was defined by origin, competence, function and identification. Such definition provided a broader definition of Mother Tongue where a child may have more than one Mother Tongue. For example, an ethnic minority pupil living in Scotland may, on the basis of origin, have Panjabi as his Mother Tongue, while the same child may have English as Mother Tongue on the function criteria as the child enters school and learns to function competently in English. With increasing literacy and functioning in English, the child may identify English as his first language, although by external identification by the majority society English would be regarded as his second or additional language. Such interpretation was later confirmed by the parent focus group, interviewed for case studies. Moreover, ethnic minority parents' level of bilingualism, two parents speaking two

different languages in the same household, pressure from majority English speaking society on minority families may also be regarded as determining factors for a child having more than one Mother Tongue or first language.

Skutnabb-Kangas's definition of Mother Tongue thus provides a broader definition of a person's Mother Tongue that can change during one's lifetime, even several times, following all other definitions except the definition by origin. The use of a combination of definitions, as Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) identified, may show the highest degree of human rights awareness, but it may create identity conflict and confusion. Therefore Mother Tongue would be defined in this study as the language a child learns first and identifies with.

1.5 Multicultural education

Before the 1960s the response of the majorities to the presence of ethnic minorities in Britain was dismissive, restrictive and resentful. During this time cultural diversities brought in mainly by Commonwealth immigrants became a concern to the British nation (Grant, 2000). Multicultural education in the 1960s was perceived as a reform movement designed to change the educational environment so the pupils from diverse racial and ethnic groups would experience equal educational opportunities similar to the majorities.

Multicultural education, as described by Banks (2001), was at least three things: an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process. Multicultural education incorporated the idea that all students regardless of their culture, race, gender, social class and other inequalities, should have an equal opportunity to learn in a positive environment in mainstream schools. Another important idea in multicultural education was that some pupils had a better chance to learn in schools than pupils who belong to other groups or who had different cultural characteristics.

Scotland, in common with the rest of the United Kingdom is a multicultural nation consisting of various cultures. These cultural diversities include different languages, religions and social classes for both territorial and non-territorial groups. The cultures of territorial groups, such as the Gaels in the Highlands and the Welsh in Wales, as well as

the cultures of the non-territorial groups, such as the Asians and Afro-Caribbean immigrants as well as the Gaelic speakers living in different parts of Britain, add to the modern multicultural nature of the UK. There are also other non-territorially based groups such as the Travellers and Gypsy communities whose cultural diversities require equal attention in this democratic pluralist nation.

Bullivant (1993) defined culture as a group's program for survival and adaptation to its environment. The essence of a culture is not its artefacts, tools or other tangible elements but how the members of the group interpret, use and perceive the knowledge, concepts and values of the group and how they share these through systems of communication. Fullinwider described multicultural education as

...what good schools do in the face of extensive "cultural" differences among students and teachers. Multicultural education is what good schools do to assure that "cultural" factors don't get in the way of equal educational opportunity and high student achievement.

(Fullinwider, 1996, p32)

An effective implementation of multicultural education in a school required critical examination and reform of its power relationships, the verbal interaction between teachers and students, the culture of the school, the curriculum, extracurricular activities, attitudes toward minority languages, the testing program as well as the pedagogical issues. The institutional norms, values and goals of the school needed to be reviewed and reconstructed in the light of multiculturalism and demands were made by advocates of multicultural education to focus on the school's hidden curriculum. The hidden curriculum was the one that no teacher explicitly taught but that all students learnt. It was a powerful part of the school culture that communicated to students the school's attitudes towards pupils from minority ethnic groups. Jackson (1992) described this latent curriculum as the 'untaught lessons'.

Many teachers think of multicultural education as contents related to ethnic, racial, and cultural groups. Conceptualising multicultural education exclusively as content related to various ethnic and cultural groups could be problematic for several reasons. Teachers who cannot easily see how their content could be related to cultural and normative issues will easily dismiss multicultural education with the argument that it is not relevant to their

disciplines. This is done frequently by secondary math and science teachers (Banks, 2001). Such arguments became a legitimised form of resistance to multicultural education.

Multicultural education needed to be more broadly defined and understood so that teachers from a wide range of disciplines could respond to it in appropriate ways and resistance to it could be minimised. The content integration, knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, pedagogical equity and an empowering school culture and social structure were thought to be the dimensions of multicultural education. Content integration deals with the extent to which teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups in their teaching, in order to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalisations, and theories in their subject area or discipline. The knowledge construction process relates to the extent to which teachers help students to understand, investigate, and determine how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of references, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed within it.

A case in point is how racism has been perpetuated in science by genetic theories of intelligence. Scientific racism continues to have a significant influence on the interpretations of mental ability tests in, among others, the United States. Research (Banks, 2001; Stephan, 1999) indicates that children come to school with many negative attitudes toward and misconceptions about different racial and ethnic groups. This dimension of multicultural education focuses on how teaching methods and materials can help students develop positive attitudes toward different racial, ethnic, and cultural groups.

Equity pedagogy exists when teachers modify their teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, gender, and social-class groups. This includes using a variety of teaching styles and approaches that are consistent with the wide range of learning styles within various cultural and ethnic groups (Davidson, 1990). Another important dimension of multicultural education is a school culture and organisation that promotes gender, racial, and social-class equity. Grouping and labelling practices, sports participation, disproportionality in achievement, and the

interaction of the staff and the students across ethnic and racial lines are important variables that need to be examined in order to create a school culture that empowers pupils from diverse cultural groups.

In 1981, after the publication of Lord Scarman's Report on the Brixton Riots (1981), cultural pluralism became acceptable both socially and educationally. Identification and adaptation of multicultural elements in education within curriculum, staff employment, assessment and whole school policies became apparent. Two major foci for the multicultural education were 'special needs' and 'education for all' (Swann Report, 1985). However pressure was mounting on multicultural education in the 1980s to put emphasis on prejudice reduction and the abolition of racism. Multicultural education described as 'three S's' approach (sari, samosas and steelbands) was thought to be ineffective and a distraction from the anti-racist struggle. At this time many Local Education authorities published statements (e.g. Strathclyde Regional Council, 1988) reflecting the new anti-racist emphasis which attempted to challenge the ignorance and prejudice upon which racist beliefs were built.

The subsequent thoughts about anti-racist education was that it was simplistic; it set aside other social evils such as religious bigotry, sexism, ageism, xenophobia or anything that sets person against person. It ignored the complexity of human relationships. If prejudice were multi-faceted then attempts to challenge them would be so too. Many public authorities, such as the SOEID, stepped aside from the apparent arguments between simplistic anti-racists and liberal multiculturalists by recognising that these two concepts are complimentary, not contradictory. (Grant, 2000)

Subsequently, to achieve a resolution between cultural diversity and social cohesion a major thrust was put on intercultural understanding. Familiarisation with diverse cultures was considered a major step towards such understanding. Through processes of discourse and intercultural dialogue a peaceful change and reform from monoculturalism to multiculturalism was thought to be achievable. Therefore, the emphasis presently has been on intercultural education where all ethnic minorities and as well as the majorities can engage in common dialogue about shared values, interests and aspirations.

Multiculturalism, anti-racism and interculturalism have been used interchangeably in much of the literature but in this thesis the concept of multiculturalism encapsulates the existence of cultural diversities that are present in both territorial and non-territorial ethnic minority communities as well as the majority community in Scotland. The notion also includes intercultural discourses where people from different cultures can engage in mutual understanding and treat each other fairly and justifiably. Multicultural education would not be an extra course added to the curriculum but a permeation of the concept of equality of cultures and that all people are valuable in their rights.

1.6 Ethnic minorities in Scotland and minority identity

In the multicultural Scotland of today, and living side by side with the indigenous population, are many linguistically diverse but numerically smaller ethnic minority communities which are far from homogeneous. They display considerable diversity among themselves in terms of religion, custom, language, occupation, nature of employment, patterns of settlement, dress and food habits, thus constituting a heterogeneous group tied, nevertheless, by the commonly felt need to belong to a minority community. The presence of 'foreigners' from south east Asia in Scotland was first noted back in 1505 at the Court of King James IV but the foundations for the present settlement of the Asian community began in the eighteenth century during the time of the East India Company (Mann, 1992).

Over the past forty years Scotland's ethnic minority population has steadily grown to just over 60,000 which is around 1.3% of its total population (SEMRU, 1994). The Indian sub-continent has been the main source of the most prominent groups that constitute the ethnic minorities in Scotland. The ethnic minority pupils in Scottish schools today are mainly the descendants of "immigrants" from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, China and West Africa. There are very few West Indians, who tend to come from Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, Bermuda or Tobago in Scotland, but there is a large concentration in London. The areas the Asian immigrants have come from varied, but Punjab is the major area for immigration to Scotland for both Indians and Pakistanis; Gujeratis and Bangladeshis are more common in England in areas such as Leicester and Tower Hamlets respectively.

The data collected from the 1991 Census for Ethnic Minorities in Scotland (Scottish Ethnic Minorities Research Unit, 1994) presented a demographic, numerical and socio-economic account of Scotland's minority population. Scotland's total ethnic minority population was recorded in 1991 as 62,634 or 1.3% of the total population and over one third of this population had its roots in Pakistan. Out of this total just over 60% live in Glasgow and 17% in Edinburgh. Two other main cities, Dundee and Aberdeen have 5.2% and 4.8% respectively. The Census also identified clusters of ethnic population in the inner city areas such as Woodlands and Garnethill on the north side of the river Clyde and Pollokshields and Govan on the south side of Glasgow City. A comparative study in the age profile in the above report have also shown over 15% of the white population is over 65 years old compared to 2.1% of the Ethnic Minority population, over 1 in 3 are under the age of 15 years. Currently around 5,000 ethnic minority pupils are attending nursery, primary and secondary schools in Glasgow only. By April 1991, one third of Scotland's ethnic minority population had been born here and a further 10% elsewhere in the UK.

The number of speakers of a particular south Asian language in Scotland can be no more than a reasoned estimate, due to the lack of any questions in the Census on linguistic affiliation. Of the total of 62,634, around 21,000 (34%) are of Pakistani origin - speakers of Urdu/Punjabi; 10,000 (16%) are of Indian origin - speakers of Punjabi, Hindi, Gujarati, Bengali and other Indian languages; 10,000 (16%) are of Chinese origin - speakers of Cantonese, Mandarin and Hakka and 1000 (2%) are of Bangladeshi origin - speakers of Bengali.

In the context of social class and economic activity, the Indian community is particularly successful with 1 in 6 of their work force classified as professional compared to 1 in 20 amongst the white majority (SEMURU, 1994). Both the Chinese and the Pakistani communities have higher percentage of their working population classified as Skilled Manual and Managerial within the social hierarchy as compared to the white majority. In terms of employment 30% of ethnic minority males in employment are classified as self-employed compared to some 12% of majority whites. The corresponding figures for females are 16% and 5% respectively.

Ethnic minority populations as identified in the census summary report are much younger than white majority population. The report states that:

A comparison ... shows interesting contrasts in the age profile of the ethnic minority and white majority communities. ... it reflects a recent history of in-migration over the last four decades during which a relatively young population has been in the active stages of family formation with its raised levels of fertility This is in contrast to the white majority's mature profile of an ageing population.

(Ibid. p7)

Consequently, a careful consideration of the future educational provision for this relatively younger ethnic minority population could be of primary concern for local and national government. In the context of organising classroom activities where minority and majority pupils can negotiate their identities, an explanation on what constitutes minority identity is necessary.

Minority Identity

Minority population, unlike the majority one, are in many instances under pressure in sorting out their identities. Although the principal marker for identification tends to concentrate on nationality or citizenship, used synonymously, a person tends to be identified by his/her origin, class, occupation, relationships, religion, race, colour and other characteristics which together help define one's identity (Erikson, 1968). An adolescent Asian, born in Scotland of Muslim parents, is known to be conscious of being a Scot in Scotland, a Briton in UK and other parts of the world, a Pakistani in Pakistan, a Muslim in Muslim company, an Urdu speaker in the minority languages context and a labour supporter, for example, at election times.

An ethnic minority member is not only under pressure from the society to sort out his/her identity, but also has to resolve the internal conflict of 'current identification' and 'idealistic identification'. These identifications refer, as Weinreich (1979) mentioned, to a person's wish to become like another whom he or she admires, or it may indicate a person's recognition of sameness with another. Such 'idealistic identity' constitutes people's positive value systems associated with their more positive reference models whilst their 'contra identifications' are linked with their contra value system and their more negative reference models. If someone currently identifies with someone in whom

he perceives characteristic from which he wishes to dissociate, his identification with others will be conflicted. More generic identity conflict referred to some general notion of conflict associated with a person's self concept whereas identification conflict is located precisely in relation to the ethnicity of particular individuals and groups.

Each individual has a finite number of bipolar constructs by means of which he is able to construe others, that is to judge and differentiate between them on a number of personality relevant dimensions. A person's construct system incorporate his values. The approach can therefore be used with adolescents from differing cultural backgrounds without violating their differing value systems and world-views. It is equally applicable to any language or dialect.

(Weinreich, 1979, p93)

Ethnic identification conflicts were studied in a sample of adolescent boys and girls of native white, Asian and Caribbean parentage in Bristol in the 1980s (ibid.). The result showed a high proportion of incidence of identification conflicts with general representatives of their own ethnicity amongst Asian and Caribbean pupils. Such identification conflict can be explained by the fact that the socialisation experience of members of the study group involved two cultures, in which the parent's culture is in a primary but subordinate relationship to the indigenous population. All of these adolescents have experienced early socialisation within the minority culture of their parents, followed by increasing exposure to socialisation within the majority culture, without any reference to minority culture, as portrayed by primary and secondary schools and by the mass media. This means although ethnic minority youngsters' allegiances are first grounded in their own ethnic groups, their subsequent socialisation presents alternative views which may not conform to their earlier identification. (Gregory,1996). The question is how do these adolescents develop a cohesive self-concept? The above study also showed pupils with non-conflictual identifications with their parents assured adherence to their ethnic groups in most cases thus making positive contribution to a cohesive self-concept..

The process of migration brings to people instability, isolation and helplessness as Rack (1979) described in his account that:

To leave home and go to live in another place is never a light undertaking, especially if the distance is great and the move a long-term one...There is grief in parting...There may be helplessness induced by a strange language, the fear of being misunderstood...being physically distinctive, feeling unwelcome, experiencing social isolation and dependence on strangers.

(Rack, 1979, p167)

During the 1970's many social observers assumed that there were major and increasingly irresolvable conflicts between Asian youngsters and their parents and that young Asians were a rootless generation who were caught between two cultures. In spite of the older generations' attempt to keep their children within their kinship circles, many youngsters failed to identify with their own group. Making a choice between Asian and British lifestyles cause pressure and there was another pressure on Asian young pupils which was of critical importance in determining those choices. Ballard (1979) explained that:

Young Asians who have been brought up and educated in Britain are constantly aware of being 'different', and the experience of racial discrimination has the most profound effect on every individual...while synthesising aspects of both Asian and British cultures some young Asians seem to be reacting to the rejection ...by taking renewed pride in their separate cultural identity.

(Ballard, 1979, p126-127)

Erikson argued that synthesising process was not just an amalgamation of various personality traits, on the other hand it was achieved through resolving conflicts and in the process of resolving conflicts people change their self perception. Conflict that are caused by rejection and exclusion may not resolve into making self assured individuals engaged in building the bridges between communities. Verma (1989) commented on the self respect and identity of ethnic minority children that,

The impact of the monocultural orientation of the educational system on the self respect and identity of ethnic minority children is shattering. The British educational system has so far failed. It fails to concern itself with the preparation of all individuals to function in a society composed

of varied races, cultures, social norms, values, lifestyles, each different but interdependent.

(Verma, 1989, p238)

Schools are perceived by parents as an important place for transmission of knowledge. But can knowledge be value free or fixed? 'What' the teachers are ought to teach is written in the official curriculum but 'how' he/she teaches is not written down; it is a hidden curriculum. The role of such hidden curriculum is important in a pluralist society as different pupils' backgrounds need to be taken into consideration. When such considerations are not taken seriously the most adversely affected would be the minority pupils and their sense of identity.

The relative position of ethnic minorities versus the majority is shaped decisively by the socio-cultural perception of the different groups involved. From the minority's point of view, it is important to know which cultural concepts and societal values, which languages and observations, which manners, customs and religious practices have to be learned to be part of the minority community, or to be recognised as and to feel like a member of the community. From the majority's point of view, it is equally important that the minorities accept and adopt their perceptions of values, socio-cultural concepts and so on.

A major task confronting any adolescent is to develop a sense of individual identity, which can be facilitated by having non-conflictual identification with one's parents and culture as identified before. An adolescent's sense of identity develops gradually out of the various identifications of childhood. Young children's values and moral standards are largely those of their parents and their feelings of self-esteem stem primarily from their parents' view of them. Subsequently, their sense of values are influenced by perceptions of teachers, peer groups and interactions with the outside world. Atkinson (1993) pointed out that

As youngsters move into the wider world of junior high school the values of the peer group become increasingly important, as do the appraisals of the teachers and other adults. Adolescents try to synthesise their values and appraisals into a consistent picture. If parents, teachers and peers project consistent values, the search for identity is easier.

(Atkinson et al, 1993, p115)

For a young member of the ethnic minority community, the absence of a cohesive view from minority and majority adults and peer groups may trigger off stressful inner conflicts. For them to achieve the dual acceptance, they must, in the first instance, accept the main values of their culture, i.e. their ethnic identity; the values which are fundamental and indispensable to their cultural identity and expressions and these values which are fundamental and indispensable to its culture must, therefore, be passed on and continued through education to the next generation. How is this to be done? In a multiethnic country where the dominant group values are thought to be universal in nature and minority values are under pressure of conformity, how minority values would be preserved? What role do heritage languages play in passing on cultural values?

1.7 Culture and Identity

In the anthropological sense, a culture embraces anything characteristic of one's way of life, such as language, religion, folklore, myths, beliefs, values, rituals and observances, family and kinship structures, history, political structures and conventions, patterns of interpersonal behaviour, sexual norms and practices, diet, food preparation, dress, economic activity and leisure. Alan Davies put it succinctly,

..belonging to a culture means not always having to think what to do, just as belonging to a language community means not always having to think what to say.

(Grant, 1997, p7)

Cultural identity is necessary for one's sense of belonging, and belonging to a culture provides a sense of security, acceptance, and an involvement. Furthermore, as suggested by Atkinson (1993) different lifestyles put a premium on different personality traits and culture shapes these traits in their members through different child-rearing practices. A synthesised view of parents, teachers and peers for a youngster are paramount factors for a cohesive self-portrait of an adolescent, as observed in Erickson's (1959.) pscho-social stages of child development.

Most Western industrialised nations value and attempt to shape citizens as independent, self-assured and motivated to achieve, whereas most non-western cultures place much less value on independence and assertiveness. These children are encouraged to be

obedient and respectful, and to be a part of the functioning community rather than to be competitive and to do better than others. Each culture attempts to shape the kinds of personality characteristics that it values and it needs in order to survive as a community. It is widely believed that one of the indispensable aims of education is to pass on a tradition and a culture - social, moral, intellectual, aesthetic, religious, and so on. In a multicultural society, where multiplicity of values is to be observed, on what principles, when there is a conflict, a decision is to be made? Is there a hierarchy of values?

1.8 Values

Charity, tolerance, wisdom, intellect, freedom, self-assertion, excellence, loyalty, dedication, honesty, sincerity, truth are only a few of the many values respected in both Asian and Western cultures. Trust, reliability, honesty and loyalty are some of the most revered values in Japanese culture, whereas respect for parents and elders, hard work, loyalty to the family and traditions are some of the primary values in Asian culture. Different cultures put emphasis on a cluster of values over others at different times. As Reid (1962) mentioned in his discussion of rights and values that:

Different values may claim our attention on different occasions, and the fulfilment of them on some occasions may be required if human life is to be lived fully.

(Reid, 1962, p45)

The conflict between values is not due to the fact that one is right and one is wrong, good or bad, as values are good and right; but due to the fact that they are 'on a par'. An ethnic minority pupil may be experiencing conflict between the Western value of self-assertiveness and the Eastern value of obedience to parents and elders not because these values are opposed to each other, but because they are on the same footing. How does one compromise? What are the determinant factors and levels of conformity and compromise in a pluralist society? An attempt has been made in this study to find answers to such questions by analysing the philosophical implications of multicultural and anti-racist education.

1.9 Philosophical Perspectives on Multicultural Education

Pragmatists believe that philosophy needed to be applied to solve human problems. As educational theories - progressivism, realism, idealism, utopianism and others are derived from philosophies and ideologies, it is essential to analyse the philosophical and ideological factors in multicultural education as this may help suggest the direction it ought to take. The present multicultural education in Scotland is still widely perceived as having to do with immigrants, not society at large.

..... The assumption is still common that the desired object is to assimilate minority groups by means of remedial English for Asians and perhaps some attempts to teach racial tolerance to the rest.

(Grant, 1997, p135)

Such assimilationistic educational attempt ignores pluralism. It leads one to the opinion that all languages should give way to one language. Such reductionism may fail to bring about equity, social justice and harmony that the current inclusive ideology is aiming to achieve. The rationalists advocated the notion of 'progress', which promised a future that would be better than the past, believing that human race had to be prepared and educated for the new era. Central to Rousseau's philosophy was the belief that the development of human character should follow nature; Rousseau's distinction between 'amour de soi', an intrinsic love of being, and 'amour propre', or pride, an externally derived product of society by which individuals seek to control, dominate and use others for their own social aggrandisement may manifest in multiracial societies where one race dominates other races, excludes dialogue of diversity and culturally diverse educators in discussions of reforms. On the other hand, it is from 'amour de soi' that human beings, through natural education, arrive at humane values. (Gutek, 1997)

Whether knowledge is a cognitive process where a teacher attempts to bring latent ideas into a pupil's consciousness by asking leading questions or as Realists believe, a deductive process involving sensation-abstraction-concept method or a problem solving acumen, experience plays a common role. Dewey's pragmatism and subsequent educational theories of Progressivism and Reconstructionism stress the liberation of the child's needs and interests. Reconstructionism urges that schools play a significant role in

cultural criticisms and change, that schools encourage pupils to develop critical awareness of language and society, and provide opportunities for minority pupils to negotiate their identities in a majority culture. (Ibid.)

In epistemology of Naturalism, an early form of scientific realism, sense experience is a means of analysing or breaking down reality into its components.

To gain an accurate and scientific impression of reality, it was necessary to reduce objects to their smaller parts.....the source of error lying in both abstraction and speculation, which were not based on finely tuned or accurate sensation.

(Gutek, 1997, p70)

For the Naturalists like Rousseau (1712-1778), Pestalozzi (1746-1827) values arise from the interaction of human beings with the environment; instincts, drives and impulses need to be expressed rather than repressed and this expression should be based on 'amour de soi'. From self-awareness derives a sense of natural ethic that cultivates human equality. Self awareness as well as critical awareness of languages and society are the necessary prerequisites of a peaceful and harmonious multicultural, pluralist society. On the other hand, the Nationalist Socialist ideology of education, WELTANSCHAUNG, or world view, arose in the 1940s with an objective of creating a homogeneous racial community where there would be no divergent attitude or alternative lifestyle. In totalitarian nations, there is only one correct way to think, and indoctrination and propaganda are the means to such end. The study of the origins, strategies, and consequences of totalitarianism are instructive in analysing racism; an incipient totalitarianism in the ideological sense. Gutek defined racism

.... as an ideology or attitude that overtly or covertly encourages discrimination based on racial identity, holding some races to be inherently intellectually, socially, or culturally inferior and others superior. Despite concerned efforts to expose and eradicate racism, it continues to be a persistent issue in education and schooling.

(op cit., p254)

The holocausts, the discriminations of blacks in the United States, the "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia, the extermination of Armenians by Turks, harassment and physical violence to

Asians in Isle of Dogs and other parts of United Kingdom occurred when people of one group determined that those of another group, because of pigmentation, ethnicity, language or religion, are so different that they are of ' lesser stock', of lesser value. In Africa, racism has manifested in tribalism; in Rowanda tribal conflicts have led to genocide between Hutus and Tutsis; in Kosovo ethnic conflicts between Serbians and Albanian kosovars have led to mass expulsion and genocide of minority Albanians. Primordial irrationalism, long-standing prejudices can be transmitted from generation to generation through totalitarian ideology through compulsory ethnocentric education. The relevance of totalitarianism to the contemporary educator is that it provides a warning of what happens when irrationality replaces reason and when conformity replaces diversity.

In a pluralist society, education will endeavour to reflect the diverse culture of the society through reconstruction. Through cultural instrumentality such as multilingualism, technology, history of both minority and majority communities, migration processes, globalization of trade and industry, biographies of minority role models of value reconstruction of a cosmopolitan society be possible. Unfortunately many social, cultural, and religious institutions throughout the world are wary of both critical literacy and cultural diversity because they bring other perspectives into mind. The question can be asked here, does recognition of minority perspectives in the determination of historical events and current issues undermine or enrich majority perceptions? As Cummins (1996) observed in the context of the education of minority language pupils:

North American academics and policy makers who argue stridently against multicultural and bilingual education view cultural diversity as the enemy within and want to minimise what they see as its destructive effects on the collective psyche of the nation. They want to ensure that students remain within predetermined cultural and intellectual boundaries.

(Cummins, 1996, p219-220)

Such conservative imposition to remain within predetermined boundaries damages cumulative nature of education and impedes construction of new hypothesis and innovation, consequently devalues a true democratic spirit and society. Conservation of predetermined boundaries, preservation of the status quo, in itself a static process, will not reflect the dynamic nature of rapid globalization and growth in education and industry.

The metaphysical dualism in the form of mind-body, spirit-matter, soul-body have permeated in both Eastern and Western philosophies over centuries. Philosophical dualism contributed to patterns of hierarchical curricular organization in which theoretical subjects - history, literature, aesthetics, biographies, religion - were given priority over practical ones. According to philosophical dualism there was a higher realm of fixed and permanent values where truth was absolute; there was also an inferior world of changing objects and persons that was the realm of experience and practice. Dewey emphasised a changing and evolutionary universe where the human situation was not to transcend experience but rather to use it to solve human problems-rejecting dualistic epistemologies Dewey supported a continuum of human experience that related rather than separated thinking and acting, fact and value, intellect and emotion. A sense of meaning through context can only be developed through the structure and process of successive and cumulative education. A classroom is an 'embryonic community' in which pupils work together to solve shared problems. By discussing common problems experienced by majority and minority communities, pupils can transform themselves from separate individuals into community of mutual concerns, ideology and activities.

Conformism to the mainstream core values, formed without any reference to the permanent aspects of minority culture and tradition, can preach totalitarianism. Rich sources of value education can be found in literature, history, religion and philosophy of both majority and minority cultures and the curriculum in a multicultural society should reflect values, beliefs and traditions of both cultures. Pupils are to be exposed to great works of literature, art, drama, paintings of all communities and encouraged to find the essence that makes them timeless. All pupils need to be able to identify their own group, group values, as well as their individual identities. Like majority, minority identities are to be confirmed through knowledge and critical understanding of their own culture, heritage, language, literature, history which have made their tradition and culture timeless.

This chapter looked at the role of Mother Tongue education for ethnic minority pupils living in Scotland and the United Kingdom, with a view to understanding how Mother Tongue learning can contribute to the development of self-identity, cultural values and individualism. In addition, the chapter included a brief description of how ethnic minority

Mother Tongues were treated in mainstream education in other European countries, and finally, a discussion on how philosophies and ideologies in a multicultural, cosmopolitan society might influence the way one responds to the diverse needs of one's fellow citizens and how the school, through its social role, could generate a sense of community through shared knowledge, experience, activity and problem solving.

The following chapter examines the linguistic characteristics of the principal languages spoken by the people of South Asian origin living in Scotland with a view to providing a better understanding of the languages and their speakers. The next chapter also discusses the methodology commonly employed in teaching of Mother Tongues and the objectives in the curricular development for community languages.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF COMMUNITY LANGUAGES

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a clearer understanding of the contemporary multilingual situation as well as the linguistic characteristics and teaching methodology of five major Asian community languages used in Scotland. The community languages discussed here are Panjabi, Bengali, Urdu & Hindi, and Chinese. With the exception of Chinese, all the other Asian languages belong to the Indo-Aryan language family as opposed to the Dravidian languages such as Tamil, Telegu, Kanara etc. languages used mainly in South India. The Indo-Aryan languages as a whole are spoken by around three-quarters of the population of South Asia. These were derived from a single form of speech that was introduced in India by invaders from the North West more than three thousand years ago. The invading people were known in their own language as *arya* meaning noble, honourable. The Dravidian languages are known as *anarya* meaning crude.

The language which stands in the same relationship to Indo-Aryan languages, such as, Punjabi, Gujarati, Hindi, Urdu and Bengali is Sanskrit, as Latin does to the modern European languages. It is not known when Sanskrit was in use as a living language. The earliest surviving inscription found in India are the edicts of the Emperor Ashoka (3rd century B.C.) inscribed on rocks and pillars. But these are written in Prakrit (meaning ordinary, natural), a language representing a later stage of linguistic evolution from Sanskrit, meaning polished. These prakrit languages in turn gave rise to the modern Indian languages such as, Hindi, Urdu, Panjabi, Bengali, Gujarati, Nepali, spoken in Nepal, and Sinhalese, spoken in Sri Lanka. (Mobbs, 1985)

2.2 Linguistic minorities in Scotland

Languages of the non-white communities are not the only minority languages in Scotland. Historically Scotland has always been a multicultural and multilingual nation. The Picts, thought to be the first people of Scotland, spoke a Gaulish language (Foster, 1996). After the Picts, came the Scots from Ireland, the Britons from Wales, the Norse from Norway and Denmark, the Angles (Germans from England), and the Normans from France after their conquest of England. They all brought their own languages with them. In time, the people remained but their languages changed or became extinct, with the notable exception of Gaelic, which originally came from Ireland and survived (Grant, 1995).

Gaelic is the third oldest written language in Europe after Greek and Latin (MacKinnon, 1991; Grant, 1985). It was brought into Scotland by Irish settlers in the 4th or 5th centuries, first to Argyll, known as the Shore of the Gaels and then spread over the rest of the country. By 1513, however, the usage of Gaelic was confined within the clan system, primarily in the rural areas of Highlands. But after the battle of Culloden in 1746 the clan system broke down and Gaelic started to diminish as the Anglo-saxons regarded Gaelic as the language of the 'savages'. Since then the first recognition of Gaelic in education was made, in a very small way, in 1918 (Grant, 1985).

Gaelic used to be thought of as the Highland language, but there are now more Gaels living in Glasgow than in Skye. The Census Reports of 1980 and 1990 indicate that Gaelic is 'shrinking'. This is partly because more and more Gaels were moving to the low lands for higher education and employment and partly because the Gaels became open to Metropolitan penetration and were no longer as remote as they once were. Gaelic was further handicapped by the fact that most Scots speak English as well, and internationally outranks Gaelic as a prestigious language.

To make matters worse, the Scottish Education Department adopted a 'neutral' attitude to the survival of Gaelic in Scotland over the years, in marked contrast to its counterpart in Wales (Grant, 1995). Some allowances were made to Gaelic by supporting the Bilingual project (Proisect Da-Chananach) in the Western Isles, but due to temporary and diminishing funding the Department was reluctant to extend Gaelic-medium teaching to the secondary or to outside Western Isles. Recently with the resurgence of national identity there has been some shift in Scotland with regard to Gaelic. At present Gaelic can be studied as a subject in some secondary schools in Glasgow and Edinburgh and it is also studied as a medium of instruction in most primary and secondary schools in Highlands and in some primary schools in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

To complete the historical perspective, the influx into Scotland after the Normans from France comprised mainly of the modern Irish, the Italians, the Poles, the Chinese, the Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. In Scotland, the ethnic minority population mainly of Asian and Afro-Caribbean origin, is less than two percent (SEMRU, 1994). The four cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen have a higher minority ethnic population than the rest of Scotland, from just over 1.3% in Aberdeen to 5.4% in Glasgow (Census Reports, 1990). In modern Scotland the presence of community languages such

as Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali and Chinese may well have revitalised the nation's consciousness about the minority status of its own heritage language, Gaelic.

The multicultural nature of Scotland is difficult to ignore, yet there remains considerable reluctance, from governmental circles outwards, to face its implications (Grant, 1995). The minority population can adopt multiple identity when the society at large attaches equal status to all cultures and languages. Unless the minority heritage and the community languages are promoted from fringe status to the mainstream level, their validity will be diminished in the society at large.

The linguistic situations of the Gaels in Glasgow have more in common with the Asians in Glasgow than the Gaels in Stornoway; both are under pressure of linguistic assimilation. The small number of Asian settlers in the Western Isles, like any other minorities, has been under pressure to assimilate in terms of culture. Assimilation takes place when public policies and social pressures do not consider multiple identity as a logical option. The new generation Asians, like the minorities in other parts of Europe, are grasping the idea of multiple identity. If it is possible to be British and European, it can not stop there; an Asian in the Highlands can be a Highlander, a Scot, a British as well as an Asian. The Pakistani population in the Western Isles can learn to function in Gaelic, English as well as in Punjabi or Urdu. By maintaining multiple identity the linguistic minorities are more likely to remain affiliated to their own culture as well as the host culture.

It is a hard task to find the common strands that link the various cultures in a common human framework and support children's cognitive development in a multicultural classroom, but the effort has to be made. This suggests more tasks for the curriculum. Now people are capable of learning more than what was formerly thought to be possible, as theories of multiple intelligence (Gardner, 1993) as well as the additive bilingual theory (Lambert, 1975) suggest. Maintenance of language diversity in the curriculum, though a significant challenge for the educators, is worth pursuing as it attempts to bind a linguistically diverse community in a common, harmonious framework.

2.3 Linguistic background of Community Languages

The four major South Asian languages in Scotland (Urdu, Hindi, Panjabi and Bengali) although exhibit diversities in script, grammar, vocabulary and sounds, there are many

unifying factors between them. Linguistic convergence amongst the above languages may have been an outcome of the presence of widespread bi- and multi-lingualism that exist amongst the population in Indian subcontinent. Romaine, in her description of multilingual nature of India, stated

The average educated person in Hydrabad may use Telegu at home, Sanskrit at the temple, English at the university, Urdu in business.....Tamil or Malayalam for reading, dealing with servants, or other specific purposes.

(Romaine, 1988, p9)

A few characteristics, which are common to community languages, will be discussed under the headings of grammar, scripts, phonics and vocabulary in the next section.

Grammar

The sentence structure (subject - object - verb) in Indo-Aryan languages (Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Punjabi) contrasts with that in English (subject - verb - object). For example:

Mera	naam	Meena	hai
My	name	Meena	is

Prepositions are used as post positions, such as:

Meena	Glasgow	me	rahate-hai
Meena	Glasgow	in	lives

Gender Rules

There are two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine, in Panjabi, Urdu and Hindi (as they are in French: le garçon (m) and la fille (f)). Gujerati, additionally, has a neuter gender, as in German. Matching the shape of the endings of certain words (grammatical 'agreement') is very important, and it applies to both gender and number (singular vs. plural as, again, in French: les studios (m) and les maisons (f), le grand garçon, les grandes filles)). Here are three different agreement forms for an adjective:

chota	larka	chote	larke	choti	larki
little	boy	little	boys	little	girl

In Bengali, however, the gender is natural (as in English), with masculine gender corresponding to maleness, etc. Thus:

purusher	poshak	mahilar	poshak
men's	clothes	women's	clothes

Pronouns of address

There are at least two forms of the second person pronoun ('you') for familiar and polite usage, as is the case with most European languages (with the exception of modern Standard English). The form of the verb changes with the pronoun chosen. Thus:

polite (or older person)			familiar (or younger person)		
aapni	kothai	thaken?	tumi	kothai	thako
you	where	live?	you	where	live?

Articles

Indo-Aryan languages have neither definite (the) nor indefinite (a, an) articles. Thus:

larka	seb	kha-raha	tha
boy	apple	eating	was
A (or The)	an (or the)		

Verbs

In Indo-Aryan languages the verb in a sentence usually consists of a phrase with two or more elements rather than a single word, with the auxiliary verb occupying the final position in the verb phrase, and therefore in the whole sentence. Thus:

mai	jata	hu	
I	going	am	I go (habitually)
mai	ja	raha	hu
I	go	'continuing'	am I am going (at present)

2.4 Sounds, Scripts and Vocabulary

Unlike in English where the phonetic characteristics of individual letters in the alphabet are generally not retained within a word (e.g. those of 'a', 'b', 'c', 'e' etc. in the word 'absence'), most letters within Indo-Aryan languages carry their phonetic individuality into the words. Indo-Aryan languages also have two quite distinct kinds of 't' and 'd' sounds. One is known in phonetic terms as dental, e.g. 't' (pronounced softly in the French manner, with the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth); the other is described phonetically as 'retroflex', e.g. 'ṭ' where the tongue tip is arched back to make contact with the roof of the mouth. Such retroflex pronunciations of 't' and 'd' may describe the characteristic accent of Indian English.

Another characteristic of Indo-Aryan languages is the presence of voiced aspirates, such as 'bh', 'dh', 'ph' etc. which involves release of extra puff of air when pronounced. The letter 'p' is unaspirated in Indo-Aryan languages, consequently pronunciation of words beginning with 'p' comes over as 'b' to the English ear. Panjabi differs from Hindi, Urdu and Bengali in not having any voiced aspirate sounds. Panjabi, like Chinese, is a tonal language; changes in the tone or pitch level affect a change in the meaning of a word. For example, low tone on first syllable in the word 'kora' means horse whereas level tone in the first syllable would mean whip.

Scripts

The learning of scripts in South Asian languages is considered extremely important as literacy in the community languages are closely related to religious readings. Many of the South Asian scripts seem to hang from a line, as seen in Gurmukhi, Hindi and Bengali, with the exception of Urdu. Urdu script originated from Arabic and Farsi script, which is written from left to right. There are no separate capital letters for the consonants in these languages.

There are ten vowels, thirty-five independent consonants, three nasal and two conjunct consonants in Hindi, Panjabi and Bengali which are derivatives of Sanskrit. Words do not begin with nasal or adjoining consonants but with vowels and independent consonants. In Indian scripts alphabets are syllabic in the sense a consonant letter can represent a complete syllable. For example, the letters k, t, p are sounded as syllables ka, ta, pa. Other

vowels ã, i, e, o, oi etc are indicated by different signs placed after, before, below, above a consonant. These vowel signs are the shorter versions of the vowel letters in the alphabet, which may or may not resemble the corresponding vowels.

In Bengali and Hindi there are conjunct letters where one letter would be on top of another. For example, the word 'baksa' meaning box, the letters k would be written on top of letter s which will indicate pronunciation of k before s. There are, as Mobbs pointed out, 150 conjunct consonants, some conjunct consonants take new forms as in the case of letters k and kh.

Vocabulary

Language and religious affiliation is one of the prominent characteristics in community languages used by South Asian ethnic minorities in Scotland. The affinity between Urdu and Hindi languages is distanced by certain items of vocabulary. These vocabularies, equivalent in meaning, are used by one community but not by the other. It is the use of certain vocabulary originated from religious affiliation and scripts have led Hindi and Urdu being recognised as two separate languages. (Figure 1.2 source: Mobbs 1985; 18)

2.5 Methodology in teaching of Community Languages

The traditional approach to teaching a language in the Indian sub-continent has been initially alphabet centred. The language, in which the writing system is based on alphabet, the teaching begins with an alphabet book which gives out each letter then it is followed by a word beginning with that letter. Pupils work their way through the alphabet book till all the letters are learnt. Many community language teachers have succeeded in teaching pupils to read and write in this way but the difficulties lie in the fact that the pupils are older in today's community language classes and in mainstream classrooms. Teachers are teaching pupils to read and write Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi, Bengali, Chinese in secondary classes; therefore these breakthrough to literacy traditional books used in South East Asia are inappropriate in the U.K. Furthermore, most pupils in India and Pakistan find these traditional alphabet approach, copying out letters, a meaningless activity. However, the obvious effects of such meaningless uninteresting exercises are lessened by the fact that the children are learning the language for several hours every day. Therefore, pupils quickly get past the meaningless activities on to more rewarding areas; but for pupils in

Britain who attend classes for two or three hours a week, it may take them many months to learn the alphabet.

Following acquisition learning methodology used in modern language classes today, the starting point for pupils to read and write would be something, which is already a meaningful part of their spoken language. The most suitable words to begin with are the words that are the most meaningful to them, their names, family, daily routine, school, hobbies, holiday etc. This individualistic, pupil centred approach has an uniqueness for each learner and regarded by most teachers as a necessary starting point for reading and writing. This natural approach (Krashen, 1983) to teaching a language is to make pupils realise that writing is a way of saying things that they want to say. The word recognition approach or look and say method are used in building up a store of words and sentence structures. Word-recognition method is extensively used in learning to read many community languages, as Molteno pointed out:

...Urdu is a language which lends itself to the word-recognition approach even more than English does, because the shape of each word is different, and so it is easy for children to learn to see words as whole shapes.

(Molteno, 1986, p11)

Although Mother Tongue languages basically are the first languages for the ethnic minority pupils in secondary schools in Scotland, the methodology used in teaching community languages in classrooms are the same in teaching modern languages such as French, German, Italian and other European languages. The approach in modern language courses is to try to develop both receptive and productive skills but listening and speaking take precedence over reading and writing. However, there is no hierarchy between these skills, as Edwards (1998) pointed out in reference to four language skills that:

More recently, these skills have been seen as inter-related, development in one are consolidating progress in the others.....Opportunities for children to write in their community languages not only help develop their literacy skills but also create a larger pool of reading resources in other language.

(Edwards, 1998, p66)

One goal often mentioned by linguists in connection with second language acquisition courses is to develop a greater cultural awareness on the part of the students or to promote a more open attitude towards speakers of other languages. In case of community language courses; teachers place a high value on the development of the pupils themselves - their self-images and their relationships with others and for members of the majority community an understanding and respect for minority languages. In multilingual classrooms where bilingual children are encouraged to share their bilingual experiences with their classmates, the results can be far reaching. as Edwards (1998) observed that:

Children at Godolphin junior School learned to answer the register and exchange greetings in Urdu, Panjabi, French and German. At Redlands Primary School, English-speaking children now have a clearer understanding of how writing works - from right to left as well as left to right...

(opcit, p77)

Communicative approaches in Mother Tongue teaching

A decision on the methods and materials in a language course is possible when the goal of that course has been identified. If the goal is to restrict ethnic minority languages for minority pupils only then an important opportunity for encouraging intercultural education will be missed out. In order to be used as optional subjects for all pupils, minority and majority, community languages need to be taught as second languages not as Mother Tongues. Therefore, the methods in teaching of community languages would be similar to teaching of modern languages in Scottish schools.

The general aims and objectives of the modern language courses respond to the perceived wishes of teachers and public that the pupils at age of sixteen would learn 'usable' skills in addition to serving as a springboard for further study by specialists in language. It is the intention of the Standard Grade modern language courses to give more prominence to oral/aural skills in language learning. In the context of community languages, pupils ability to communicate in the target language in one classroom range from fully proficient to non-existent. Many children are coming in with both written and spoken fluency in their community languages. Edwards (1998) observed in multilingual classes that:

Children who write fluently in their community languages - inevitably those who have attended school in the home country or have invested a great deal of time and effort in community classes or at home, supported by their parents.

(Edwards, 1998, p70)

In a classroom with such wide range of abilities, organisational strategies used by teachers range from 'planned heterogeneous grouping' (Findly & Byron, 1971) to one-to one teaching. More proficient pupils may be used as role models and spread into different groups so that less proficient speakers get some input while teacher is working with other groups or individuals. Differentiated learning materials are the essential tools in teaching a mixed ability class. Teachers use an alternate language approach where the teacher delivers a lesson sometimes in the target language and sometimes in English. Concurrent translation approach, where the teacher immediately translates the same information in both languages can influence the learner to, as Filmore (1982b) described, to 'tune out' when the teacher is giving instruction in the community language. Although community language is the first language for most or all pupils in the class, at the secondary level ethnic minority pupils are using English much more with their peer group than their Mother Tongue. Therefore, to facilitate bilingual pupils' learning of Mother Tongue to a cognitively demanding level the pedagogical approaches would aim at achieving full two-way communication where the learner listens and responds in target language.

Identification of themes, style of writing, plot, characters, setting, comparing and contrasting events, predicting, synthesising, hypothesising, constructing imaginative pieces etc. will not only promote bilingual pupils' competence in L1 but in L2 as well. As Baker explained Cummin's *Interdependence* theory that

.... second language acquisition is influenced considerably by the extent to which the first language has developed. When a first language has developed sufficiently well to cope with decontextualised classroom learning, a second language may be relatively easily acquired.

(Baker, 1996, p97)

Total Physical Response, Natural and Functional approaches are used at different levels in developing oral/aural skills, Role-play, pair and group activities, personal, investigative work are used to increase academic proficiencies in community languages. Total Physical Response method (Asher, 1965 and 1972) used in giving instructions in the target language do not require verbal or written productivity from the learners, only listening comprehension as receptive abilities precede productive skills observed with young children learning to speak. Language content at this stage is closely related to the immediate here and now. Learners demonstrate successful learning of the target vocabulary when learners are taught to recognise words referring to actions and it paves the way to language production skills.

How children learn to speak in first language has a close tie with learning of a second language. Levine(1990) in reference to additional language learning situation commented that:

Using this communicative approach to additional language learning, teachers began to note that the stages of development through which pupils passed-including the 'errors' they made-frequently paralleled those of early language development.

(Levine, 1990, p124)

Children's learning starts from concrete, observable objects and as the children become proficient in describing the immediate environment, their development is enhanced by introducing "comprehensible input" which may be beyond physical immediacy. Input hypothesis implicates,

.... language is best taught when it is being used to transmit messages, not when it is explicitly taught for conscious learning.

(Krashen & Terrell, 1983, p55)

As Terrell (1981,1982) described second language acquisition method as a natural approach and following the natural approach method stress is put upon communication rather than on the acquisition of rules of grammar. Proficiency in listening comprehension is determinant of communication proficiency. Grammar could be fused in communicative lessons rather than constituting a separate activity.

Interactive, discovery learning facilities may be used to encourage pupils to work co-operatively; thematic lessons, process writing, global perspectives fused in the subject matter may enhance long-term progress than pupils learning from passive, traditional teaching methods. The productive syllabus in community languages includes a number of topic areas and language functions. Some of the function areas are attracting attention, introducing some one, agreeing/disagreeing, opinions/feelings, reasons, stating facts about topic areas, planning activities etc. In many cases the functions are seen as bi-directional where a learner would be asked to express someone else's as well as own likes/dislikes. The usage of Roman scripts in most European languages are advantageous for European modern language learners to shift balance from primarily oral/aural skills to reading/writing skills, however, in order to develop greater levels of understanding and speaking, the development of reading skills is greatly needed in case of community language courses where scripts are Perso/Arabic, derivatives of Sanskrit or Chinese. All three skills listening comprehension, speaking and reading have to have equal emphasis in order to gain full cognitive and academic benefits from learning community languages.

Reading and writing of Mother Tongues in Secondary schools

First reading in the Mother Tongue can be a voyage of discovery for Ethnic Minority pupils as they are already listening to and speaking these languages at home and in their community. Teachers using natural approach methodology in second language acquisition do not push for writing until the pupils have spent some time in listening to the target language in classroom environment. One of the dangers in supplying written form too early could be that it may distract pupils from listening to the sound, tone, aspiration and intonation which are characteristic of that language. Many minority ethnic children are using dialects and the above linguistic characteristics could be missing in their day to day conversations. Therefore, the drilling of the standard form would be important before writing is introduced

After a few hours of experience with listening comprehension teachers present short sentence like 'Mera namhay' meaning 'My name is....' in target language. Visual presentations of key words would be made with arrows indicating directions in writing. Pupils are shown , letter by letter, how the words are formed and at this stage, conjuncts,

where letters are placed vertically, are taught in full form. The new conjunct forms are introduced when pupils have acquired sufficient competency in reading and writing; teacher's discretion would be used in introducing different letter combinations. The spoken, reading and writing materials contain repetition of sentence patterns where pupils meet the same letters in different forms and gradually cover all the letters in the alphabet.

Being able to see in writing what they have already comprehended in spoken form help retain such input more quickly and longer. In modern classrooms, teachers are using software, over head transparencies as well as traditional key cards and chalkboard to introduce new scripts to pupils. One advantage in introducing written form is it slows down the rate of input and increases comprehension. Although the immediate goal of Standard Grade Urdu course is to improve oral/aural skills, learning would be more useful with reading and writing as most pupils are entering classrooms with some listening comprehension in their target language. Analysis of G.C.S.E Mother Tongue Examination results in chapter six in this thesis show candidates securing very high marks in listening comprehension paper than in any other papers. Prepared written speech, autobiographies, description of classroom, companions or pictures will give their output a polished form.

2.6 Objectives and descriptions of Mother Tongue teaching materials.

The content in this analysis is based on the textbooks and classroom materials prepared by Chinese, Punjabi, Urdu and Bengali teachers in several main stream schools in Scotland.

Development of positive attitude, insight and appreciation into the cultures and civilisations of the communities concerned, building up of linguistic skills required for G.C.S.E, Standard Grade, Scotvec modules and 'A' level examinations were the main aims of these teaching materials. G.C.S.E. courses are aimed at developing, as described by London East Anglia Group (LEAG) Syllabus (1995),

the ability to use the language effectively for purposes of practical communication both within Britain and other countries.

(GCSE Syllabus, LEAG, 1995, p2)

The traditional teaching materials from countries of origin have separate style, tone, approach and presentation, that may not be suitable for pupils growing up in the UK, furthermore, they might affect their attitude to learning community languages. In western

culture, preparation for life in society takes place in compulsory school systems where all the ethnic groups are mixed. Pupils living as minority in a multiethnic society need different materials which help them to think seriously about questions that might not occur to children in a country where almost everyone share the same religion and culture. Moreover, the school books are traditionally the medium for transmitting the central values and the knowledge crucial to a culture, therefore community language books ought to reflect the central values of all cultures, not just a few or peripheral values of the minority culture within a majority culture.

If Mother Tongue lessons for minorities are simply a copy of lessons taught in the country of origin, they will not do justice to the double process of acculturation and enculturation.

(Bos, 1991, p45)

Although basic values are imparted in early childhood during the process of enculturation, it is the socialisation in school that prepares children for a meaningful role in society. As the traditional curriculum subjects do not address the diverse needs of different ethnic groups and convey to them their central values, Mother Tongue materials should and must pass on the central values of the ethnic cultures, and these media should not only socialise the pupils for a life in their country of origin.

The materials are to reflect the experiences of younger people growing up in Britain, their attitudes, interests, pleasures, anxieties and concerns which could be different from most of their community language teachers' experiences. Moreover, if the community languages are to remain in the curriculum and regarded as living languages, they can not be only the languages of older people passed on to younger people by a one way process.

Articles from local newspapers, magazines, extracts from published stories, translations of pupil's writings about their experiences and environment will provide materials which will help involve young people into learning their Mother Tongue. The emphasis in classroom materials would be to encourage pupils not only to regard the language as part of multicultural Britain, but as a means of expression for themselves. Conversational topics such as unemployment, crime, vandalism, drug problems, terrorism, arms race, green issues, energy crisis, racism, rich V. poor, job prospects, equal opportunities, intercultural education, relations with elders and peers, bilingualism would aptly include various modern aspects of ethnic minority life in Britain as well as in Indian subcontinent.

Many young Asians are feeling strongly about using their knowledge and skills to improve situations for their own community. They do not hope for the society at large to address institutional racism without any intervention from the minority communities. Members of the minority community have to take an active role in re-addressing equality issues so that the distribution of power is proportional. The aim of community language courses would be to raise critical awareness of minority pupils' own and global issues in an attempt to challenge ethnocentric assumptions that 'Asian culture is in some way inferior'. Ballard (1979), in reference to 'cultural conflicts' of young Asians, commented

The notion that young Asians are likely to 'suffer from cultural conflicts' is a gross oversimplification of a wide range of complex personal experiences...In reality, young Asians are not faced with an either/or situation. They have difficult dilemmas to resolve and in resolving them they work towards their own synthesis of Asian and British values

(Ballard, 1979, p128)

Second generation Asians, pioneers in dealing with parallel worlds, are emerging into adulthood with firmer beliefs that their own children should be getting a wider knowledge and clearer understanding of Asian culture than they had when they were children themselves. The Mother Tongue materials, in fulfilling such expectations, have to reflect the accumulated experiences of second and subsequent generations. Functions of Mother Tongue classes would be not only to offer qualifications but also to integrate minority pupils within the minority community and preparation for inter-ethnic interaction as an objective. The 'A' level NEAB syllabus clearly encompasses such objectives by asserting its aim as that:

to develop the candidate's intellectual and critical facilities by encouraging the acquisition and development of awareness and understanding of themselves, of other individuals and of society.

(NEAB Panjabi Syllabus, 1998, p4)

Inadequacy in the areas of traditional textbooks and unavailability of adequate resources have been a major concern amongst the community language teachers and researchers. The Centre for Education for Racial Equality (CERES, 1999) stated in their paper on bilingualism and community languages that:

Community language classes are constrained by the lack of available quality resources. Such resources are often produced in and relevant for the country of origin of the community language and not consistent with the Scottish curriculum or set within a context relevant to people living in Scotland

(CERES, 1999, p18)

During this period when teachers are experimenting with self-made materials which are relevant for both minority ethnic and majority pupils, it is vital that arrangements are made for them to share their experiences to move forward.

This chapter looked at the origins and linguistic structures of five major languages - Urdu, Panjabi, Hindi, Chinese and Bengali - spoken by the members of the ethnic minority communities living in Scotland, and the approaches to community language teaching in Scottish classrooms. A discussion was also presented on the type of materials which would be suitable for inclusion in the community language syllabus in order for the Scottish born Asians to feel involved and challenged in the learning of Mother Tongue. Given the critical role of reading and writing in language development, texts which set the appropriate context for ethnic minority pupils and help them relate to their personal histories and existence in the wider society, can help generate the motivation to keep on reading, developing awareness and improving understanding of themselves.

The following chapter deals with the schooling of ethnic minority pupils and the role of Mother Tongue in nursery, primary and secondary education for minority ethnic pupils, with a view to assessing the extent of formal usage of minority Mother Tongue in Scottish schools and the nature of such usage. It also assesses the adequacy of the various attempts that have been made in last two decades by education departments in acknowledging and incorporating the linguistic needs of minority ethnic pupils within the mainstream education. In this context the following chapter includes a discussion on the effects of ethnocentric curriculum and racism.

CHAPTER 3: SCHOOLING AND ETHNIC MINORITIES: MOTHER TONGUE IN NURSERY, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

3.1 Introduction

Throughout the 1970s' the education provided for bilingual children of immigrant origin was characterised by its emphasis on assimilation into the dominant British culture through one-way immersion into the English language. The need for additional English language teaching by ESL staff was recognised as a priority in raising attainment by introducing the Section XI of the Local Government Act in 1967. The Home office provided a 50% (later to become 75%), grant to local authorities which were required to make special provision for ethnic minority pupils. This form of ESL provision, as confirmed by Thomson (1995), was only perpetuating an assimilationist philosophy and encouraging newcomers to rapid adaptation to the British way of life without any acknowledgement of their minority ethnic identity.

The recognition that such a policy was in effect both discriminatory and deficient came much later with hindsight, for not only were pupils' existing language skills disregarded, and ESL teaching made available only selectively to children whose community language was accorded language status. This practice left out a large segments of the minority community, particularly those of Caribbean origin, unserved. The increasingly important role that home language, religious and cultural events played in the everyday lives of these communities were also totally ignored.

3.2 From assimilation to compensatory education

The inspiration for a move from assimilationist to integrationist thinking in respect of the education of bilingual children first came from the 1975 Bullock report, '*A Language for Life*' which described bilingualism as an asset, something to be promoted and developed. The report pointed out that:

In a linguistically conscious nation in the modern world we should see bilingualism as an asset, as something to be nurtured, and one of the

agencies which should nurture it is the school. Certainly the school should adopt a positive attitude to its pupils' bilingualism and wherever possible help maintain and deepen their knowledge of their Mother Tongues.

(Bullock Report, 1975, p294)

With reference to minority language pupils' Mother Tongue the report also quoted that:

No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold...

(Swann Report, 1985, p401)

This report also recommended that schools should broaden their perception of the educational needs of ethnic minority children, develop policies for language across the curriculum. It also asked schools to be aware of minority pupils' existing linguistic skills, and to offer a wider curriculum that included broader cultural elements. Moreover, this report, coupled with a change in status of the black ethnic groups from an immigrant workforce to a settled community of British citizens, gave impetus to a move away from educational policy dominated by assimilationist philosophy and the effect of this shift on the British education system gave rise to Multicultural Education as well as the subsequent changes in educational provision for bilingual children.

The concept of Multicultural Education placed emphasis on developing the child's full range of linguistic competence, expanding language teaching to include mother-tongue teaching, taking on board the existing linguistic background of pupils for whom English was a second language. The Bradford MOTET (Mother Tongue and English teaching) (1978-80) project showed that Punjabi speaking pupils who were taught half the time in Punjabi and half in English in the reception classes did better than Punjabi speakers taught full time in English over the period of a year. Their development in Mother Tongue and English was not only better, they also settled into school much better. This finding reconfirmed the assumption, later to be proved by Thomas & Collier(1997) as a strong predictor of bilingual children's age-appropriate cognitive and academic achievement, that supporting the development of the first language will enhance the learning of a second language and that Mother Tongue learning promotes emotional stability for ethnic minority pupils.

Unfortunately, this positive and core view of the role of Mother Tongue in the educational experiences for the ethnic minority pupils did not receive local education authority support as the MOTET work was directly financed by the EEC Education Research Grant. The subsequent additional funding was given on ESL provision only, in which underlying aims and assumptions remained unchanged from the earlier days of assimilationist thinking. The Authoritarian thinking with regard to language learning was, as Callender (1997) explained

...(to) promote the idea of national language as a way of promoting feelings of solidarity and oneness. As a consequence, the notion of linguistic diversity becomes threatening and represents a challenge that should be contained or eliminated.

(Callender, 1997, p39)

Moreover, the prevailing thought amongst educationalists was, as Skutnabb-Kangas pointed out that:

If Mother Tongue medium education for the minorities is to be accepted, the only legitimation for it is that it leads to increased proficiency in the majority language.

(Skutnabb-Kangas, 1983, p4)

This situation was hardly helped by the DES guidelines issued on 31 July 1981 (Circular No. 5/81) which asked of the local education authorities in England and Wales only that they should explore the ways in which mother-tongue teaching might be provided, whether during or outside school hours. The LEA was not required to give such tuition to all individuals as of right. The need for Mother Tongue development was not recognised as a necessity in Scotland although the Race Relations Act (1976) called for enhancement of implementation of legislative documents in respect of linguistic minority communities.

The issues concerning Mother Tongue teaching, whether educational, cultural, linguistic, pedagogical, emotional or administrative remained varied in different areas such as in Coventry, Manchester, Birmingham, Tower Hamlets, Glasgow, Edinburgh and other multiracial areas. The need for wider awareness and discussion on the basis of accurate information was recognised by the Commission for Racial Equality in 1980. With English remaining the medium of instruction in all nursery, primary and secondary classrooms as

well as the medium used for testing educational achievement, the seeming lack of achievement of bilingual children was perceived by educationalists as problematic.

Later in 1991 the Commission For Racial Equality set out a code of practice for the elimination of discrimination in education. With reference to assessment it pointed out that:

Indirect discrimination in assessment will occur if the criteria or procedures applied are culturally biased and result in lower assessments being given to a considerably higher proportion of pupils or students from particular racial groups...Culturally biased assessment criteria are those that assume a uniformity in children's cultural, linguistic, religious and lifestyle experiences.

(CRE, 1991, p23)

In ethnographic studies of primary classroom, Wright (1986,1987) observed that teachers' preconceived beliefs about the linguistic and educational abilities of the pupils may have an adverse effect on pupils' eventual attainments. Biggs and Edwards (1991) provided further support for the view that teachers' interactions with Black children were different from those of their white counterparts. They observed that white teachers interacted less and spent less time in discussing tasks with black pupils.

Moreover lack of minority perspectives in selection of content of the curriculum has left the ethnocentric curriculum unchallenged and divisive. The content of a 'good' curriculum for all students could be based on critical understanding of all that is taught in relation to its appropriateness and contribution to the development of a just, equal and harmonious society. For some ethnic minority pupils and teachers racial harassment may be an everyday occurrence, some children internalise the implications of such occurrences as normal behaviour and develop ambivalence to racist name-calling. On the other hand some become determined and get branded as non-conformists or someone with behavioural problems.

Non-indigenous bilingualism remained an unacknowledged resource in the British school curriculum and the development of the home language was seen only as a means of accelerating children's learning of English. Whether such transitory role of Mother

Tongue was sufficient or adequate in acquisition of English to a cognitively and academically demanding level remained untested and the degree and level to which Mother Tongue could be used in promoting bilingual pupils' access to the curriculum also remained unexplored.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Multicultural Education has been criticised for failing to meet the needs of ethnic minority pupils in a number of ways. Celebration of ethnic minority festivals in multicultural schools were seen as superfluous to minority pupils as well as to majority pupils as it did not clearly address the core issues in Education. Many multicultural schools selected 'topics on cultures' for example doing Asian culture in four weeks and West Indies in five weeks. Davies (1983) commented on such selection of topics that:

Before teachers do this kind of work, they really ought to prepare a five week topic on English culture and having seen the results, should abandon the model.

(Davies, 1983, quoted in Kimberley, 1986, p105)

Such multicultural thematic approaches and topics did not transmit worthwhile concepts, values, attitudes, skills and principles useful for minority or majority communities. Such education was perceived by anti-racist educators as simply another form of compensatory education, essentially no different in form from the assimilationist programmes which preceded it. It also failed to address the institutional practices and procedures identified in the Swann Report (DES, 1985) as the real causes of educational underachievement among some bilingual children. The report maintained that:

A substantial part of ethnic underachievement, where it occurs, is thus the result of racial prejudice and discrimination on the part of society at large, is due in large measures to prejudice and discrimination bearing directly on children, within the educational system, as well as outside it.

(Swann Report, 1985, p768)

For many ethnic minority pupils and teachers racial harassment is an everyday occurrence, some children internalise the implications of such occurrences as normal behaviour and develop an ambivalence to racist name-calling. On the other hand some

become determined to express their dissatisfaction and get branded as non-conformists or someone with behavioural problems.

In learning context the general difficulty faced by children from Asian background in writing imaginative pieces could, as confirmed by Rosen and Burgess (1980), be the direct outcome of non-cultural references. When a teacher uses complex phraseology and ideas which lie outside a child's cultural frame of reference, this can put minority pupils in an immediate disadvantage vis-à-vis their peers. The effort to broaden the nature of explicit language study through inclusion of awareness of language variety and other issues, such as, the relationship between language and power, language and cultural identity, language and equality did not receive support from the Department of Education and Science. The role of bilingual and community language teachers in broadening the language acquisition skills across the curriculum also remained unexplored.

Inclusion of English texts written by Asian and Afro-Caribbean writers in the curriculum would not only be adding non-ethnocentric perspectives in education it will also be responding to the diversity in the society. Richardson (1982) elaborated the implications of such perspectives as a necessity for all pupils, as it will help reflect a sympathetic understanding of our multiethnic society.

The curriculum of our schools should help pupils and teachers and the local authorities to which they belong, to understand the power structures in which they participate as victims or as beneficiaries, and should help them develop commitment to, and practical skill in working from their various positions towards greater equality, peace, justice, locally, nationally and internationally.

(Kimberley, 1986, p106)

3.3 Multicultural Policy in Scotland

In 1984, a general statement of policy on Multicultural Education was published by Strathclyde Regional Council which recognised the presence of ethnic minority pupils in schools in Strathclyde Region not as a problem but as an opportunity. An opportunity as well as a challenge for every teacher and administrator to offer their pupils an education service which recognises multicultural and multilingual nature of the society, to prepare all pupils to respect the value and uniqueness of others, and help develop a sense of

identity. The teaching of Mother Tongues, such as, Urdu, Punjabi and Chinese were recommended to be introduced in the curriculum in selected secondary schools. Ethnic minority pupils' bilingual competency was to be recognised and capitalised at all levels

Since 1984, four secondary schools in Glasgow and two in Edinburgh have made provisions for teaching of Urdu during school hours. Mandarin and Cantonese Chinese, Punjabi and Bengali (since 1995) are being taught in one secondary school in Glasgow. Punjabi, Urdu, Hindi and Arabic are used by a small number of bilingual teachers in oral/aural forms in selected nursery and primary schools as well as in bilingual support units as an aid to teaching English to emerging bilinguals. Community language teaching is still limited and mainly outwith mainstream education (see chapter six). The paper published by Centre for Education for Racial Equality in Scotland (CERES,1999) mentioned in reference to the academic credibility of community languages that:

Such languages are often afforded lesser status in Scotland. The maintenance of community languages is not widely recognised as an essential element in the raising of achievement and attainment levels for many bilingual learners.

(CERES, 1999, p16)

At the same time the Scottish Association for Language teaching (1998) in their position paper on Modern languages commented that:

.....a comprehensive national policy should be based on a holistic approach to the learning of languages other than English and should endorse the right of linguistic minorities in this country (including Gaelic and Community language speakers and British Sign Language users) to have their language skills acknowledged, valued and developed by the education system.

(Quoted in CERES, 1999, p3)

3.4 Mother Tongue in nursery schools

The response to nursery education for emerging bilingual pupils in 90's was assimilationistic. From the beginning, emphasis was put upon teaching English as a

second language, at the expense of their Mother Tongue although children were coming into reception classes with their Mother Tongue only. The trend still exists in many areas where third generation Scottish born Asian pupils are arriving at reception classes with their Mother Tongue as the only language for communication. Since the early '90s Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi speaking bilingual teachers were being appointed in a small number of nursery schools in order to help 4 and 5 year olds to follow classroom instructions and adapt to the demands of English language in various activities by parallel use of their respective Mother Tongues. Classroom observations in various nursery and reception classes in the south side and north west of Glasgow, where bilingual teachers were present, revealed a range and style of bilingual support from concurrent or translation use, random switching to separate use in classrooms. For the absence of any integrated local education policy in usage of minority pupil's first language for their cognitive development in schools, amount and level of Mother Tongue used has been left to the individual teacher's own discretion. Minimal use of L1 or translation method has been found to be associated with teacher's belief in using Mother Tongue as a transitional tool, not a cognitive and academic component in children's overall education and learning of L2. On the other hand, bilingual teachers who believe cognitive development in Mother Tongue will enhance children's cognitive and academic achievement in L2 are using L1 as the main medium of instruction. For lack of any bilingual policy within Local Education Council the later group of teachers are facing opposition and pressure from parents and school management as the learners are spending much of their time in speaking Punjabi/Urdu with their bilingual teachers. These Children are using their first language for investigation, explanation, facilitation, sequencing and relating to personal experiences. Moreover, as Brown (1998) pointed out in reference to a child's first language that:

The languages children speak, their sense of identity and their self-esteem are closely bound together. When we view children able to speak languages other than English as having a special skill and support them by incorporating their language into the curriculum, we are also broadening the horizons of monolingual children whose home language is English.

(Brown, 1998, p85)

Lambert & Tucker's (1972) observation of monolingual Anglo-Canadian children exposed to learning French revealed that the children proceeded learning the second language without any harm to their development of first language proficiency. The question could be raised here why would development of first language of minority language pupils be considered unnecessary or 'harmful' and the answers could be found in attachment of low, non-cognitive status to minority language. Edward (1998) in describing the benefits of minority language use in multilingual classrooms stated that:

Bilingual storytelling is an enjoyable experience for monolingual English speakers and language learners alike....This approach also creates opportunities for talking about the similarities and differences among languages.

(Edward, 1998, p44)

'Reverse immersion' process in which majority and minority-language children together receive instructions in the early grades primarily in the minority language with increasing amounts of instruction in the majority language in the later grades are observed in many schools in USA, Sweden and Germany (McLaughlin, 1986). In support of first language approach in early grades McLaughlin (1986) commented that:

I believe that these approaches ('reverse immersion' in San Diego schools, 'krefeld model' in Germany and 'composite' classrooms in Sweden) represent the best direction for bilingual education. It seems to me that the first language be used as the prime medium of instruction in the early grades and that minority-language children be allowed to build up literacy skills in their first language before reading and writing are introduced in the second.

(McLaughlin, 1986, p36)

Unfortunately consultation with parents about the benefits of bilingualism in classroom activities in many instances are absent in Scotland. Many ethnic minority parents are still influenced by 70's myth that their home language will be detrimental for their children's acquisition of English. Many bilingual teachers are, therefore, under stress as there is a lack of pedagogical and management support on effective use of bilingualism in classrooms. Pedagogical issues are also influenced by unequal power distribution in classrooms between bilingual and classroom teachers where emphasis is put upon

learning of English as quickly as possible. Many teachers of bilingual pupils have remained unconcerned about how to separate temporary issues of language acquisition from longer-term language difficulties.

Many ethnic minority teachers in schools perceive themselves as having dual roles; one as members of the minority community and the other as an agent of a system that fails a large number of pupils from their own community. Many bilingual teachers fulfil nondescript, subordinate or non-teaching roles without any responsibility or status. The feeling of helplessness, fear of repercussions, psychological effects of years of British colonialism may have been the intimidating factors for many minority teachers in challenging structural racism in education. As John (1993) observed that:

A fundamental difference between Black teachers and White teachers is that, for Black teachers, the school, with all its structural arrangements, become a site for struggle against racism in much the same way that the community outside the school is.

(Callender, 1997, p62)

Bilingual teachers' efforts are directed at supporting developing bilinguals at the initial stages only; many bilingual teachers are seen to be unsuitable or not needed for bilingual learners at higher levels as the learners appeared to have achieved interpersonal communication skills. The need for bilingual support teachers seem to be restricted at lower primary level, they are thought to be unsuitable to provide linguistic and academic support to bilingual pupils at a higher level, a level which is thought to be the area for monolingual ESL teachers. All community language teachers are at unpromoted posts, working in isolation and their expertise are unrecognised for cross-curricular activities, assessments or curricular development in multilingual classrooms.

3.5 Pupil teacher interaction patterns in multilingual nursery classes.

An open plan nursery school situated in the South side of Glasgow where 80% of children were from Asian background, mainly of Punjabi and Urdu speaking origin, employed one full time bilingual teacher with knowledge of Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, English languages and eleven English speaking monolingual teachers. The bilingual teacher was working in a class of fourteen pupils and the children were involved in usual nursery

activities; painting, drawing, colouring, playing with measuring cups and sand, making shapes with clay and doo etc. Ten out of fourteen pupils in that group were from minority background and Punjabi/Urdu was their first language. The bilingual teacher was working with a group of four pupils on the 'Hungry Caterpillar' story, a project on insects followed up by other teachers in the rest of the nursery classes. The nursery assistant was keeping other children busy in other activities. All children who were working with the bilingual teacher were of Asian origin; child one recently came from England, a third generation Asian and the other children were second generation Glasgow born Punjabi/Urdu speaking Asians and spoke Punjabi fluently. The teacher was working on the story of 'hungry caterpillar' with emphasis on shapes and colours.

In the above lesson pupils were interacting with the teacher mainly in Punjabi through enquiring, confirming, verifying different parts of the lesson. Child two spoke confidently and were helping child one in selecting right items from the tray laying in front of them to make a shape of a caterpillar with doo. Children were conversing mostly in Punjabi/Urdu and sometimes in monosyllabic English. Teacher maintained Punjabi/Urdu throughout the lesson, used English words to reaffirm different colours and shapes, but the cues came from the children. Children were asking questions like 'do caterpillar bite?' (ye kat te hai/), 'bumble bee bites' (Bumble bee kat te hai), differentiating between a caterpillar and bee in their minds. 'Is caterpillar an earthworm?' (ye kira hai?). Through such questions children were forming a concept of caterpillar that it has legs, so not an earthworm, it does not bite like a bee does etc.

A concept represents an entire class, a set of properties that are associated with the class; the concept of caterpillar includes properties of having six legs, green colour, a body that can be sectioned into round shapes, and it turns into a butterfly. Through questioning children had the opportunity to isolate prototypes from the core properties of the concept. A concept, as Atkinson (1993) pointed out, must contain the core properties, something in addition to a prototype, that are most important for being a member of that concept. Active pupil participation in understanding core properties of a concept could only be advantageous to such cognitive development and such educational participation has been possible, in this instance, with the presence of a bilingual teacher. Corson (1990) in reference to pupil-centred conversation pointed out that:

...pupil-centred conversations in the classroom and instruction exchanges potentially are the best means for stimulating the use of more complex language functions.

(Corson, 1990, p178)

In the adjoining class where an English speaking monolingual E.S.L teacher was present, the degree of verbal interaction between teacher and Panjabi speaking pupils was minimal and in most cases pupils remained silent. An E.S.L teacher was teaching a similar lesson to a 'pull out' group of four Asian boys in the school's parents' room..

Lesson was already in progress, teacher was pointing to a dot on a self prepared booklet. Teacher asked pupils to point their fingers to the dot in their own individual workbook. Pupils did not understand the instruction. Teacher repeated the same instruction 'point your finger to the spot' a few more times; a total physical response teaching method in second language learning. Since children were not responding to the instruction, teacher held up a child's finger and pointed it to the spot. Teacher asked what that spot meant, after waiting for an answer the teacher said 'It's an e....egg.' One child said 'a caterpillar', teacher confirmed the boys answer and asked others to say the word caterpillar as well and drew a caterpillar on her card. Subsequently teacher asked everyone to draw the same in his or her workbook. Teacher helped some pupils to complete the picture.

During the activity pupils talked very little amongst themselves in their Mother Tongue or in English. Levine (1990) in reference to children's language development programme commented that:

It is important both for children's language and general development that they are in situations where they must ask questions, discuss and argue, organise, be organised, recount and describe, that they learn to work with each other as well as on their own, and that they have the opportunity to find out things from people, from books, and pictures and through other media.

(Levine, 1990, p2)

Once the lesson ended pupils started discussing in Punjabi what colours to use to colour in the caterpillar and the butterfly. Both sets of children finished their work, making a caterpillar and a butterfly with different shapes and colours but the difference was in the level of pupil participation and involvement in the lesson and verbal interaction between teacher and pupil towards understanding the core properties that constituted the concept of a caterpillar. The monolingual teacher explained at the beginning it is difficult to assess pupils' understanding because of language differences but the emphasis is on learning of English. The school does not have a clear policy of language separation as the school has only one bilingual teacher and the rest are monolingual English speaking teachers.

If the purpose of bilingual education is to maintain and develop L1 for cognitive, academic and linguistic benefit, clear policy and practices are needed where minority language usage will have definite time and space in classroom activities. Through bilingual teacher-pupil ratio in nursery schools it became apparent that an assimilative policy promoting dominant language at the expense of pupils' first language is targeted and practised. Such disruptive or subtractive bilingualism not only fragments and devalues the child's first language development, it creates semilinguals who lack proficiency in either language. The pressure to replace home language with the majority language at such an early age when children are not ready to make the leap can result in developing a weak 'common underlying proficiency' level.

A school that permeates a strong multicultural ethos by improving relationships between majority and minority groups by enhancing cross-cultural understanding and appreciation not only stamps out racism, it also raises the status of minority languages too.

3.6 Role of Mother Tongue in concept formation

The importance of oral communication in developing linguistic and conceptual skills, as well as fostering social skills is an well established notion. By conversing in Mother Tongue, drawing ideas from children's experience and culture not only make children feel comfortable and less anxious in their new school environment, it also enhances their ability to learn L1 cognitively, as it has been confirmed by Thomas and Collier's (1997) school tests. Children who stop cognitive development in L1 before they have reached

the final Piagetian stage of formal operation (somewhere around puberty), run the risk of suffering negative consequences. Piaget (1969) concentrated on the interaction between

Chomsky (1965) highlighted that language use move through various levels from speech sounds to words, prefixes, suffixes to sentence units and that language is productive. Every language has these properties, in learning to produce sentences a child spends first two years in understanding phonemes and the rules for combining them into words or morphemes that are meaningful. When children begin to speak they learn words that name familiar concepts. If they want to communicate a concept that is yet to be named, they overextend the name of a neighbouring concept. Such language learning process in L1 need to be allowed to develop at its cognitive level instead of cutting it down prematurely to allow another shoot to grow. Early replacement of L1 by L2 result in below grade cognitive and academic development in future, on the other hand, as Thomas & Collier (1997) pointed out, strong foundation in pupils' first language leads to academic advantage. More recently, Gregory (1997) commented that:

....the child's cognitive or thought development (intrapsychological or intrapersonal understanding) evolves from interpsychological or interpersonal negotiation with others within the culture: first with caregivers and later with the teachers and peers in school.

(Gregory, 1997, p17)

The language of caregivers or cultural language for minority pupils can not be restricted to minority homes only, as first language has been identified by researchers (Cummins et al. 1988) as a strong component of language minority pupils' cognitive and academic development. Hall (1996), in reference to the language approach to the curriculum pointed out that:

For some bilingual pupils the opportunity to use their first/home language to support learning and understanding in the classroom will provide a way of enhancing the conceptualisation of complex ideas and confirm language and meaning.

(Hall, 1996, p9)

Many countries around the world, such as Canada, Mexico, New Zealand, Holland and Singapore have developed approaches which assist bilingual children in maintaining their community languages in schools (Corson, 1993). Such bilingual approaches have been adopted not only for social justice and self-esteem, but also for developing bilingual pupils' linguistic skills.

3.7 Use of Mother Tongue in Primary School

The response to primary education for bilingual pupils from the commonwealth countries was different in 1980s. From the beginning emphasis was put upon teaching English as a second language, although many ethnic minority children had strong foundation in their Mother Tongue. Children from disadvantaged group were submersed in dominant language classes without any consideration of their Mother Tongue and culture. With regard to the United Nations declaration of human rights that:

The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this declaration Every child, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or other status, whether of himself or his family.

(Principle 1, United Nations Declaration, 1988, p367)

The curriculum failed to reflect the multicultural and multilingual composition of the school population. The expectation that minority cultures would disintegrate into the dominant culture through 'melting pot' and 'one nation one language' ideology has lost credibility. Minority cultures and languages have survived the pressure of assimilation; but the present concern is that without curricular support, survival would be short lived.

The trend still exists in many areas where third generation Scottish born Asian pupils are arriving at reception classes with their Mother Tongue and bilingual teachers are not present there to capitalise on their prior experiences and language skills. Since 1990s Punjabi, Urdu, Hindi, Chinese and Bengali speaking bilingual teachers were appointed at a small number of primary schools, to help mainly primary one and two pupils to learn English through their Mother Tongue.

Concurrent uses of Mother Tongue and English

Code switching between two languages is practised by many bilingual teachers in early primary classes where Mother Tongue is used to promote transition from first language to English. Such language transition takes place in school environment only, as the pupil questionnaire analysis in chapter six of this thesis revealed, ethnic minority pupils continue using Mother Tongue in weekend and after school classes, in social and cultural activities, in their home and communities. Transitional bilingualism practised in early education of minority ethnic pupils may contribute to devaluing of the educational and cognitive advantages of Mother Tongue learning by bilingual children and subtractive bilingualism and dominant language gradually undermines proficiency in first language.

This trend may eventually result in low pupil intakes in community language classes in many secondary schools.

McLaughlin (1985) argued that the development of minority children's first language in reading and writing before being introduced to a second language would not have any negative effects. Equally Edwards (1998) in discussion of reading and writing in early stages pointed out that:

There is no shortage of research evidence that a sound foundation in the first language-spoken and written-creates the best conditions for the acquisition of second and subsequent languages. Literacy in the first language should therefore be promoted as an end in itself.

(Edwards, 1998, p67)

Linguistically and numerically minority pupils' first language itself is not a problem, it is the linguistically dominant group's prejudiced attitude towards the speakers of that language that regard a minority language inferior is a problem. A ruling class which is responsible for passing on a cultural knowledge to such young minds ought to recognise that linguisticism like racism destroys the very core of individual identity and self-esteem in a democratic society.

Translation, randomly switching languages in a subtractive, transitional bilingual classroom convey a signal to a movement towards the majority language and less efficiency in either language. In transitional bilingual classes where emphasis is on Mother Tongue oracy and literacy in another language, the result could be, as Baker described, a 'lopsided bilingualism' where stronger language stay at surface level. Purposeful concurrent usage of both languages where all four-language abilities in both languages are fostered are conducive to balanced bilingualism. An effective dual language policy that takes into account the nature of the pupils; age and their level and for linguistic minority children, at an early evolutionary stage of language development, language separation within the curriculum would be more important and beneficial for their cognitive development. Certain curriculum areas such as numeracy and selected topic areas could be taught through the minority language, moreover, cognitive skills such as problem solving, concept mapping, analysing, explaining, predicting, story telling, reporting can be developed through the child's first language particularly at lower grade levels. Language minority pupils schooled all in English as observed by researchers may make dramatic progress in the early grades and consequently mislead teachers and administrators assuming that pupils will continue to do so in upper classes. Such pupils, as observed by Thomas and Collier (1997), tend to go down in achievement as they reach the upper grades of school and they are unable to sustain the gains they made during early school years. On the other hand bilingually schooled pupils are able to sustain the gains in L2 and in some cases, achieve higher than typical native speaking pupils performance as they move through secondary years of school.

In a well implemented bilingual class taught by experienced bilingual teachers bilingual pupils achieve grade level proficiency in L1 or first language (tested in math, science, environmental studies) reached on-grade-level performance in L2 or second language in all subject areas in 4-7 years. On the other hand, L2 learners who have received schooling exclusively through L2 might achieve 6-8 months gain each school year as they reach the middle and high school years compared to the 10-month gain by the native English speakers.

In Scotland the conventional policy of replacing minority ethnic pupils' first language by English as they enter school contradicts above findings that maintenance and

development of home language over a long period of time benefit bilingual pupils' cognitive development. In this situation the Scottish Office Task Force on underachievement in 1996 identified the need for assessment of children on entry to Primary schools as a necessary requirement. The following section examines the implications of first language development in a method of assessing children on entry to P1.

3.8 Scottish Baseline Assessment and L1

One of the main aims of forthcoming assessment on entry to statutory schooling, at age five or four plus, is to assess and estimate pre-school experiences of all children in order to establish a profile of attainment when entering school. This information will be used to identify pupils' needs and as a basis for measuring future progress. (Wolfendale, 1995). The dual purposes as stated in the final report on the development of baseline assessment were:

- . *to provide information on children's educational attainment and help teachers plan effectively to meet children's individual learning needs (the pedagogical imperative).*
- . *to assess children's attainment, using one or more numerical outcomes which can be used in later value-added analysis of children's progress (the managerial imperative).*

(Wilkinson et al, 1999, p8)

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter many ethnic minority children are entering nursery and primary classes in Scotland with their Mother Tongue only; for the best interest of these children their prior experience, achievements, diversity and differences are to be taken into consideration by schools and used for minority pupils' personal and cognitive growth. In emphasising the importance of an assessment of proficiency in the home language. Edwards (1998) stated that:

If assessment is confined to children's performance in English, the picture which emerges will be unsatisfactory. Information on whether a child can understand or speak or read and write (an)other language(s) is important both in planning cross-curricular activities and in showing respect for linguistic and cultural diversity.

(Edwards, 1998, p22)

Assessment is important for establishing a baseline against which age related progress can be measured. In order to make the assessment practices suitable and a just reflection of language minority children's abilities, their first language assessment would be needed. Presence of suitably qualified and experienced bilingual teachers would be essential for the results of these assessments to be accurate and to establish a profile of attainment which would be used for measuring future progress. The researchers(1999) concluded on the pilot programme on '*The Development Of Baseline Assessment in Scotland*' that:

Pupils for whom English was an additional language tended to be given slightly lower ratings than their classroom peers for all Aspects except Personal, Emotional & Social Development, Physical co-ordination and Expressive Communication.

(op.cit, p32)

Questions could be raised here what pedagogical considerations are to be made to sustain and develop ethnic minority pupils' personal, social and emotional growth in their educational attainment and what measures are needed to improve emerging bilingual pupils' linguistic abilities? Recent Glasgow Council's review report (1999) on bilingual pupils achievement show that bilingual pupils are gaining lower grades in language related subjects in both Standard Grade and Higher examinations.

Gill (1993) remarked in reference to inadequacy of an ethnocentric curriculum for a pluralist society that:

Among a cluster of race equality concerns that can be identified around the assessment issue, that of linguistic disadvantage is one of the most prominent. ..schools which do not have language development policies designed to support bilingual pupils and widen the knowledge and understanding of all pupils are not well placed to respond positively to these implications for bilingual pupils. ..As a result, such schools will be more likely to find themselves in the circular pattern of making inadequate provision and then judging the children themselves as inadequate.

(Gill, 1993, p281)

In the pre-five years children are still in the process of developing their first language and too early replacement of their first language by second language may result in making these children semi-lingual or proficient in neither language. Many bilingual teachers believe children are to be given time to learn and use their Mother Tongue in more structured ways and the first and second languages are to be kept separate in lessons.

In reference to the revision of curriculum guidelines, the recent consultation paper on assessment in pre-school and 5-14 (December 1999) stated that pre-school and 5-14 guidelines were published following widespread consultation within the education community and beyond. They represent a consensus about appropriate curricula for these stages

3.9 Primary and Secondary Bilingual Units

Contrary to the recent findings by Thomas and Collier (1998), newly arrival immigrant pupils, below 7 years of age, are immersed in English language lessons in Scotland without any L1 teaching. Thomas and Collier's finding shows pupils who are schooled all in English (L2) show slower rate of progress in dealing with cognitively demanding work than native English speakers. L2 learners exclusively through L2 might achieve 6-8 months gain each school year as they reach the middle and high school years compared to the 10-month gain by the native English speakers.

Other newly arriving immigrant pupils in the age group of 8-11 are transported from various parts of Glasgow into the primary bilingual unit for an indefinite but short period of time to acclimatise them in the new language. In the beginning the work could be at non-grade-level and emphasis is put on reading and writing in English. Children from Chinese and Urdu/Punjabi speaking communities initially receive lessons in English from monolingual E.S.L teachers and two part-time bilingual support teachers provide bilingual support primarily in translating lessons in Mother Tongue. Bilingual support teachers working in primary unit are secondary trained peripatetic community language or subject teachers; pupils in the primary unit are submersed into English medium lessons with occasional help in their Mother Tongue. Contrasting Thomas and Collier's (1998) finding that the first predictor of long-term school success is cognitively complex on-grade-level academic instruction in pupil's first language, Mother Tongue is used in subtractive form and withdrawn as soon as pupils begin to verbally communicate in English. The recent

research finding also shows that children who are proficient in a language other than English benefit strongly from on-grade-level academic work in two languages and longer the child receives on grade level learning in both languages, greater the benefits and sustainability. Children under the age of 8 with little or no formal schooling in Mother Tongue took longer than 8-11 year olds to achieve on grade level achievement. First language teaching has been considered as a key variable in determining success in second language proficiency.

In secondary bilingual unit emerging bilinguals between the age of 11 to 18 are brought in for immersion into English with occasional help in their Mother Tongue. Only Urdu speaking children get 1 to 3 hours of Mother Tongue learning in a week and after initial non-communication listening stage pupils gradually become relaxed and semi-fluent in English at least within the context of general school and social usage. Giving access to mainstream curriculum and transferring pupils into mainstream schools are problematic. Delays obstruct pupils from doing their chosen subjects and older pupils miss out experiencing mainstream education all together. The intervention by bilingual teachers for such beginner bilinguals getting access into curriculum is unrecognised and stepped aside.

Around 6,000 ethnic minority pupils are attending nursery, primary and secondary schools in Glasgow only and the number of bilingual teachers spread over these levels were counted to be 12 only in 1998(Glasgow City Council, Best Value Review Report, 1999). To progress from assimilation to integration with a view of retaining pupils' individual identity and diversity coercive transitional, subtractive form of bilingualism will fail to reflect the multicultural, multilingual nature of the present society. Some bilingual teachers believe minority ethnic children are pushed inappropriately to shed their first language in favour of their lingua franca at a time when they are still using them to make sense of their surroundings and before they are ready to make the leap. There seems to be an anxiety amongst people in charge that minority children ought to shed their first language as soon as possible, as if it will interfere, harm or slow down second language learning. In the pre-five years children are still in the process of developing their first language and too early intervention by their second language may result in making them semi-lingual, proficient in neither language. Many bilingual teachers believe children ought to be given time to learn and use their Mother Tongue in more structured

ways and the first and second languages ought to be kept separate in lessons. Each language has its own uniqueness, its own cultural and academic purposes and acceptance of minority Mother Tongues alongside English can help flourish multilingual, multiracial nature of Scotland.

3.10 Ethnic awareness and racial prejudice

The recent deaths of Stephen Lawrence in Eltham south-east London and Imran Khan in Glasgow raised doubts on the effectiveness of the present multicultural education policies and practices as they are being followed in some multiracial schools in order to achieve an egalitarian aim in the society. Antiracist legislation has made National front activists to keep a low profile but the desecration of Stephen Lawrence's plaque on the same day when Macpherson's report was released, shows racists are still alive and strong. The state has not set an example of an equal, multicultural society yet. Modood (1997) and Jones (1993) concluded in their investigation on ethnic awareness and racial prejudice that the unemployment rate among Asian young people was often higher than amongst their white peers, although there were within-group variations. The prevalence of racial discrimination against Asians in the employment were identified as one of the major factors of the situation. Moreover, how many Black high officials are there today in state institutions, police department, schools? The answer would be very few. Kelly (1999), in her assessment of the present racial situation in Scotland commented that:

Members of the judiciary have demonstrated too often that they lack awareness of racism, and they resent the duty to take racial motivation into account (imposed in the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act) because it is viewed as an import from England and Wales; breach of the peace is preferred, as a common law offence.

(Kelly, 1999, p11)

Number of racial incidents are on the increase in Scotland and there are many more racial incidents in primary than secondary schools (ibid.). Moreover, resentment to take on racially motivated incidents by white lawyers as well as the lack of black and ethnic lawyers, solicitors or barristers in the law centres and courts in Scotland have made

Scottish justice system to neglect the rights of the minority ethnic community. As the above article continued to comment:

There are no black/ethnic minority sheriffs or judges and only a small number of black/ethnic minority lawyers in solicitors firms; the law society of Scotland and the faculty of advocates have no ethnic minority committee, there is only one law centre in Scotland which specialises in minority ethnic cases, but even its solicitors are white.

(Ibid. p11)

Having experienced racism and career difficulties many minority pupils are heading towards their community entrepreneurs for employment after their higher studies or school. The report published by Scottish Ethnic Minority Research Unit(1995) on employment patterns shows 46% of male population from ethnic minorities are self employed compared to 10% of white population and 26% of ethnic minority female population compared to 5% of white female population. This move into self employment could be a reaction to workplace racism. Since 1970 when anti discrimination law was passed, the relative position of ethnic minorities in the workforce has deteriorated. The gap of earnings between Whites and ethnic minorities increased from 7% in the 1970's to 12% in 1980's and 10% in the 1990's. Earning gaps between whites and ethnic minorities is not due to the fact that they are illegally being paid less, but due to ethnic minorities not being promoted in the work-place The research carried out by Manchester Metropolitan University and University of Wales (1999) stated:

The research highlights the examples of Indians in Britain, who have superior levels of education and work experience than whites. Yet someone of Indian origin is 8 percent more likely to be unemployed than a typical white and earns on average 6 percent less.

(Financial Times, March 31,1999)

Minority adults have the choices between self-employment or working for their community members, but what choices do school children have in statutory education system where institutional racism has been reported by HMI to exist? (e.g. the research findings of Milner(1983) and Davey(1983) with British born South Asian and blacks).

Many descendants of immigrant minority feel like outsiders in an ethnocentric school environment; on one hand the influence of cultural values, embodied in their parents,

remain strong in them, on the other hand they feel excluded by the majority in every social sphere. If a black youngster wishes to adopt all western values over his/her cultural and religious values, how would the majority society treat him/her? If the society treats him no better than how black people were treated in the colonial period, then the youngster will lose both worlds. Safer option would be to stay in their own cultural milieu and become confident and self-assured in their supportive environment.

The conflict between egalitarianism and conformism to dominant culture has given rise to confusion, isolation, hopelessness and low self esteem in many minority pupils. What is self-esteem? Atkinson defined self or self-concept as:

The self consists of all the ideas, perceptions and values that characterise "I" or "me"; it includes the awareness of "what I am and "what I can do". This perceived self, in turn, influences both the person's perception of the world and his or her behaviour.

(Atkinson, 1993, p546)

People with positive self esteem will have favourable opinion of themselves; they would have worthwhile ends in view, They would have the necessary disposition and capacities to pursue them, or they would have desirable attributes like coming from a good family, having talents, being a member of the local cricket team, being a good rap artist etc. Whether people are right or wrong in positive or negative judgements about themselves is another matter. What matters for self-esteem, high or low, is that one should 'believe' that one is such and such. In 1985, Swann report highlighted how prejudicial perception of the minority pupils by the dominant groups can stigmatise youngster's perception of himself. White (1987) in observation of performance and self-esteem commented that:

A reasonably high level of self esteem is seen as important both as a constituent part of personal well-being generally and as a prerequisite of educational achievement. A particular claim about student's self esteem ...is that the low achievement of many students from ethnic minorities is due to their low self-esteem. This, in turn, it is often claimed, is brought about to a large extent by racist prejudice directed towards them by dominant groups, either personally or institutionally.

(White, 1987, p58)

Racism which describes black and ethnic immigrants as inferior, their cultural, linguistic and heritage knowledge as an imposition on the curriculum, educational underachievement of certain groups of minority ethnic pupils can not be a surprise. Among the many obvious causes which contribute to underachievement of children from minority groups inappropriateness of the curriculum, linguistic difficulties,, inadequacy of school provision, low teacher's expectations, institutional racism have been recognised as the contributory factors. Constantine Simms (1995) in explaining the lower academic achievements by Black children commented that:

...African-Caribbean parents have known for a long time: that their children are as bright as or brighter than white children entering the education system but by the time they have gone through that process many are damaged by the low expectations held by some teachers of Black students.

(Constantine-Simms, 1995, p15-16)

Education is not culturally neutral, it promotes the dominant culture, therefore the move toward multicultural education without a strong emphasis on anti-racism and equality would be unproductive. The hidden message in many multiracial schools have been on enculturation of minority pupils into the dominant culture under the watchful eyes of the majority teachers and pupils who have been left outside the main scope of multiculturalism. A large proportion of majority pupils are made to believe that multicultural education is for black pupils only. Little and Willey's survey in 1981 found that:

...LEAs and schools which had few or no minority group students predominantly appeared to see the preparation of their students for life in a multicultural society as 'not a matter which concerned them' or suggested that 'positive initiatives would be divisive'.

(Gundara, 1986, p104)

Such attitude presupposes that British society is harmonious and just; that the recognition of cultural diversity will be a threat to the stability of the curriculum. Such view fails to recognise the dynamic nature of our society and that education, a purveyor of societal norms, ought to reflect such dynamic nature to all its pupils. The attempt to ignore or

denigrate minority culture, language, history, economic and political reasons for minority presence in U.K by majority pupils will only sustain racism and discrimination in schools and society.

3.11 The hidden racism

There is overwhelming evidence from the PEP survey to show that local concentrations of the racial minority are associated with poor housing, poor jobs, and low incomes, and among Asians with large and often extended families with high ratio of dependants to wage earners and West Indians who are more dispersed among the white population are far less likely to suffer every kind of disadvantage than those living in the areas of local concentration.

(Smith, 1993, p257)

Stephen Lawrence lived in an upwardly mobile middle class area and it did not protect him from social racism. How can minority pupils feel less vulnerable to others' prejudices? The racism of the intelligence by which a ruling class justifies it's social and economic order as well as feeling superior still exists. Lawton (1975) described a curriculum as

.... essentially a selection from the culture of a society-certain aspects and ways of life, certain kinds of knowledge, attitudes and values, are regarded as so important that their transmission to the next generation is not left to chance.

(Lawton, 1975, p6)

The question could be raised here which social group or controlling elite have the power to influence curriculum decisions? Who influences the emergence and establishment of particular educational activities, what values are reflected in these activities?

The absence of black and ethnic minorities in the decision making process at work places even when the pupils from Chinese and Indian origin are outperforming their white counterparts raises doubts on equality of opportunities for all. Is it because there is a hidden agenda or conspiracy to deny Britain as a multiethnic or multicultural nation? In

the continuum of democracy and authoritarianism the equality scale seems to be balancing towards authoritarianism in the sense it is endeavouring to maintain a colonial status quo.

The hidden curriculum is designed to make people believe that the way institutions operate are correct, raising doubts to its correctness would be considered deviation and insubordination. The curriculum predominantly devised by the dominant majority may lack minority perspectives. In school, the function of the hidden curriculum is to have pupils acquire an ability that is considered by the majority community important, accept the judgement of teachers without critical evaluation. According to Gill (1987)

The conventional curriculum is still a vehicle for racism.

(Gill, 1987, p87)

A school may publicly declare that it is committed to its multicultural community while the form and contents of its curricular may remain ethnocentric. Schools may transmit ideas, values and beliefs of the dominant culture with the conviction that they are 'cultivated'.

Recent (Feb, 1999) HMI report in England and Welsh claimed there was institutional racism in schools at the same time when Macpherson's report from Stephen Lawrence's case found that there was institutional racism in the Metropolitan police department. Institutional racism compared to individual racism is more subtle, hidden, powerful and harmful for minority population. It infringes on the bases of minority people's positive self-esteem. Structurally schools can damage or enhance pupils' self-esteem; no one can deny how social forces shape individual lives. Schools can not afford to overlook minority culture, history, literature and pastoral aspects of the curriculum where pupils will have the opportunity to understand social roots of their own and others' self esteem.

Curriculum

Ideologically Schools are to provide its minority and majority members to share the knowledge and understanding necessary to achieve detached and reflective understanding of critical social and personal issues that determine who you are. Unfortunately British school curriculum still reflects ethnocentric values and attitudes inappropriate for modern Britain. As Tomlinson (1989) noted:

The recognition that the curriculum was, and still is, in many ways influenced by the beliefs and values of a period of imperial enthusiasm and a final expansion of the British Empire...it was during this period of Empire, that many aspects of what is now regarded as 'British culture' came to be reflected in the school curriculum, underpinning by a set of values still regarded by many as 'traditional' British values. Some of these values were and are highly questionable in terms of democracy, tolerance, social and racial justice. They reflected a dominant world-view ...in which imperialism, a revived militarism, and unpleasant racial beliefs derived from social Darwinism.....that British 'race' had a particular superiority vis-a vis the rest of the world.

(Tomlinson, 1989, p26-27)

These values which comprised elements of nationalism, militarism, racial arrogance, combined with beliefs in superior moral and Christian benevolence towards imperial subjects have percolated from the public schools to higher elementary schools to state grammar schools. The attempted changes in the ethnocentric curriculum by supporters of multicultural education were opposed by the right wing political parties and encouraged a populist view that such development will threaten Britain's heritage and culture as well as eradicate educational standards.

The recent trend in Scottish education system in developing English modules for black and ethnic minority pupils only rejects the need to include both black and white pupils in discussions to exchange their ideas and opinions about racism and its evil effects. In order to gain a better understanding of each other's needs and local situations, which influence the behaviour of those learning, majority and minority have to work together.

There is tension between those who believe British school curriculum teaches a set of values which are universal and inclusive of all cross-cultural values, and those who consider that change is needed to disentangle the curriculum from the imperial past. Such tension was demonstrated by Sir Keith Joseph (1985) in his comment on the need for an educational policy appropriate for an ethnically mixed society that,

British history and cultural traditions are, or will become, at least part of the cultural heritage of all who live in this country...schools should

be responsible for trying to transfer British culture-enriched as it has been by so many traditions.

(Joseph, 1985, p8)

During 1970s the development of multiculturalism in education demanded by the ethnic minority parents were primarily confined to urban multiracial schools and regarded as unimportant or unthreatening to the wider society. But during 1980s, when it became apparent that changes in all schools for all pupils were advocated, opposition to antiracist education became strong. At the 1987 Conservative party Conference Margaret Thatcher, then prime minister commented on the 1988 Education Act that,

In the inner cities where youngsters must have a decent education if they are to have a better future, the opportunity is all too often is snatched away from them by hard-left education authorities and extremist teachers. Children who need to be able to count and multiply are learning anti-racist mathematics, whatever that is.

(Margaret Thatcher, reported on Hughill, 1987)

Mrs. Thatcher's comment on black immigration was equally negative and discriminatory when she responded to an interviewer;

You know some communities in Britain already felt swamped...some areas which I know very well where the whole character of the area has changed...you know some people do feel swamped when streets they have lived in whole of their life really now are quite different and they do feel swamped and I stand by it absolutely, I do.

(The Guardian, April, 1979)

Immigration itself was not considered as problem or threat to a country, as it was the race or colour of the immigrants that caused majority to feel swamped. If immigration itself was a problem then United states would have submerged in chaos and disunity long ago and same could have happened in Europe. Instead of colonised people, if the immigrants were white settlers then they would have been considered as unthreatening, their integration would have been considered less problematic French, German, Spanish, Italian languages were readily accepted in the curriculum because they were not the languages of the colonised people. Therefore refusal of immigrants was a relative matter as it was specifically targeted to black, colonised immigrants not to white settlers

Presentations of multicultural varieties in some schools were alienating to even the ethnic minority pupils, as they seemed somewhat removed from their daily and family experiences.

.... The fact that whatever the origins and historical causes of racism - whether they be in colonial history, in economic, psychological or other causes - the search for such 'roots' may have less to tell us about racism today than the 'routes' that racism takes through communities...

(Hewitt, 1996, p3)

The research done in Greenwich and Birmingham in 1993-94 showed that the main agent for the reproduction of adolescent racism was not the family but the peer groups. The culture of racism gets established among young people through social contacts and their racial beliefs without being challenged or tolerated gain strength and gets transmitted from person to person. By examining the roots of racism one would seek to find what makes racist behaviour 'invisible' and socially acceptable. Units of study that tell children of slavery or roots of racism in a racially mixed classroom, without opportunities for critical evaluation would only perpetuate racism amongst school children.

The perpetrators of racist violence or harassment do not act in a social vacuum. So, what made a community not see or react to racist behaviour of a gang of youths, which led to the tragic death of Stephen Lawrence? Schools could be an agency for perpetuation of such prejudicial ideas. More recently, John (1993) observed that,

The experience of racism within the society generally are replicated within the school in a wide variety of ways, in approaches to curriculum and its content, in attitudes of students, staff, and parents, in the negative expectations people have of black staff, and in the belief that it is principally the responsibility of Black staff to deal with "difficult" black students and "awkward" black parents.

(John, 1993, p62)

The curriculum that excludes minority perspectives through rejection of minority cultures, languages and aspirations as necessary means of offering a whole education will not serve the needs of all pupils. Richardson (1982) commented that,

The curriculum of our schools should help our pupils and teachers and the local authorities to which they belong, to understand the power structure in which they participate as victims or as beneficiaries and should help them develop commitment to, and practical skill in working from their various positions towards greater equality, peace and justice, nationally and internationally.

(Quoted in Kimberley, p106)

Inclusion of minority perspectives through admission of minority languages and literature into the curriculum as well as of English texts written by Asian and Afro-Caribbean writers will help provide all pupils with an insight into the social divisions and inequalities that exist in this society. With knowledge and understanding of minority history, language and literature pupils from minority communities would feel stronger to negotiate their social, economic and political positions with the majority community.

This chapter explored how the hidden curriculum in the multicultural society can perpetuate racism and emphasised the need to make the curriculum more learner-sensitive, especially for the linguistically disadvantaged pupils. The non-ethnocentric curriculum and the micro-interactions between educators, communities and pupils, it was argued, could help minority pupils acquire a sense of identity and knowledge that would help them negotiate their position in the mixed society. The following chapter focuses on the educational programmes for the bilingual pupils that have been implemented in the United Kingdom over the past two decades, and the cognitive and academic benefits of Mother Tongue bilingualism to minority ethnic pupils.

CHAPTER 4: THE ISSUES OF BILINGUALISM

4.1 Introduction

At the beginning of the nineteenth century bilingualism used to be regarded as both natural and desirable, with the conquering nations willingly learning the language of the conquered, for example, Romans learning Greek. Bilingualism was regarded as natural amongst the nobility, clergy and bourgeoisie, particularly in and around the centres of trade. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, disapproving views of bilingualism emerged with the one nation one language ideology - which was used as an argument to justify the policy of assimilation of the indigenous and immigrant linguistic minorities with the majority culture (Lewis, 1977). Some traces of the old positive view of bilingualism was still found in the higher social groups in the form of elite bilingualism. But in present monolingual and monolithic society, individuals with a double linguistic and cultural identity, as described by Skutnab-Kangas (1981), are thought of as deviant and problematic. In many instances bilingual pupils were thought of as inferior, as Cummins (1996) pointed out,

The process of defining groups or individuals as inferior or deviant almost inevitably results in a pattern of interaction that confines them, either psychologically or physically. For example, when teachers have low expectations of particular groups of students, they tend to provide fewer opportunities for academic development, thereby confining them intellectually.

(Cummins, 1996, p14-15)

Moreover, at the beginning of the twentieth century, genuine bilingualism or absolute proficiency in two languages, though greatly approved of, was generally believed to be impossible to achieve.

In the past many bilingual students have experienced difficulties in school and have performed more poorly than monolingual children on verbal I.Q. tests and on measures of literacy tests.

(Ibid. p104)

Such observations, in its turn, led to the belief that one's best efforts should be reserved for the learning of the majority language, and many schools concentrated on eradicating minority children's Mother Tongue on the grounds that this was the source of children's academic difficulties and confusion. Cummins (1996) in reference to the opposing views of bilingual education mentioned that:

They (opponents of bilingual education) have attempted to legitimate the eradication of all forms of bilingual education by arguing that these programs hinder students' learning of English and academic progress.

(Cummins, 1996, p213-214)

4.2 Mother Tongue as a problem

Bilingualism, at individual level has often been associated with split-identity, cultural dislocation, a poor self image, anomie and at a group level with inner-group conflict and regional disunity (Ruiz, 1984). Minority Mother Tongue was thus viewed as a political and social problem by the opponents of bilingual education (Epstein,1977; Rodriguez,1985). Perpetuation of minority Mother Tongue was perceived as the cause of less integration and less cohesiveness in a racially mixed society.

A strong nation is regarded as a unified nation. Unity within a nation is seen as synonymous with uniformity and similarity.... The perceived complication of minority languages is to be solved by assimilation into the majority language.

(Baker, p353)

The opposing view of such assimilation process suggest that it is possible to have national unity without language uniformity as this can be observed in countries like Singapore, India and Switzerland. Otheguy (1982) pointed out that language in and by itself, is rarely a cause of unrest; Fishman (1989) in a research study on causes of civil strife found that language was not the cause. The causes of strife, on the other hand, were found to be deprivation, authoritarianism and modernisation.

In the National Curriculum, an eurocentric, caste system of languages is observed (Stubbs,1991). For example, French has been placed in schools at the top of the foreign languages list; German, Spanish, Danish, Italian, Russian, Modern Greek and Portuguese

are the major European languages placed into the second position and Mother Tongues like Bengali, Gujerati, Panjabi, Hindi, Chinese are relegated, due to the politics of English education, to an almost non-existent position in the school curriculum.

A common characteristic of all discriminated minority groups around the world is that they use or have inherited a language that is different, syntactically, phonologically and in the present context, formally from the dominant majority group language. It is also a phenomena that ethnic minority language is the major device of expressing their ethnicity, culture, individuality or self-esteem and dominant majority language is the prerequisite for educational achievement and a vocation. Bilingualism in itself may not be the source of academic difficulties as both languages are means of gaining knowledge, understanding and application skills; the difficulty could be more attributed to the way minority pupils are treated in schools. In today's Scottish society bilingualism is a reality. One sixteen year old fifth year pupil of Muslim faith, whose parents came from India, commented

I speak Gujerati with my mum and dad, Urdu with my friends in school, English with teachers and class friends, I am learning to read Koran in Arabic. My mum and dad speak Hindi as well.

(Pupil 1)

The promotion of bi or multilingualism in education will not only help the discriminated minority to achieve cognitive benefits as it was examined and concluded by Bialystock (1987), Tumber & Herriman (1984), Ricciardelli (1993) and others; it will also make ethnic minority pupils feel confident with their ethnicity and can perceive the future with ease and serenity. Unfortunately, during colonial and post-colonial days, bilingualism was described as problematic in both societal (McLaughlin 1978: 1) and psycholinguistic terms (Macleod 1969). Many European and Europeanised countries maintained that societal bilingualism is divisive and should not be a goal; Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) described this kind of thinking as linguicism which is akin to other negative-isms such as racism, classism, sexism and ageism.

4.3 Bilingualism and Ethnic Minorities

In today's Scottish society more ethnic minority people speak Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi, Chinese than Gaelic, yet the position for minority ethnic languages in Scotland is transitory and in many instances unrecognised (ref.chapter7). Recently there has been a revival of interest in the indigenous minority language (Gaelic) through political representation and action. The Scottish National Party has been a significant factor in demanding attention to the preservation and extension of their heritage language. There are experiments with bilingual primary education in the Western Isles, where Gaelic is strongest. From the opening of the first Gaelic-medium classes in 1985 there has been a steady increase in Gaelic medium bilingual education. By 1993 the number had risen to 39 units. (Johnston, 1994)

The Gaelic medium models have been classified into three categories

- . Full immersion for the first two years of primary with the whole programme in Gaelic, followed by a bilingual programme with some subjects in Gaelic and others in English.
- . A twin track system within one school, in the Gaelic track, where English is taught through the medium of Gaelic and thirdly, a full immersion in the first two years, with a second phase of a bilingual programme
- . A gradual shift to English in upper primary, especially for mathematics and science.

Whether bilingualism is considered as a problem or not, depends on who the children are. Edwards (1995) commented in reference to minority bilingualism that:

Bilingualism has not proved to be a problem for children from English speaking homes attending either Welsh schools or French immersion programme in Canada. The critical difference between French-English and Welsh-English bilinguals, on the one hand, and Bengali-English or Punjabi-English bilinguals, on the other is that, in one case, the children learning a second language belongs to a high status group and, in the other, they come from a low status group

(Edwards, 1995, p6)

Such discriminatory attitude presupposes and maintains inequality in races and languages. Yet from a linguistic point of view all community languages are equal and linguists have not found a language that is inadequate or deficient. Brown (1998) in reference to equality of languages commented that:

It is factually incorrect to describe some languages. For example, Spanish or Swedish as 'better' or 'more developed' than Chinese or Creole. Nevertheless languages spoken by White people continue to be considered superior to languages spoken by Black people, for example, European languages such as French, German and Italian are accorded a higher status than Arabic, Hindi or Swahili.

(Brown, 1998, p69-70)

Certain processes also militate against a high status for community languages. Language minority children themselves recognise that English is the language they need for survival in school and in society. Many teachers, too anxious to teach curricular subjects, encourage and support their learning of it that they give the impression that child's first language is of no importance for educational purposes. In many instances class teachers may not be aware of what the language of the child is. This may have led many ethnic minority children refusing to speak the home language even to their mothers (ref. chapter, 9).

Resources, in many instances, offset the bias against community languages. There are many Scottish schools where ethnic minority children are deprived of having access to books in a range of languages, including their own, on the shelves in reading corners and libraries. In upper primary and secondary schools examinations perpetuate the defined parameters of knowledge as well as the hierarchy of knowledge. The resources used generally in the school reflect the attitudes and values of the staff in responding to those examination syllabuses, in their turn, underpinning those attitudes and values in children that may not be their own.

Parental support in the provision of bilingual schooling and their keen support of the children's development in both languages is a necessary part in promotion of bilingualism. Maintenance bilingual programmes for minority language children have

been extensively studied in recent years and the evidence shows that first language learning facilitates majority language learning. Corson (1994) commented that

In Holland a bilingual maintenance approach to the education of minority children is favoured not just for reasons of social justice and self-esteem but because it is found to be as effective in promoting majority language learning.....

(Corson, 1994, p5)

What, it might be asked, are the influential factors in learning of a second language? What level of first language learning facilitates second language learning? Ricciarelli (1993) and Bialystok (1988) concluded in their experiments that fully fluent bilinguals show increased metalinguistic awareness than monolingual children. Bialystock (1987) conducted an experiment where 5-9 year old children were asked to interchange labels of objects. Children were asked if they could call a cow "dog" and a dog "cow". Most bilinguals felt that names could be interchanged believing that language is a more arbitrary, non-fixed and monolingual child, in comparison, most often said that cow and dog could not be interchanged believing they are fixed. Ben-Zeev (1977) in his Symbol Substitution Test asked five to eight year old Hebrew-English speaking bilingual children from Israel and the United States to use the word "macaroni" in place of "I" in a sentence thus saying "macaroni am warm" instead of "I am warm", bilinguals showed increased analytical orientation to language with regard to meaning and sentence construction reconfirming Ianco-Worrel's (1972) claim on metalinguistic awareness of bilinguals. Baker (1996) summarised the conclusion as follows.

Fully fluent bilinguals have increased metalinguistic abilities, this relates to two components (Bialystok,1988; Ricciardelli,1993): bilinguals' enhanced analysing of their knowledge of language and their greater control of internal language processing. In turn, this may facilitate earlier reading acquisition that, in turn, can lead to higher levels of academic achievement.

(Baker, 1996, p135)

A number of researchers (Leopold, 1961; Vygotsky, 1962; Byalistok, 1987) have proposed that experiences with two linguistic systems help bilingual children to be aware of the arbitrary connections between linguistic forms and meanings. When bilinguals are using two languages to express the same meaning, they hold constant the underlying proposition while changing the linguistic forms, thus separating meaning from forms. This process facilitates the detachment of experiential and conceptual structures from linguistic structures. Such ability of detachment or metalinguistic awareness would be a facilitating factor in examination of language from an 'intellective vantage-point.'

4.4 Proficiency in second language

Whether basic and cognitive proficiency in second language has any correlation to the same in first language has been a subject of discourse amongst elite and layman of majority and minority cultures. The literature on bilingualism provides much evidence for **interdependence** between languages (Cummins et al., 1984; Davidson, Kline, & Snow, 1986; Galambos & Hakuta, 1988; Geva & Ryan, 1987; Hakute, 1988). The basis for such interdependence is a repertoire of experiential and generic-conceptual structures, the later could be the medium of transferability between two languages. As Johnson (1991) explained:

...the basis for transfer is most likely logological structures. Transfer of contextualised language skills is probably mediated by infralogical structures, if by contextualized we mean performance produced by structures that are easily cued by concrete features of the situation.

(Johnson, 1991, p195)

Unfortunately the survey (May, 1999) done by Glasgow City Council, Department of Education for review of provisions for ethnic minority children showed that bilingual pupils were achieving lower grade results in language oriented subjects, such as, History, Modern Studies, Art and English. The question could be raised here what conditions are to be present in order for bilingual pupils to benefit from metalinguistic awareness or who are bilinguals? What level of bilingualism one has to acquire in order to gain cognitive advantages?

4.4.1 Interdependence theory suggests that the level of acquisition in first language could directly or indirectly affect proficiency in second language. Studies in interdependence theory by Cummins & Mulcahy, 1978; Duncan & de Avila, 1979; Kesler & Quinn, 1982; Clarkson, 1992 suggested that the further the child moves towards balanced bilingualism, the greater the degree of cognitive advantages. Balanced bilinguals could be described as those who are approximately equally fluent in two languages across various contexts. Statistical comparison of 204 bilingual pupils' attainment levels in Mother Tongue and English examinations in four secondary schools in Scotland, as reported in chapter seven in this thesis, added support to the interdependence theory that there is strong relationship between bilingual pupils' achievement in first, second as well as third language. Strong statistical interdependence was observed in their Mother Tongue, English and French results

Most language tests are closely linked to the cognitive, academic language skills in the classroom. The notion of a curriculum based language competence led various authors to an important distinction that apart from cognitive language competence there is conversational competence. Skutnabb-kangas & Toukoma (1976) proposed a conceptual difference between surface fluency and academic competence. Surface fluency or the ability to hold conversation in a second language in non-academic situations can be learnt informally and quickly and to cope with the curriculum, conversational competency or surface fluency would not be enough. Several studies (Cummins et al., 1984) involving Asian immigrants in North America showed that cognitive and personality factors were contributory of cognitive competence in L2 despite the dissimilarities of languages and writing system.

Equilingual or ambilingual, or more commonly a balanced bilingual is someone who is approximately equally fluent conversationally and academically in two languages across various contexts. For clarity, Baker's (1996) definition of a balanced bilingual would be useful, as it stated:

A child who can understand the delivery of the curriculum in school in either language, and operate in classroom activity in either language would be an example of a balanced bilingual.

(Baker, 1996, p8)

On the other hand, semilinguals are those who have sufficient competence in either language, who show qualitative or quantitative deficits in either or all areas of language competencies. Qualitative or quantitative deficits could be shown in user's size of vocabulary, correctness of language, automatism or unconscious processing of language, language creation, emotive and cognitive mastery of the language, finally in meanings and imagery. Baker (1996) explained

A 'semilingual' is considered to exhibit the following profile in both their languages; displays a small vocabulary and incorrect grammar, consciously thinks about language production, is stilted and uncreative with each language, and finds it difficult to think and express emotions in either language.

(Baker, 1996, p9)

Sociolinguist Hymes(1972a) argued that language was essentially about communication; being able to use language for a purpose. Language is a means rather than a structural end or mastery of a language system. Effective language does not mean grammatical accuracy nor articulate fluency, but the competence to communicate meaning effectively. The shift from grammatical accuracy to meaningful communication gave rise to communicative approaches over structural approaches to second language learning in many classrooms. Patterns of interactions between majority and minority members of the community both at macro and micro levels determine minority ethnic pupils' levels of learning, time factor and power sharing ability. (Cummins, 1986)

Micro and Macro Interactions

Surface fluency or the ability to hold conversation in non-academic discourse may require considerably less time than academically related language proficiency which may take five to seven years or longer to acquire. This time factor furthermore is influenced by the micro-interaction patterns between educators, pupils and macro-interaction pattern between majority and minority communities. The micro-interactions form an

interpersonal or interactional space within which the acquisition of knowledge and formation of identity are negotiated and the macro-interactions proposes that relations of power in the wider society, ranging from coercive to collaborative. The macro-interaction pattern influences the curriculum, the ways educators define their role and the types of structures that are established in the education system. Who decides what is to be taught? Equal participation of minority and majority members in determination of micro and macro interactions between educators, pupils and communities could be a major influential factor in acquisition of cognitive academic fluency for all pupils, as this in turn, may promote collaborative relations of power.

4.5 The Additive Bilingualism

International and cross-cultural research in additive bilingual contexts as reviewed by Baker (1988) and Ricciardelli (1992) showed bilingual pupils' superiority in divergent thinking skills. An additive bilingual situation, as described by Lambert (1975), is where the addition of a second language and culture does not replace or displace the first language or culture. Such additive bilingualism, as observed amongst English speaking North Americans who learn a second language, will not lose their English but gain another language and parts of it's attendant culture. Such additive bilingualism shows positive attitude towards both bilingualism and diglossia. Filmore (1991b) observed that when minority children are coming from disadvantaged background and lacking the educational support for literacy in L1 develop subtractive form of bilingualism which may result in semi-lingualism and cognitive deficits.

In support of additive bilingualism Cummins (1996) commented that:

...the level of proficiency attained by bilingual students in their two languages may be an important influence on their academic and intellectual development. Specifically, there may be a threshold level of proficiency in both languages which students must attain in order to avoid any negative academic consequences and second, higher threshold necessary to reap the linguistic and intellectual benefits of bilingualism and biliteracy.

(Cummins, 1996, p106)

The current practice in Scotland, as identified by Local Council questionnaire responses in chapter 7 in this study, could be described as subtractive, as it attempts to replace

minority children's Mother Tongue in classrooms by English as soon as possible. Such evidence was observed in both nursery and primary class observations in Glasgow. Schooling of ethnic minority pupils is almost entirely conducted in English, regardless of the first language of the children especially in schools where number of language minority children are smaller. In inner-city 'multicultural' schools the trend is to use minority Mother Tongues as a transitory aid to learning of English and thereby disadvantaging minority groups from profits of bilingualism. Moreover, As Corson (1994) pointed out

..for reasons of both pedagogy and justice, subtractive (transitional) bilingualism is not a policy that should be routinely favoured in contemporary schools in pluralist societies.

(Corson, 1994, p4)

At humanitarian and equality level bilingualism provides social justice and inclusion, it brings policy-makers and practitioners closer to its minority groups. Blackridge (1994) pointed out

When minority language maintenance is initiated in a community, the members of that community become experts, and parents participate in the activities of the school. Only a local community can decide what is really necessary.

(Blackridge, 1994, p10)

At personal level the profits of bilingual education would be well-adjusted, self-assured school children. Lambert in preservation of minority Mother Tongue in mainstream schools wrote:

Rather than cultural conflicts we find well-adjusted young people with broad perspectives who are comfortable in the role of representing both of their cultural backgrounds. We also have here an illustration of the additive form of biculturalism, the boys studied were caught in the flow of two cultural streams and were apparently happy to be part of both streams.

(Lambert, 1986, p45)

Cummins (1977) explained the difference between balanced and non-balanced bilinguals by a threshold level. Cummins proposed that:

...there may be a threshold level of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain both in order to avoid cognitive deficits and allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence his cognitive growth.

(Cummins, 1977, p10)

Threshold Level

Ricciardelli (1989,1992) through series of studies with children aged 5 or 6 on metalinguistic awareness , creative thinking, verbal and non-verbal abilities found that those children who had obtained a high degree of bilingualism performed better than those children who had less developed first language. Balanced bilinguals, as observed by Cummins (1975,1977), scored higher in fluency and flexibility scales in divergent thinking and marginally on originality; such findings led him to propose a *threshold level* of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain in order to benefit from cognitive advantages and avoid cognitive deficits.

The first threshold where children show low levels of competence in both languages also shows qualitative and quantitative deficiencies in size of vocabulary, correctness of language, in automatism or unconscious processing of language, language creation, in mastery of cognitive and emotive functions of language and finally in meanings and imagery. At the second threshold where children have age-appropriate competence in one but not two languages may show neither positive nor negative cognitive consequences, finally at the third level, where children have age-appropriate competence in both languages, can cope with curriculum material in either of their languages, may exhibit cognitive advantages over monolinguals. The cognitive academic language proficiency in first and second languages which are commonly exhibited in analysing, synthesising, evaluating, interpreting, problem solving, are interrelated. Recently Thomas and Collier (1997) in their large-scale research in USA on school effectiveness for language minority pupils demonstrated that:

.....all language minority groups benefit enormously in the long term from on-grade-level academic work in L1. The more children develop L1 (Mother Tongue) academically and cognitively at an age appropriate

level, the more successful they will be in academic achievement in L2 (in this case English) by the end of their school years.

(Thomas and Collier, 1997, p60)

Common Underlying Proficiency

Empirical evidence refutes the separate underlying proficiency model that suggests that language skills are non-transferable. A Gaelic-English bilingual programme is not only developing Gaelic reading and writing skills, it is also developing a deeper conceptual and linguistic proficiency which would be strongly related to the development of proficiency in second language. Research by Verhoeven (1994) suggested that there was positive transfer between L1 and L2 in literacy skills, phonology and pragmatics but there was little transfer in lexicon and syntax. Although there are surface differences between Asian languages and English in pronunciation, phonemes, syntax, script and intonation there is an underlying cognitive/academic proficiency that is common across both languages. Cummins commented that:

If academic development of bilingual students is the goal, then students must be encouraged to acquire a conceptual foundation in their L1 to facilitate the acquisition of English academic skills.

(Cummins, 1996, p122)

A large number of studies (Bialistock, 1991; Cummins and Swain, 1986; Hakuta and Diaz, 1985; Mohanty, 1994; Ricciardelli, 1989,1992) have investigated bilingual children's metalinguistic development or their explicit knowledge about the structure and functions of language. With the ability to express same thought in two ways, having two words for the same object and idea may lead bilingual learners to become more aware of their linguistic operations. Such predisposition along with 'interpersonal space' or zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1971) where learners construct knowledge in collaboration with adults and peers gain new knowledge and understanding. Recognition of minority pupils' experiences, perspectives and mutual understanding between teacher and pupil would be influential in progressive learning. Cummins (1996) explained in reference to collaborative learning that:

Teacher-student collaboration in the construction of knowledge will operate effectively only in contexts where students' identities are being affirmed. Essentially, this conception extends the ZPD beyond the cognitive sphere into the realms of affective development and power relationships. It also makes clear that the 'construction zone' can also be a constriction zone where student identities and learning are constricted rather than extended.

(Ibid., p26)

Recognition and affirmation of individuality of learners play an important part in building up any effective relationship and in a multilingual classrooms teachers could view themselves as learners and in order to teach effectively they could learn from their students about their culture, background and experiences.

4.6 Progressive Pedagogy

The traditional instructional model where teachers were expected to deposit information and skills in learners' memory bank contrasted with Dewey's (1963) progressive pedagogy where students' experience was central. To explain characteristics of progressive pedagogy Cummins (1996) pointed out that:

Whereas traditional approaches decompose language-break it up into its component parts for easier transmission- progressive approaches insist that language can be learned only when it is kept 'whole' and used for meaningful communication either in oral or written modes....learning in traditional pedagogy is largely memorisation whereas in progressive pedagogy learning is constructed collaboratively through interaction with peers and teachers.

(Ibid. p155-156)

Transformative and progressive pedagogists do not consider knowledge as inert and fixed, rather as a catalyst for further enquiry and new information. It promotes a critical literacy, an ability to cut through surface level of persuasive arguments to the realities - an ability necessary for ethnic minority pupils for equal participation in a democratic society. Furthermore,

A transformative orientation to pedagogy inevitably means that educators must be willing to explore the ways in which dominant groups both historically and currently have maintained their power. In order to challenge the operation of coercive relations of power in their own lives, students and communities must understand how it works.

(Ibid. p158)

Reading and Writing Skills

For linguistically diverse pupils critical literacy approach (Ada, 1988a,1988b) in both L1 and L2 will not only facilitate their problem solving skills, it will also provide continuity and uniformity across the curriculum. The skills to move from descriptive stage of learning to creative action phase will empower pupils to use knowledge as catalyst for improvement and change. In descriptive phase pupils' focus of interaction with teacher or peers would be on information contained within the text. At this phase reading is, as Ada (1988b) pointed out,

...a discussion that stays at this level suggests that reading is a passive, receptive, and in a sense, domesticating process.

(Ada, 1988b, p104)

After discussion of the basic information in the text, pupils could be encouraged to compare and contrast with their own personal experiences. For culturally and linguistically diverse pupils, an atmosphere of trust, acceptance of their ethnicity and mutual respect between peers and teachers would be a prerequisite for sharing minority experiences, feelings and emotions in classrooms. Unfortunately, recent attempts (1999) by ESL teachers in Scotland to isolate language minority pupils from mainstream classrooms into separate classrooms to facilitate their personal interpretative phase, suggest there is an absence of an atmosphere of mutual trust and acceptance between minority and majority pupils in classrooms. In an ethnocentric curriculum, where texts are reflections of the dominant group's notion of cultural literacy and where negotiations between minority and majority pupils are problematic, minority pupils will lose the opportunity to develop critical analytical skills necessary for an integrated, mixed society. Furthermore, Gundara stated in reference to the goals of the curriculum that:

separate schools or curricula does not assist in bringing about intercultural understandings. Within complex societies the need to develop cross-cultural negotiations and learning is an important issue

(Gundara, 1994, p17)

In a pluralist society, where comprehensive education system is promoted, any particular language involving minority or majority can not be marginalised. The provision for a comprehensive education system may aim to satisfy the needs of minorities by not only encouraging minority pupils to learn minority or foreign languages also by arranging provision for speakers of the lingua franca to learn the languages and concerns of minority groups. In an anti-racist pedagogy where both minority and majority pupils are encouraged by teachers to question the uncontested cultural assumptions will enable both groups to work with mutual understanding and co-operation. With the support of the teachers pupils will be able to develop self awareness as well as the fact that culture is dynamic, it changes as it absorbs and adopts ideas from its people.

The role of the teacher in classrooms would not be a narrator but a facilitator for raising pupils' critical awareness of the reality. Such critical analytical process involves drawing inferences and exploring what generalisations can be made from personal interpretation of the texts in a classroom. The creative action phase would provide the final stage of learning; translating the results of descriptive, personal interpretation and critical analytical phases into concrete action. Through extending comprehension into action pupils would gain deeper understanding of their environment, social interaction processes and personal growth. (Ada, 1988b).

4.7 Intelligence

In earlier times racism was based on exterior aspects such as skin colour, type of hair, and physical features. The development of anthropological science during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to 'scientific' racism, aided and abetted subsequently by the much publicised *Intelligence Quotient* (IQ). The IQ tests only assessed the acquired cultural knowledge of the middle class people and failed to account for the impact of the living conditions of working class, women and the black population on educational achievement. Such manipulative measures were used by 'supremacy theorists' to justify

inequality, injustice and exploitation as a natural phenomenon. IQ tests conducted to assess the working class and the ethnic minorities according to criteria developed for the white middle class continue to demonstrate cultural bias; the recent (1998, Edinburgh University) controversy surrounding a Psychology lecturer's research outcome associating Black people with lower intelligence was a case in point.

The conception that bilingualism leads to lower intelligence prevailed in the early twentieth century. The early researchers (Saer, 1923; Darcy, 1953) used conceptually flawed and methodologically weak intelligence tests on bilinguals and monolinguals and confirmed that monolinguals were superior on mental tests. The methodological weaknesses in such tests included usage of child's weaker language, cross-cultural generalisation and rejection of the environmental viewpoint that intelligence is not fixed or static. It is modifiable by experience, family, education, culture and sub-culture. Gardner (1993), in reference to the multiple intelligence theory, stated that:

...all human beings are capable of at least seven different ways of knowing the world....through language, logical-mathematical analysis, spatial representation, musical thinking, the use of the body to solve problems or to make things, an understanding of other individuals, and an understanding of ourselves.

(Gardner, 1993, p12)

The tenets of multiple intelligence theory may complicate an examination of learning and understanding but it challenges an educational system that assumes that everyone learns the same materials in the same way and form. Today examination results have become the measure of intelligence. Many bilingual pupils have been reported to be failing in English language oriented subjects (Glasgow City Council Best value report, 1998) but no account had been taken on their achievement in Mother Tongue examinations. Moreover, recent publications in the media (Guardian Education, September 10, 1996) that bilingual pupils from certain ethnic minority communities performed better in 'A' level examinations than indigenous monolingual children support the fact that intelligence or higher grades in tests are not influenced by race or monolingualism.

4.8 Cognitive styles of bilinguals

Cerebral disorders, anatomical studies and neurolinguistic experiments used in obtaining knowledge and understanding of the linguistic organization of the brain are not proved to be conclusive as some of the replicated experiments failed to produce same results. Numbers of studies looking at bilingual aphasia, laterality, as Obler (1983) observed, were not sufficient for making assertions about bilinguals and brain. Even though certain linguistic areas, such as, Broca's area for language production, Wernick's area for language reception and angular gyrus for coupling word and referent have been identified in the brain, areas which are more important than others for language functions, there is still incomplete knowledge about the way the brain deals with one or more languages. The earlier assumption was that the most important linguistic functions were located in the left hemisphere of the brain, and that *lateralization* was a gradual process completed by the age of puberty (Lenneberg, 1967).

Although evidence is inconclusive, it has been argued by linguists such as Albert & Obler (1983) that the first language, while initially stored in the left hemisphere, tends to move to the right hemisphere as second language learning and assimilation takes root in the left half of the brain. This, being substantiated, might imply that bilinguals are more bilateral than their monolingual counterparts.

Vaid and Hall's (1991) research on lateralization provided five hypotheses: that the balanced bilinguals - where the competence in an individual's second language is above a certain minimum threshold, preferably approaching that of her first language, for any cognitive benefits to accrue, use the right hemisphere more than monolinguals for first and second language processing. As the second language proficiency grows and the left hemisphere involvement in analysing information increases, the first language functioning moves to the right hemisphere, which is mainly concerned with pragmatic, immediate and emotive aspects of language learning. The bilinguals who learn a second language in an informal situation will use their right hemisphere more for language proficiency than those who learn it in a more formal situation. Second language acquisition requires language functioning role of the right hemisphere more than first language acquisition. late bilinguals are more likely to use acoustic type strategy in the

right hemisphere than the early bilinguals who use semantic type strategies in the left hemisphere.

Sequence in learning L1 and L2

The distinction, suggested by Ellis (1985), between sequence, order and rate of development in second language learning leads to his finding that sequence, universal in every language, proceeds from vocabulary to basic syntax, to the shape of simple sentences to complex sentences and this process is unaffected by learner's first language. On the other hand the order in which a second language is learnt may vary from person to person, classroom to classroom, and the rate influenced by situational factors, such as, who is talking to whom, about what, where, and when are likely to be affected by learner's first language. Situational or contextual factors, however, as Ellis (1985) suggested, do not influence the sequence of development, and affect the order of development only in minor and temporary ways. The rate, order and the level of final proficiency, as mentioned by Cummins, may be affected by attitude, motivation, learning strategy and personality as well as the degree to which first language has developed.

Earlier studies conducted through Embedded Figures Test in Switzerland (Balcan, 1970), Canada (Bruck, Lambert and Tucker quoted in Cummins, 1978) to examine whether bilinguals have a particular cognitive style, revealed that bilinguals were more field independent and that early learners (those who learnt their second language before the age of four) tended to be more field independent than the late learners. Subsequent research in U.S.A with English / Spanish speaking bilinguals revealed a descending order of scores amongst proficient bilinguals, partial and monolinguals, and, lastly late language learners.

4.9 Code-Switching

Previously held, Balance and Balloon Picture theories (Baker, 1996) of bilingualism, where a second language was pictured as increasing at the expense of first language, failed to explain interactive mixed speech, code-switching, diglossia or interlanguage phenomenon. The correlation between simple mobility and multilingualism as exemplified by Panjabi speaking businessmen in Glasgow who speak Panjabi with his wife, English and Panjabi with his children, Urdu with the cash and carry proprietor, Hindi, English, Urdu or Panjabi with his customers demonstrate the necessity for a multilingual competence.

The above phenomenon, linguistically known as code switching, suggests bilinguals change languages frequently, often within one sentence. One of the features of such linguistic behaviour is that it is non-random. Edward (1994), in reference to a conversation between two Mexican Americans on the subject of cigarette smoking, pointed out that the speakers tended to use Spanish when self-conscious or embarrassed about their smoking and English when making general or impersonal observations. Code switching, at the pragmatic level, whether to different languages or to varieties of the same language as well as styles within a language, as observed by Romaine (1989), are relevant variety of social relations, rights and obligations which exist and created between participants in a conversation.

Non-random Code-switching, a normal communication practice amongst linguistic minorities, was considered by some as a sign of linguistic instability. Jones (1981) on his prognosis on Welsh and English languages pointed out code-switching as a precondition of language death. Code-switching and mixing two codes in one sentence is quite common in the Panjabi/English, Hindi/English and other ethnic minority bilingual communities in Britain and this phenomenon has existed as a regular speech pattern in India and Pakistan over hundreds of years with no sign of decline in the use of the languages involved. On the other hand this non-random mixed mode of speaking serves important social functions, harmony, belongingness, rootedness, in the communities where it is used.

Diglossia in ethnic minority languages in Scotland

Diglossia, a form of code-switching, refers to a specific relationship between two or more varieties of the same language. Two forms in the same language, high and low, language and dialect have existed in Asian languages and have created a majority and minority distinction. Diglossia within one language such as Mirpuri and Urdu, Panjabi and Urdu, Cantonese and Mandarin, Sylheti and Bengali, where the latter are more prestigious and used for academic purposes, have created hierarchical language contexts within each ethnic minority community in Scotland.. Table (4.2a) suggests that the different language contexts make one variety of the same language more prestigious than the other. A sylheti / Bengali speaking three year old growing up in Glasgow may speak sylheti at home with either or both parents, sylheti and English with older siblings and friends in the community and may listen to Bengali, English and Hindi music at home and community.

Although opinions vary in terms of age allocation, children from bilingual and multilingual families appear to learn, as Swain (1972) pointed out, two languages as if they have learnt one, as if bilingualism is the first language. At this stage the child will be mixing vocabulary, may not differentiate between two languages, may use sylheti to an English speaking monolingual person, as observed in number of nursery classes in Glasgow and Tower Hamlets, may use equivalent words for the same object to ensure that the meaning is clear. .

At which age the child will maximally differentiate between two language systems will vary from child to child along with other factors such as exposure to different language systems, forms of education, parental attitude to two languages, personality, peers and the child's language ability. Four dimensions along which simultaneous acquisition of bilingualism and diglossia occur depend on linguistic ability of parents, language parents speak to their child in practice, language other family members, grandparents, relations, here and abroad speak to the child, language the child experiences in the community, playground, religious festivals and other social occasions. (Baker, 1996)

The main emphasis in this chapter has been on the cognitive, linguistic and personal benefits of learning L1 for language minority pupils and the positive transfer of minority

language proficiency to the majority language. This chapter also incorporated psychological functioning and pedagogical issues in accelerating educational attainment for language minority pupils that the ability to compare and contrast, analyse, amplify, summarise, generalise or hypothesise learnt in first language could be transferable to second language in a collaborative interactional curriculum.

The conceptions that the learning of home language interferes with learning of English and affects bilingual pupils' cognitive development as well as the fact that home languages need to be replaced by English as soon as the bilingual pupils enter schools are contrary to research findings world-wide. On the contrary when bilingualism is fully supported, it raises standard of literacy and the general cognitive abilities of bilingual children as well as raises self-esteem and motivation which positively affects children's achievement. Next three chapters will be dealing with the attitudes of local councils in Scotland towards minority Mother Tongues and the extent of the first language usage by the minority ethnic pupils. Chapter seven will be dealing with a statistical comparison of Mother Tongue, English and French results of a group of bilingual pupils in mainstream schools.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGNS

5.1 Introduction

Little research (CERES, 1998) has been done on the subject of teaching and learning of community languages in Scotland, although community languages such as Urdu, Punjabi, Chinese and Bengali have been taught and examined at various schools in Glasgow and other cities since 1984. Up until 1984 minority languages such as Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu were taught in weekend or after school classes which were partially or fully funded by Community Education Departments of the local authorities. Community language teachers in mainstream schools were experiencing problems with accommodation, teaching resources, time tabling, examinations, recruitment of pupils and unequal status. Parents from ethnic minority communities in many instances were left to their own devices for maintenance of minority Mother Tongues for their offspring and lack of dissemination of academic findings in this field also left many parents unsure about the validity of minority Mother Tongue learning where second language was the lingua franca.

The research questions (Chapter 1) formulated by the researcher were aimed at addressing problems associated with teaching of Asian languages in schools and, in addition, at testing out a tentative, general hypothesis that Mother Tongue learning is cognitively, emotionally and socially beneficial for ethnic minority pupils. Such a tentative hypothesis needed to be verified through both qualitative and quantitative procedures. Marsden and Oakley (1990) have suggested that, for the evaluation of social development projects, both qualitative and quantitative techniques must be included for a full understanding of the outcome. With reference to qualitative and quantitative methods, Stake (1995) stated that:

..distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods is a matter of emphasis - for both are mixtures.

(Stake, 1995, p36)

In qualitative studies interactionists put emphasis upon inducing hypotheses from field research and views and experiences of the participants are considered to be the focal points. Although qualitative researchers believe that phenomenological, hermeneutic or naturalistic studies are a way of obtaining a holistic view of a social phenomenon, such

studies also require quantitative techniques such as enumeration and recognition of differences in amount.

Positivists who seek to discover laws favour quantitative methods. Uncritical acceptance that 'science' is highly distinct from, and superior to 'common sense' is found to be prevalent among quantitative researchers and they tend to believe progress as one of their main influencing factors. In statistical survey and controlled experiments natural language description and researcher's interpretation are important and such interpretative techniques could be described as qualitative (Silverman, 1993).

In order to obtain a comprehensive view on personal, educational, social and emotional needs of Mother Tongue learning both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in this research. Quantitative analysis was used to establish the social, cultural and personal effects of Mother Tongue learning and the existence of a relationship or lack of it between variables. The variables in question were proficiency in Mother Tongue, English, French and German as well as the correlation between them. Qualitative methods were used in ethnographic observation, interviewing, audio recording, and analysis of real-life situations and textual investigation.

5.2 Methodological theories

Generally, in social science research, positivism and qualitative methodology are deployed; positivism seeks to discover laws using quantitative methods and qualitative methodology is concerned with inducing hypotheses from fieldwork. Silverman (1993) describes a hypothesis as 'a testable proposition' and its relevance lies in its validity. Researchers using qualitative perspective are more concerned to understand individuals' perceptions of the world, whereas, quantitative researchers collect 'facts' and study the relationship between 'facts'. By using scientific techniques they measure variables and try to produce quantified and generalised conclusions.

Each approach, i.e. qualitative and quantitative, has its strengths and weaknesses. As Silvermann (1993) pointed out in his analysis of qualitative research approaches that:

Qualitative research can cover a vast range of research styles and can be co-opted back into the positivist tradition.... It is seen to provide 'in-depth' material which is believed to be absent from survey research data.

(Silverman, 1993, p23)

The aim of quantitative research is to get a more reliable and valid picture of a social phenomenon than one might get from intuitive reasoning or common sense. The technique, based as it is on scientific measurement and objectivity, tends to ignore the power or methods of communication in both micro and macro form, as well as the uniqueness in individual perceptions and understanding. Qualitative research, on the other hand, is prone to suffer from biased or leading questions leading to obscurity or wrong conclusions.

Observation is not perceived by quantitative researchers as an important method of data collection, although quantitative researchers tend to use observation prior to framing questionnaires. Conversely, observation is fundamental to qualitative research as it helps understand another culture or unidentified phenomena in the same culture. Interviews are used in both methodologies; the difference is in sampling. Silverman pointed out that:

A central methodological issue for quantitative researchers is the reliability of the interview schedule and the representativeness of the sample....Authenticity' rather than reliability is often the issue in qualitative research. The aim is usually to gather an 'authentic' understanding of people's experiences and it is believed that ended' questions are the most effective route towards this end.

(Silverman, 1993, p10)

Reliability, validity, uniqueness, authenticity, representativeness, in-depth analysis are some of the common concerns for both qualitative and quantitative researchers; the differences lie in emphasis on methods of abstraction.

Hammersley (1993) concluded that quantitative and qualitative methods are neither complimentary nor competing paradigms; they are iterative cycles. Alternative paradigm theory of qualitative and quantitative research is considered by Hammersley as defective

or empirically inaccurate as this view assume that both methods are true in their own terms and the choice between them is a matter of personal preferences or taste. In refutation of Smith & Heshusius's view that different research paradigms are based on 'incompatible philosophical assumptions' i.e. idealism and realism, Hammersley stated that:

...Smith & Heshusias's oversimplification of the differences in methodological orientation stems from a deeper error: from the assumption that how researchers pursue their research is determined by...the philosophical assumptions to which they are committed; or at least that this ought to be the case.

(Hammersley, 1993, p3)

However, it is not empirically true that researchers first decide on their philosophical commitments, then choose the research topic and strategies. The consideration of quantitative and qualitative as complementary methods or competing research paradigms was abandoned by Hammersley in favour of a 'more adequate conception' of strategies available to researchers in doing social and psychological research.

5.3 Research Strategy

The main strategies used in this enquiry are survey and case study techniques supported by comparative analysis. Statistical comparisons were used to assess the effects of Mother Tongue examination result variable on other variables, mainly English in Standard Grade and G.C.S.E Examinations. The main purpose behind this strategy was to test the tentative hypothesis and whether any transferable skills existed between Mother Tongue and second and subsequent languages.

A survey was used to collate information in standardised forms from Local Councils and a sample of ethnic minority pupils. The purpose of the council enquiry was both exploratory and descriptive as it aimed to find out what was happening with regard to Mother Tongue teaching and sought insights into councils' attitude towards Mother Tongue learning for ethnic minority pupils. The purpose in collecting and analysing pupil data was to obtain information on different contexts of their Mother Tongue usage and their opinion on which stages Mother Tongue should be taught in schools.

Case studies were based on observation and interviews of twelve Asian families. Such case studies were both explanatory and descriptive in nature as they were used to collate information from a selection of individuals from the ethnic minority community for the purpose of finding an explanation of the needs of Mother Tongue learning for next generation and to portray an accurate profile of the current situation. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used at different stages in the full enquiry and the following sections would explain the purpose and goal for each method.

5.4 Qualitative Investigation

A triangular approach (Bell, 1993) in the form of postal questionnaire to local education authorities, ethnographic interviews with first and second generation ethnic minority parents as well as questionnaire for S4 bilingual pupils were used to gather evidence of societal awareness on the benefits of Mother Tongue learning and teaching. Both quantitative and qualitative methods have been used for data collection; qualitative methods, such as, ethnographic observation and interviews were used to gather 'naturally-occurring data'. No prior hypothesis was envisaged in collection of data and more attention was given in the meaning and function of social action. Marshall and Rossman (1989), in reference to qualitative research traditions such as ethnography, cognitive anthropology and symbolic interactionism, commented that:

Each assumes that systematic inquiry must occur in a natural setting rather than an artificially constrained one such as an experiment.

(Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p10)

Agar (1986), in favour of qualitative investigation argued that:

Hypothesis, measurement, samples and instruments are the wrong guidelines. Instead, you need to learn about a world you understand by encountering it firsthand and making sense out of it.

(Agar, 1986, p12)

Although such apparent dismissal of quantitative methods or issues of validity and reliability to qualitative measures are questionable, it gives field researchers a hold on observational studies. Observation allows researchers to see things in context. Kirk and Miller(1986) defined qualitative research as:

..an empirical, socially located phenomenon, defined by its own history, not simply a residual grab-bag comprising all things that are "not quantitative".

(Kirk et al, 1986, p10)

Generic Issues in Qualitative Evaluation

Marsden (1990) suggested that qualitative evaluations should be:

- . naturalistic
- . heuristic
- . holistic
- . inductive, interpretative
- . dynamic, continuous and
- . participative

The qualitative evaluation of the study was carefully designed and executed to conform, within bounds of practicality, to these characteristics. Thus, for example, the evaluation would be **naturalistic** as it would attempt to describe as it happened; **heuristic** in the sense that the evaluation approach was subject to continuous redefinition as our knowledge of the project and its outcomes were increasing; **holistic** in the sense that the planning ensured that detailed attention was given to different dimensions, including its contexts, participants of first, second and third generation and so on; **inductive** in that no pre-determined expectations were imposed on the observation data collection and interviews; **interpretative** in that the approach to the evaluation was built up through description of significant facts. The evaluation approach has been **participative** in the sense it has been ethnographic and **observed over a period of time** and finally interviewed.

5.5 Observation and Ethnographic Interviews

The Context

Participant observation is regarded by social scientists such as, Marsden (1999); Nichols (1991); Bell (1993) as a highly effective method of in-depth study in smaller communities. Marsden and Oakley (1990) also stated that:

Qualitative analysis, by its very nature, implies a continuous and close contact with the participants of a programme in their own environment...Qualitative evaluation demands participation and commitment of the evaluator and discourages detachment and distance.

(Marsden & Oakley, 1990, p34)

The main purpose of the ethnographic observation and interviews was to investigate parental understanding and attitude towards their children's Mother Tongue learning and what they considered to be the effects of non-Mother Tongue learning. The reason why interview was used instead of a questionnaire was to give the issue a personal touch to gain a depth of response that questionnaire responses may not give. The respondents were given freedom to talk about the topic, its significance to them within a structured framework. The commitment of the interviewer ensured openness and fluidity in the conversation. Constant self-control and care was taken by the interviewer to avoid biases or leading questions.

The researcher, being a member of the Ethnic Minority Communities as well as having lived in Scotland for a considerable period of time, was able to conduct an in-depth ethnographic study of the subject under consideration rather than providing 'snapshots' which might show the surface reality only. This procedure enabled the researcher to understand the background behind interviewees' thoughts and experiences and highlights a theme or themes across interviews. No hypothesis was formulated prior to observation and in order to avoid prejudices an objective role and the observer maintained 'naturalistic generalisation' epistemology. In experiential learning the researcher organise the study to maximise the opportunity 'for naturalistic generalisation'. (Stake & Trumbull, 1982).

Cohen and Manion (1989) in their account, drew attention to the criticisms that are conventionally made against participant observation method in qualitative research:

The accounts that typically emerge from participant observation are often described as subjective, biased, impressionistic, idiosyncratic and lacking in the precise quantifiable measures that are the hallmark of survey research and experimentation.

(Cohen et al, 1989, p129)

The function of ethnographic or participant observation research is to sophisticate the experiential understanding of a social phenomenon. A social phenomena that is ongoing and continually evolving, an objectively interpretable checklist or quantitative analysis would not be sufficient. Complete avoidance of misinterpretation and the reliability of subjective interpretation could never be beyond doubt but the value of such a technique can be supplemented by the process of 'triangulation' and the emerging patterns in non-interventionist observation would help readers to understand a constantly evolving social phenomena that requires further inquiry and investigation. Moreover, ethnographic interviews were conducted as the culmination of many years of observation and acquaintances with these families. In most instances, children have been observed going through nursery school to higher education and through different processes of settling in periods along with their parents in a new environment.

Why Case Studies?

In its wider context, a case study can draw from naturalistic, phenomenological, ethnographic and holistic research methods. Each of these strategies has particular advantages and disadvantages, depending upon conditions such as the type of research question, the control an investigator has over actual behavioural events, and the focus on contemporary as opposed to historical phenomena.

In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context.

Thus, we study a case when it itself is of very special interest. Case study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances.

(Stake, 1995, pXI)

The traditional view of case studies being used only for exploratory research has been challenged by recent views (Yin, 1994) that case studies can be descriptive as well as exploratory. The research question: 'What do ethnic minority parents think about the needs, usage and future of community languages in Scotland' was, of course, exploratory in nature. In addition, the goal of these ethnographic case studies was 'generalising' not 'particularising'. The investigation aimed for an analytic generalisation such that these characteristics would result in a 'common concern' relating to the case studies. Schramm (1971) points out that the central purpose in a case study is to illuminate a decision or a set of decisions, as to why they are taken, how they were implemented and with what result. According to Yin (1994) a case study is:

...an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within it's real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.

(Yin, 1994, p11)

The case study interviews for this research were open-ended in nature in which respondents were asked for not only the facts but also their insight and opinion pertaining to a matter; they were, in addition, directed and focused in the sense that the conversation followed a certain set of predetermined questions in line with case study protocols (op. cit.).

Most case studies are about human affairs. These human affairs should be reported and interpreted through the eyes of specific interviewees, and well informed respondents can provide important insight into a situation.

(Yin, 1994, p85)

The purpose of these case studies were to identify relevant interactive processes involved in rearing and educating children from ethnic minority's points of view, as well as identifying key issues of their concerns. These case studies were hoped to provide a three-dimensional picture and patterns of influences between family, culture and language; micro-political issues, such as minority and majority languages and relationships between the two.

The Interviews

Interviews were conducted in participants' preferred language, English or the appropriate community language. Closed questions provided the structure and focus in the interview and they were balanced by relevant open questions to allow some freedom to the interviewee. In broad terms each interview was conducted around the following questions.

- . Is it necessary for ethnic minority children to learn Mother Tongue? Why? What are the levels of their children's bilingualism?
- . What impacts do non-Mother Tongue learning have on family life?
- . What are the consequences of language loss?
- . Who are responsible for minority language maintenance? Where?
- . The evaluation of current situation and the way forward

The relevant information from the interviews were collected following the criteria of qualitative evaluation methodology and an interpretative and analytical approach was used in evaluating the interviews. The evaluation was systematised in sections addressing parents' responses towards the benefits of Mother Tongue learning, their children's levels of bilingualism, what effects non-Mother Tongue teaching have on immediate, extended family and on children, whose responsibility it is to teach Mother Tongue, family or community and concluding comments. A pattern of thoughts was extracted from parents' responses and interpreted for research findings.

5.6 The Questionnaire Design

The local council questionnaire (see appendix, A) was divided into three sections; policy, implementation, and curriculum development. The first section dealt with questions on council policy and policy statements specifically related to Mother Tongue teaching and multicultural education; the second section included questions on implementation of Mother Tongue policy both in mainstream and voluntary sectors; the third section dealt with the development of teaching materials for Mother Tongue teaching and teacher education. Part of the questions were concerned with gathering factual information while others were designed to gain an insight into values and beliefs, which together, helped assess the approaches and attitudes of local councils in the maintenance - or otherwise - of Mother Tongue bilingualism for their ethnic minority pupils.

Attitudes, as described by Atkinson (1993), are favourable or unfavourable evaluation of and reaction to people, events, ideas, objects or phenomena and consist of cognitive, affective and behavioural components. For example, in studying negative attitudes towards minority people social psychologists would make distinction between stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination. The cognitive component in negative stereotypes could be the negative beliefs or perceptions about a group; the affective component would be the feelings about the group and the behavioural component could be manifested in negative actions towards the group or community. The questions in the council questionnaire were aimed at understanding the councils' attitude or beliefs, feelings and actions towards promotion or lack of it in minority communities' first language.

The *rationale* behind the structured postal questionnaire was primarily to collect data that is in some way measurable using appropriate recording processes, such as spreadsheets, tables and graphs. It also aimed to extract patterns from the responses to compare and contrast councils' attitude towards Mother Tongue teaching for ethnic minority pupils. Moreover, according to the 1991 census data, while most members of the total population of Ethnic Minorities in Scotland were living in Glasgow (60%), Edinburgh (27%), Dundee (9%) and Aberdeen (8.5%), a relatively small but linguistically diverse Ethnic Minority Communities were living as far away as in Shetland, Western Isles and Orkney. Hence, all of the thirty two councils were contacted to establish the extent of societal awareness of ethnic minority pupils' linguistic and cultural needs. As Goleman (1996) pointed out in relation to pupils' educational and emotional development that 'self awareness' is the keystone of emotional intelligence. An inability to notice true feelings leaves us at other people's mercy. This would seem appropriate then to answer following questions as raised in chapter one,

- . to what extent are the ethnic minority pupils in schools aware of their ethnicity?
- . to what extent does the present school curriculum reflect the nature of a multicultural society?
- . to what extent is the Mother Tongue teaching providing a stronger sense of ethnic identity or self awareness.

To explore possible answers to the last question, community language materials were analysed in Chapter 3. In this factual and opinion survey, careful consideration was given to question wording, and sampling before piloting the questionnaires. Ambiguity, imprecision and assumptions were avoided in structuring questions and the questionnaires were piloted to test completion time, layout, clear instructions and other relevant comments.

5.7 Quantitative Analysis

Multiple sources of evidence on effects of Mother Tongue learning, attitudes of local education authorities, parents needed convergence and an attempt was made to provide a clear, comprehensive statistical analysis of G.C.S.E and S.E.B results of a group of bilingual pupils. Community languages, especially Urdu, are being taught in four secondary schools in Glasgow. The main objective in collecting SEB and GCSE results from such schools was to include document analysis in the development of 'converging lines of enquiry' (Yin, p92), a process of triangulation. Early researches (Saer, 1923), using normative intelligence tests in English, showed children from linguistic minorities scored lower, on average, than those of monolingual children. McLaughlin (1985) pointed out the fact that bilingual children were disadvantaged in the testing process itself and more recently Cummins (1997) suggested that specific advantages may 'accrue' from bilingualism in childhood. The statistical analysis of bilingual pupils' attainment in Mother Tongue, English, French and German would be an scientific attempt to highlight bilingual pupils' performance in first language and to make a quantitative measurement of their relative performances in second and consequent languages to find any interdependence.

5.8 Sampling

The first criterion in choosing number of cases in this study was to maximise the understanding of the research topic; the role of Mother Tongue learning in fulfilling academic, social and emotional needs for ethnic minority pupils. Efforts have been made to select a representative sample in case studies and quantitative measurements. Time and access were the restricting factors in some parts of the study; the following sub-sections attempt to explain the selection criteria for obtaining representative samples.

Sampling for ethnographic interviews

For ethnographic interviews, a total of twelve families were randomly chosen from Bengali, Cantonese, Mandarin, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu speaking Ethnic Minority Communities living in and around Glasgow, with varying socio-economic backgrounds. The selection criteria for the families were:

- . they were first or second generation fluent speakers of one or more of the above languages
- . their children had attended or were attending Mother Tongue lessons in mainstream classes, or in community classes or not at all.

The purpose of the interview was explained beforehand over telephone and in person, interview time was mentioned and permission was sought for tape recording. The interviews were recorded, as Silverman (1993) pointed out that,

...audio-recordings are an increasingly important part of qualitative research. Transcripts of such recordings, based on standardised conventions, provide an excellent record of 'naturally.

(Silverman, 1993, p10)

The Parent interviews were recorded and transcribed and the transcripts were shown to the interviewees as promised, in order to correct any factual error.

Sampling for Statistical Measurements

To create the sample for quantitative measurements on bilingual pupils' performance in Mother Tongue, English, French and German, Standard Grade results for 1995-97 of over 1,300 S4 pupils' from four secondary schools in Glasgow and Edinburgh with high percentage of ethnic minority pupils were analysed. From these records, 504 pupils were identified as bilinguals, with pupils' names providing keys to their ethnicity; GCSE records as well as the relevant teachers' co-operation were used to create this sample.

Bilingual pupils were of Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi and Chinese origin. Of the total figure of 504, most pupils were of Pakistani origin and Urdu was largely represented in the G.C.S.E results. Moreover, only Urdu was offered as community language in three of the targeted schools while only one secondary school in Scotland offered Chinese, Bengali and Punjabi along with Urdu in their curriculum. 66% of bilingual pupils in school 1 were identified as Urdu/Panjabi speakers.

- . The objectives in collecting primary data - SEB and GCSE results from four Scottish schools - percentage of bilingual pupils have attempted GCSE Mother Tongue examination in their own school?
- . what percentage of bilingual pupils took French, German, Spanish and Latin?
- . what percentage of bilingual pupils didn't do any language other than English?
- . comparison of results in English of bilingual pupils who have done Mother Tongue and those who have not done Mother Tongue.
- . total number of pupils in six levels of attainment in English, Mother Tongue, French etc.
- . statistical comparisons between English and M.T.
 - a) per school, is there a common pattern?
 - b) per group of schools
- . are there any relationship, comparability between L1 and L2?
- . if yes, then of what nature? Are language skills transferable?
- . is there a gender issue?
- . comparisons between English, French or German results and M. T., French, German results. What theme is emerging from such comparative study?
- . bilingual pupils' strengths and weaknesses in reading, writing and speaking skills in English.

- . strengths and weaknesses in four skills in M.T
- . any comparability ?
- . percentage of attainments amongst external candidates.

Sampling for Pupil Questionnaire

According to the Strathclyde Regional Council survey on school roll (SRC,1995), 1870 bilingual pupils were attending secondary schools and 2805 youngsters were attending primary schools in Glasgow only.

The objective in selecting 15 to 16 year olds in attendance of S4 classes were twofold; this is the focus group for comparison between L1 and L2 results and these pupils have been attending schools where community languages have been in the school curriculum. The primary focus of this part of the investigation was to find information as to what extent Mother Tongue was being used in and out of school by the second and third generation immigrants as well as the purpose was to monitor the situation. information as to what extent Mother Tongue was being used in and out of school by the second and third generation immigrants as well as the purpose was to monitor the situation.

Primary data was collected from S4 bilingual pupils attending four secondary schools in Glasgow and Edinburgh in areas of high percentage of ethnic minority population, as well as selected community classes in and around Glasgow. Reliability of the data could be confirmed by the sampling procedure if repeated.

With a reasoned estimation on 1995 bilingual pupils role in secondary sector, the sampling fraction would be 12%. Each bilingual pupil in S4 classes had a non-zero probability of being included in the sample. Moreover, pupils in community sampling fraction would be 12%. Each bilingual pupil in S4 classes had a non-zero probability of being included in the sample. Moreover, pupils in community classes were randomly selected at a low frequency from a number of weekend classes teaching Chinese, Urdu, Hindi and Bengali. 240 questionnaires were distributed and 209 were returned.

The questionnaire was designed to elicit information on each pupil's awareness of their bilingual background, degree of abilities in reading and writing, extent of usage of Mother Tongue with family and outside family, their opinion on stages of Mother Tongue learning, their countries of origin and sex. The questionnaire was piloted and adjustments were made with regard to rephrasing questions and adding additional question and the

questionnaires were handed to the headteachers who delegated the task of distributing and collecting data to the modern languages department. Of the 240 questionnaires distributed amongst schools and community classes, 209 were returned, giving a return rate of 87%. Each answer was given a code number and tabulated in a spreadsheet (see appendix B) before examining their frequencies.

5.9 Checking and Correcting Raw Data

The raw data received from the council questionnaires were recorded on a spreadsheet and the responses were coded 1-8 depending on the number of options offered under each question. Options were mentioned on the initial spreadsheet for fuller comprehension of the dimensions. There were twenty eight questions in three sections.

The data were later transferred on a more concise spreadsheet (included in appendices B) where councils were indicated by letters and individual answers by their respective codes.

Raw data for statistical comparisons was collected and entered on spreadsheets under eleven coded variables from C1 to C11. From the original 504 bilingual pupil results, 476 pupil results were sought for quantitative analysis, as the other 28 pupil results from one particular school did not include their Mother Tongue results due to unavailability. Each coded variable signified a corresponding value;

Table 5.1: Distribution of values to examination result variables

Variables	Values
Pupil number.	1 - 476
Year	5, 6, 7 (1995, 1996, 1997)
School identification	1 - 4
Sex	0 = Male; 1 = Female
Mother Tongue grades	1 - 6 = levels of attainment;
	7 = completed but no attainment
	8 = has done another language
	9 = absent

English	1 - 6 = levels of attainment; (1, 2 = credit; 3,4 = general; 5,6 = foundation)
	9 = absent
French	1 to 6 as above; 7 = completed but no grade 8 = has done another language; 9 = absent
German	1 to 6 as above; 7 = completed but no grade 8 = has done another language; 9 = absent
English Reading	1 to 6 = levels of attainment; 9 = absent
English Writing	1 to 6 = levels of attainment; 9 = absent
English Speaking	1 to 6 = levels of attainment; 9 = absent

Findings: 504 results

Minitab (Ryan & Joiner, 1997) statistical package was chosen for its flexibility for analysis of the survey data. Frequency distribution, simples and complex tables, charts, diagrams were prepared and Chi-square methodology was used to test the hypothesis on interdependence between variables.

The relevant information was collected from case studies following the criteria of qualitative evaluation methodology. Hamilton (1981) distinguished between logical and psychological accounts of a phenomenon. Quantitative subjectivity (Scriven, 1972) or naturalistic generalisations refer to understanding that are private or that are located within the realm of private knowledge.

People learn by receiving generalisation from people's experiences. Naturalistic generalisations are different from explicated or propositional generalisations. Stake (1995) defined naturalistic generalisation as

...conclusions arrived at through personal engagement in life's affairs or by vicarious experience so well constructed that the person feels as if it happened to themselves.

(Stake, 1995, p85)

The critical task in qualitative research is not to include all data but to discover essences and reveal those essences with sufficient context. The key issues in this qualitative research were to find a pattern of beliefs, feelings and behaviour found among the sample groups.

5.10 Reliability and Validity

Two central concepts in any discussion of rigour in scientific research are reliability and validity. Hammersley (1990) in defining validity mentioned that:

By validity, I mean truth: interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers.

(Hammersley, 1990, p57)

Reliability of observation, as Kirk and Miller (1985) pointed out, can be achieved through the similarities of observations within the same time period, but as society is in flux, the concept of replication could be problematic. Triangulation of methods i.e. the interviews as well as observation may add some synchronic reliability to such qualitative techniques and the respondent validation process may add reliability to interviews. Participant observation was simultaneously combined with document analysis, respondent and informant interviewing, and introspection. Such method of triangulation has been used to overcome partial views of the phenomenon and present something like a complete picture.

The problem of subjectivity or biases in observation or qualitative enquiry may be tried to be overcome through similarity of observation within the same time period. The temptation to jump into a conclusion from a few pieces of evidence could be checked through assumptions that no relationship exists between variables or an additional, intervening variable remains unexplored. In statistical comparison between Mother Tongue and English results the absence of linguistic minority pupils' socio-economic factors did not appear as an intervening variable, as comparisons were not made between different pupils' achievements but between the same pupil's results in different subjects.

In the context of the Case Studies, the *Construct Validity* was addressed by first determining the purpose and objective of the study, then designing the framework where both open and closed questions were balanced with the need to allow spontaneity and expressions of emotional attachment to particular incidences or experiences of the interviewees. This was mixed with the techniques of questioning allowing the primary focus of the interviews to be maintained in all cases. The *Reliability* issues were also addressed during the design of the case study, by taking meticulous care in the selection of the

interviewees from a representative cross-section of the socio-demographic spread within the minority ethnic communities, and by the design of the questionnaires for the formal section of the interviews and the documentation for the entire process and methodology connected with the interviews.

5.11 Study Visits

Study visits to Tower Hamlets and Italy were thought of as an extra dimension to literature search in the area of bilingualism. The visits provided first hand experience of how other parts of U.K and Europe were dealing with minority language pupils in giving access to the national curriculum. Whether minority languages were enjoying equal status as other heritage languages or how and to what level Mother Tongue were used in developing pupils' concepts.

In order to produce a rigorous and disciplined work on the subject of validity of minority Mother Tongue learning all the stakeholders, pupils, parents and local authorities for education were consulted following the principles of quantitative and qualitative methodology and the findings would help obtain a clear picture of the expectations and; aspirations of the service providers and users.

The next chapter focuses on the policies and practices of the Local Unitary Authorities in Scotland in maintenance of minority Mother Tongues in schools. As discussed in chapter 4, proponents of Mother Tongue bilingualism supported the additive rather than subtractive or deficit model of bilingualism for best interests of the ethnic minority pupils in education. The following chapter explores the types of bilingualism that Local Authorities are supporting in Scotland.

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO LOCAL COUNCILS

6.1 Introduction

The following analysis is based on a 66% return rate of the Mother Tongue questionnaire distributed to thirty two local Councils in Scotland in 1997. The aim of the questionnaire was to collate attitudinal and factual information regarding Mother Tongue teaching and learning from a representative in each Local Authority. The primary objective in this enquiry was to explore how Local Authorities are supporting and developing minority pupils' first language and whether L1 acquisition takes place in an additive or subtractive form. The indirect purpose in this survey was to explore whether the Councils regarded minority Mother Tongue teaching as a liability or as an inclusive measure.

The first section of this chapter records and groups the responses received on each Council's multicultural policies and policy statements regarding bilingualism and Mother Tongue teaching, forms of policy implementation, curriculum development and teacher training. The second section includes analysis and interpretation of the findings to cast light on whether Councils regard ethnic minority languages as additive to pupils' overall education or only as a means of teaching the lingua franca.

6.2 Summary

Table 6.1: Local Authorities' policy relating to multicultural education

Response	Number of Councils
Policy and a Policy statement exists	16
No Policy	3
Policy in preparation	2

The majority of the responding Councils had a policy or policy statement, most having adopted it from Strathclyde Regional policy on equal opportunities. The two Councils who responded as having a policy in preparation were an urban and urban/rural Councils with significant ethnic minority population, and Councils with no policy were mostly rural Councils.

Table 6.2: The year in which the policy was initiated:

	Year		
	1986 -1989	1990 - 1993	1994 - 1996
No. of Authorities	3	6	3

Year	Council	Year	Council
1975	Western Isles	1991	Dundee City
1986	North Lanarkshire	1992	West Lothian, Aberdeenshire
1988	Clackmannanshire	1994	Angus (From Tayside)
1989	Edinburgh	1995	East Renfrewshire
1990	Moray, Fife, Stirling, Aberdeen City	1996	North Ayrshire

Table 6.3: What prompted the Council to formulate its Multicultural Policy

Reasons offered by the responding Councils (several with multiple choices)	Number
"in response to demand from the community involved"	10
"improvement of learning of English"	9
"promotion of bilingualism"	8
"improved communication between the child and parent"	6
"maintain cultural ties"	6

Additional reasons, offered by the responding Councils were as follows:

- . 'challenging racism & prejudices',
- . 'promoting equal opportunities',
- . 'encourage understanding of issues and attitudes',
- . 'responding to statutory obligations',
- . 'seen by Council as a necessity'.

Question 3: No demand from the ethnic minority communities as well as absence of ethnic minorities in the area were given by 10% of the responding Councils as reasons for not having any multicultural, anti-racist policy.

Table 6.4: Whether the Councils have any specific policy on ethnic minority languages

Category	% of respondents
have a policy	5
do not have a policy	14
in preparation	1
failed to respond	2

The only Council responded as preparing a specific policy on Mother Tongue teaching was located in an urban/rural area whereas the urban Council with the highest percentage of ethnic minorities did not have any specific policy on Mother Tongue teaching although minority languages are taught there during school hours.

Table 6.5: Overall Aims of such Policy

Aims	Number of Councils (several with multiple choices)
"for access to Mother Tongue courses"	6
"improving language skills"	5
"to understand roots"	5
"equal opportunities in terms of languages"	8
Other	2

Recognition of equal status to all languages, certification and racial awareness were identified as the additional reasons for having a multicultural policy. Most responding urban Councils pointed out that equal opportunities in terms of languages was the common reason for having a policy.

Method of Implementation: Teaching Mother Tongue in Mainstream Schools

Table 6.6: Whether mainstream Mother Tongue classes were held during school hours

Category	Number of Councils
yes (including 10% Gaelic)	5
no	14
did not respond	3

Two urban Councils and one urban/rural Council reported to be holding community language classes during school hours and two Councils with a significant presence of ethnic minority pupils did not have any community languages in the school curriculum.

Table 6.7: Which Mother Tongues are taught in mainstream schools during school hours

Mother Tongue	Number/Name of Councils
Cantonese	2 (Fife, Glasgow)
Urdu	3 (Edinburgh, Fife, Glasgow)
Punjabi	1 (Glasgow)

Fig 6.8: The number of schools where Mother Tongue classes are offered

Council	Number of Schools	Mother Tongue
Fife	5	Urdu and Cantonese
Edinburgh	2	Urdu
Glasgow	4	Urdu, Punjabi, Chinese

Table 6.9: Departments responsible for Mother Tongue classes

Department	% of respondents
Modern languages	2
E.S.L / Learning Support	1

Table 6.10: At which level these languages are offered to ethnic minority pupils

Level	Council
Lower Primary	Edinburgh
Upper Primary	Edinburgh
1 --6 Year	Edinburgh; Fife
Standard Grades, G.C.S.E & A level	Edinburgh; Fife; Glasgow

Table 6.11: Number of community language teachers employed in mainstream schools

Part time	10
Full time	5

Only one urban Council employed full time community language teachers and most of these teachers were teachers of Urdu. The remaining ten teachers were working, in some cases after school hours, on part time basis in an urban and urban/rural Council.

Table 6.12: Source of teachers' salaries (including Gaelic)

Source	Number of Councils
Local Authority	5

Table 6.13: The level to which Mother Tongue lessons are taught

Council	Level
Fife	S grade, GCSE grade
Edinburgh	A level, Higher, GCSE, A level

Table 6.14: Initiatives Councils would propose with additional funding

Possible Initiatives	Number of Councils
Availability of minority languages in the curriculum for both indigenous and minority pupils	5
Development of mother tongue bilingualism in the primary sector	4
Promotion and retention of cultural awareness and identity	6

Four urban and one urban/rural Council have indicated intentions to make minority languages in the curriculum available to both indigenous and minority pupils. One of the urban Councils is already offering Urdu as a standard grade subject to both ethnic minority and majority pupils.

Form of implementation: Assisting voluntary / community classes with teaching of Mother Tongue

Table 6.15: Number of voluntary classes in the local authority area

Council	Number
Edinburgh	46
Aberdeen city	4
Fife	5
Falkirk	4
N Ayrshire	1
N Lanarkshire	5
Perth and Kinross	1
West Lothian	2

With the exception of Edinburgh, none of the above Councils, including Fife, have a specific Mother Tongue policy (see responses to question 4A). Fife, interestingly, is one of the only two Councils who are offering Mother Tongue classes in mainstream, whereas East Renfrewshire and Dundee City, while claiming to have specific minority language policies, neither hold mainstream nor community classes in Mother Tongue. It may be argued that no less than six Councils from the above list (without a minority language policy) have, through their practice of outside maintenance, marginalised the minority children's first language, thereby supporting a subtractive form of bilingualism.

Table 6.16: Languages taught in these classes

Language taught	By how many Councils	Where
Arabic	4	Aberdeen City, Edinburgh
		N. Lanarkshire, Glasgow
Cantonese	7	Aberdeen city, Clackmannanshire
		Edinburgh, Falkirk, Fife
		N. Ayrshire, Glasgow
Hindi	3	Edinburgh, Fife, Glasgow
Urdu	8	East Renfrewshire
		Edinburgh, Falkirk, Fife
		N. Lanarkshire, Glasgow
		Perth & Kinross, West Lothian
Bengali	4	Aberdeen; Edinburgh, Fife, Glasgow
Mandarin	1	Edinburgh
Punjabi	3	Edinburgh; Fife, Glasgow
Others		
Italian	1	Aberdeen City
Malay	1	Edinburgh
Gaelic	1	Western Isles

Urdu closely followed by Cantonese are the two community languages taught in most Councils with significant presence of ethnic minority pupils in schools. Although the number of Indians living in Scotland is almost similar to the number of Chinese, diversity of languages spoken by the Indians have characterised the distribution in the above table.

Table 6.17: Timing and frequency of the community language classes

When classes are held	% of respondents
Weekends	11
After school hours	6

Three urban Councils who are offering community languages during school hours are also offering them during weekends. The reason being, only a handful of schools mainly

in areas with high percentage of ethnic minority pupils areas are providing minority language classes in the curriculum and the pupils who live outside such concentrated areas are not receiving similar facilities.

Table 6.18: Type of accommodation provided for community language classes

Type of accommodation	% of respondents
Free accommodation	43
Paid accommodation	10
Subsidised accommodation	10

Table 6.19: Compatibility with mainstream classes

Compatible or not	Number of Councils
Yes	9
No	3
Don't know	1

One urban/rural Council responded in both yes and no segments indicating differences in quality of accommodations and one urban Council has left the matter to the communities concerned.

Table 6.20: The origin of such initiatives

Origin	Number of Councils
Ethnic minorities	12
Local authority	5
Other	2

Community Education Service, Urban Aid Funding and Hong Kong Government were mentioned by three urban/rural Councils as other initiators for these classes. Hong Kong Government and Urban Aid have been providing their support for last 7 years.

Table 6.21: Type of helps Offered to Community run classes

Help provided	Number of Councils
Assisting with printing costs	24
Occasional grant	5
Better teaching material	8
Improving teacher quality	6
Other (Raise profile)	3

Providing activities for children; Tutor support (Fife), in service from Moray House (joint training as Central Region), U.K Federation of Chinese schools organise training at national level annually, Local Head Teachers had an induction training for new teachers every beginning of session (Stirling), funding for part- time teachers (N.Lanarkshire) were mentioned as other forms of help provided for weekend and after school hours community language classes

Curriculum development:

Table 6. 22: Whether any initiative been taken to develop teaching materials in Mother Tongue

Initiative taken or not	Number of Councils
Yes (1, 2)	7
No	12
Under consideration	2

- (1) Clackmannanshire, Fife, Western Isles, East Renfrewshire, West Dunbartonshire, Falkirk, Stirling
- (2) Where initiatives have been taken, they have been in the following languages: Cantonese, Urdu, Chinese, Punjabi, Arabic, Gaelic and Japanese (at East Renfrewshire)..

Table 6.23: On the reasons for developing Mother Tongue material, the responses were as follows:

Reasons for developing Mother Tongue material	%
To teach minority languages as modern languages in mainstream/weekend classes	14 (4/21)
To use as a medium for ESL	19 (4/21)
As a transition from home to school	14 (3/21)

Question 24: On any research carried out in the area of Mother Tongue teaching, the responses were as follows:

Research carried out or not	%
Yes	29 (6/21)
Under consideration	14 (3/21)
No	43 (9/21)

Yes: Falkirk, Midlothian, Fife, Western Isles, West Dunbartonshire, and Stirling

Areas of research: Racial equality - Fife (1991); Bilingualism - Mid Lothian; In conjunction with CERES - Falkirk; The need for mother tongue learning - Stirling.

Under consideration - West Lothian, East Renfrewshire, North Lanarkshire

Teacher Training

Question 25: On provisions for ethnic minority graduates to train as community language teachers, the responses were as follows:

Yes: (2 Councils: Fife - Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali, Cantonese
Falkirk - RSA Diploma, Urdu and Cantonese)

Question 26: On provisions for in-service training in Mother Tongue teaching

Yes: (6 Councils - Fife, Falkirk, Stirling, West Dunbartonshire, Edinburgh and Western Isles)

Question 27: On provision for initial training, only Falkirk responded affirmatively

Question 28: On provision for training for bilingual education

Yes: 8 Councils (Fife, Angus, East Renfrewshire, Dundee city, Orkney,
West Dunbartonshire, Falkirk and Western Isles)

Under consideration: Midlothian

The following were mentioned under the nature of training in bilingual education:

- . Teaching bilingual pupils and assisting their needs
- . consultation and awareness raising training
- . an integral part of bilingual support as well as employing bilingual and home link teachers

6.3 Interpretation of the findings:

The questionnaire was sent to the Education Directors of all thirty two Councils in January 1997. Twenty two Councils (66%) responded, with ten Councils choosing not to (despite repeated requests). The total number of non-responses had been 34%. Lack of responses from Local Councils with significant presence of ethnic minorities, had limited the scope of obtaining an overall view of the state of Mother Tongue bilingualism in Scotland. However, the following interpretation was based on the analysis of a significant, 66% return of the questionnaire.

6.4 Policy on provision for ethnic minorities or multicultural education.

50% of the respondent local Councils recorded the existence of a policy although most Councils have inherited their multicultural policy from Strathclyde regional policy on equal opportunities. 9% recorded the lack of a policy and 3% recorded that a policy was in preparation. Lack of demand, and ethnic minorities being widely dispersed, were given as the reasons for not having a policy by the non-policy holders. Lack of consultation amongst the dispersed immigrant community may result in unawareness of their linguistic rights and consequently in lack of demand. It also appears that minority communities were at different stages of settling down in their new environment and the dispersed communities were in greater need of absorbing the host culture and language.

The reason for having a policy was identified as a response to demands from the ethnic minorities and secondly improvement of learning of English. Of the Councils possessing a policy, 31% (5 out of 16) recorded having a specific policy on the teaching of ethnic minority languages; these Councils are Aberdeenshire, East Renfrewshire, Dundee City, Edinburgh, Western Isles (Gaelic only) and 3% (Fife) recorded a policy under preparation. Equal opportunities in terms of languages have been recorded as the main aim of such a policy and the importance of children's language diversity as a rich resource for supporting the development of their linguistic skills as a second reason.

6.5 Implementation in mainstream schools during school hours.

15% of the responding Councils are offering Mother Tongue classes (non-Gaelic) in mainstream schools during school hours. These Councils are Fife, Edinburgh and Glasgow. This figure differs from the number of the authorities (31%) recorded having a specific policy on teaching of Mother Tongue. This figure accords a disparity between existence of policy and implementation; the existence of a formal multicultural/ antiracist policy, including or excluding statements on Mother Tongue, did not ensure a positive response to Mother Tongue teaching and learning in maintained sectors.

Urdu followed by Chinese and Panjabi have been recorded as the taught minority languages in mainstream. Most of these classes were listed as being under the management of 'modern languages', although some related to ESL department. No Council listed these classes under a separate community languages department.

6.6 Levels of examinations

In most cases, in mainstream and community run classes, languages were taught from a beginner's level up to GCSE level and in all mainstream classes up to 'A' level. Requirements of internal periodic speaking assessments have made community run classes to prepare pupils for Standard Grade examination in Urdu. Only four responding Councils (18%) are providing Mother Tongue learning to A-level.

On the question of how additional funding would be spent, 30% of responding Councils have recorded promotion and retention of cultural awareness and identity as the area for

future development. Availability of minority languages in the curriculum for both indigenous and minority pupils (20%) as second reason and development of Mother Tongue bilingualism in the primary sector (15%) as the other reason. Inclusion of Baseline Assessment in Primary 1 as a statutory requirement for all 4-5 year olds would necessitate Mother Tongue bilingualism as an important factor in all multicultural, multiracial primary schools. Minority children's first language skills ought to be recorded as a predictor of success in later learning.

It is interesting to note that 35% of the responding Councils felt that no expansion of present facilities was necessary. The objective in this part of the questionnaire, coupled with the questions on reasons for a policy, was to ascertain whether local Councils are supporting an additive or a subtractive form of bilingualism. An additive form of bilingualism, as Lambert (1980) explained, is where the addition of a second language does not replace or displace the first language or culture. Maintenance of Mother Tongue bilingualism and certification in community languages identified by three Councils with mainstream Mother Tongue classes, have shown consistency in answering question 13 that additional funding would be spent on development of Mother Tongue bilingualism in primary sector and minority languages will be available to both indigenous and minority pupils. Both Councils have shown commitment to additive bilingualism. A large number (67%) of responding Councils do not have any specific minority language policy although providing help in the running of community classes on an ad hoc basis. Teaching and learning of minority Mother Tongue outside formal education may add lower status and lack of realisation of cognitive and academic importance of Mother Tongue in acquisition of second language in ethnic minority pupils' minds.

6.7 Assisting voluntary classes.

An analysis of the data in this section showed a discrepancy between the number of authorities having a policy on Mother Tongue teaching and in preparation (29%, or 6 Councils out of 21) and the number of authorities providing assistance to voluntary classes (43%) that is some 14% more than those with specific Mother Tongue policy. This would suggest that many authorities provide general and informal support to Mother Tongue teaching, even if they have not devised a specific policy.

The maximum number of voluntary Mother Tongue classes have been recorded as 44 in one unitary Council (Edinburgh) and the languages taught are Arabic, Cantonese, Hindi Urdu, Bengali, Mandarin, Punjabi and Malay. Large number of weekend classes demonstrate, on one hand, Councils' awareness of diversity of languages that exist in their respective areas, and the acceptance, on the other hand, of marginalisation of minority languages; thus:

- . Most community classes were started by community initiatives
- . 45% of the responding Councils provide free accommodation for weekend and after school classes.
- . In 40% of responding Councils Mother Tongue classes are held on weekends while 25% are held after school hours.
- . 25% of the responding Councils had made arrangements to develop Mother Tongue materials to use as a medium for teaching ESL.

With the exception of two Councils, all the responding Councils were encouraging learning of Mother Tongue, mainly through weekend classes, by providing occasional grants (45% of the respondents), free accommodation (45%) and other forms of assistance to the ethnic minorities. Ethnic minority communities were cited by 55% of the responding Councils as the initiators in starting, organising, applying to local Councils for resources and maintaining their weekend and afternoon classes. These situation contrasts sharply with provision and resourcing of the other languages included in the foreign language curriculum and automatically affects the status of community languages in comparison with those already established within the foreign language curriculum.

Since the inception of a National Curriculum in Britain, in 1988, the Harris Report (1990; chapter 15) pointed out that there are several areas where bilingual pupils make up between 10% to 50% of the pupil population and this should be seen within a national framework. The report recommended 19 languages to be taught as foreign languages. With a paradoxical terminology, eight official languages of the European Union and Arabic, Bengali, Gujerati, Hindi, Japanese, Mandarin or Cantonese Chinese, Modern Hebrew, Punjabi, Russian, Turkish and Urdu were recommended to be taught as foreign languages in the national curriculum. In practice, the most widely taught foreign languages remain French, German, and Spanish and the numbers of pupils taking foreign

language examinations (available in G. C. S. E and A level) in their home language remain relatively insignificant (as discussed in Chapter 6).

Of the 12 Councils declared to have no specific policy on the teaching of minority languages, 8 are supporting teaching of minority languages in community classes. This type of marginalisation will inevitably confer low status to these languages and will have a roll-on effect on the number of pupils taking such examinations. Moreover, the findings of a survey (1999) on the quality of teaching and learning in supplementary classes in England revealed a poor quality in minority Mother Tongues teaching. The Ofsted report (1999) on raising the attainment of minority ethnic pupils mentioned that:

...the LEA commissioned an independent researcher to assess the quality of supplementary school provision in the borough. The findings suggest that in a number of supplementary schools, provision was 'academically poor'.

(Ofsted, 1999, p51)

This type of marginalisation will inevitably confer low status to these languages and will have a roll-on effect on the number of pupils taking such examinations.

6.8 Curricular development

Eight out of twenty two (36%) responding Councils have taken initiatives in developing teaching materials for Mother Tongue teaching for ethnic minority pupils and the languages are mainly Urdu, Punjabi, Chinese and other languages are Arabic and Japanese (East Renfrewshire). The levels of curriculum development, as can be envisaged from the duration of the initiatives, have been mainly to the beginner's level. The reason for Mother Tongue material development have been identified by most responding Councils as to use these materials as a medium for teaching English as a second language, whereas, teaching minority languages as modern languages coming close as the second reason. This reaffirms the previous finding from section 11A that the Councils are aiming for subtractive form of Mother Tongue bilingualism rather than acknowledging Mother Tongue teaching as additive to ethnic minority pupils' socio-cognitive development.

Four Councils who specified teaching of minority languages as the main reason for material development have undertaken or completed research work in issues like,

bilingualism, need for Mother Tongue teaching and related areas. Similarly topics like E.S.L teaching, racial equality have been mentioned by Councils which are developing Mother Tongue material for teaching of English only.

6.9 Community languages Teacher Training

Only three Councils (Fife, Glasgow and Falkirk) out of twenty two responding Councils are providing provisions for ethnic minority graduates to train as community language teachers and the languages, as mentioned by Fife, are Urdu, Cantonese, Hindi,, Punjabi and Bengali. only one Council (Edinburgh) has stated that they have this provision under consideration because of 'S' grade. On the other hand nine Councils, individually or in association with neighbouring Council, are claiming to be providing training in bilingual education and the nature of these training were specified as teaching bilingual pupils in mainstream schools, assisting bilingual pupils' needs, awareness raising, part of bilingual support in-service courses etc. 27% (six) of the responding authorities have made provision for in-service training in Mother Tongue teaching and only one unitary authority was providing training for teachers in bilingual support.

This chapter revealed that the unitary authorities in Scotland have adopted different approaches to meeting the linguistic and cultural needs of the ethnic minority pupils and that such approaches have been influenced by the particular Council's view as to whether Mother Tongue learning has an additive or subtractive value. The provision for bilingual children in a significant number of Councils were found to be limited to the support of learning English as a second language with community language teaching left mainly outside the mainstream schools. Most responding Councils, however, recognised the need to value linguistic and cultural diversity in reference to equity and social inclusion but languages of minority ethnic communities in Scotland have not yet been recognised for its' cognitive, personal and social values. In order to explore the interdependence between first and second language learning the following chapter deals with statistical comparisons between Mother Tongue, English and French examination results for a sample of bilingual pupils in and around Glasgow and Edinburgh.

CHAPTER 7: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE GCSE AND STANDARD GRADE RESULTS IN MOTHER TONGUE AND ENGLISH IN FOUR SCOTTISH SCHOOLS 1995—1997

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this part of the quantitative investigation was to ascertain whether a relationship exists between first and second language attainments for a sample of 504 bilingual pupils from four selected secondary schools in Scotland over the period of 1995-97. The cohort group in the present longitudinal study was the fourth year bilingual pupils in four secondary schools in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Pupils in the sample group attended schools where Mother Tongue was offered in their school curriculum and consequently showed similarity in forming the cohort group. The following statistical analysis addressed the questions raised in chapter five

7.2 Description of L1 and L2 examinations

With the introduction of community languages in school curriculum in 1987 in selected schools in Scotland, the General Certificate in Secondary Education community language syllabus has been followed due to the fact that Standard Grade courses in Asian languages were not available at that time. Community languages were studied as modern foreign languages and the aim of the syllabus was to develop candidates' language abilities, listening, speaking, reading and writing in Urdu, Panjabi, Chinese, Bengali, Hindi and other ethnic minority languages. The objective of the examinations was to test candidates' understanding of target languages in their written and spoken form. The examination papers are divided into basic and higher levels and there are four basic and four higher papers each aimed at assessing candidates' listening, reading, writing and speaking abilities.

The scheme of assessment in G.C.S.E includes eight papers: basic and higher listening comprehension, basic and higher reading comprehension, basic and higher oral and basic and higher writing. The duration of assessments lasts for approximately seven minutes for the oral to an hour for higher writing. The University of London Examinations & Assessment Council supply each Scottish Examination centre with a cassette containing recorded messages for both Papers 1 and 2. The recording contains a number of items of varying lengths, spoken by native speakers of the target languages. In paper 2 some

questions are set to test pupils' higher level listening skills of identifying, selecting, categorising, summarising and so on. In papers 3 and 4 pupils will be expected to read and comprehend texts of varying lengths written in target scripts and to answer questions either in target language or English.. In papers 5 and 6 candidates will be taking part in role plays of varying lengths, guided conversation and general conversation. Candidates doing paper 5 only will not take part in general conversation and role play containing five tasks. In paper seven candidates will write answers of three questions on writing a letter, writing a message of 25 - 30 words and filling in a form or compiling a list. In paper 8 candidates will be asked to write a descriptive account of a personal experience, a report of an event and a formal or informal letter in target scripts.

G.C.S.E examination results are graded from A to F. On the other hand English, French, German examinations results collected from Scottish Standard Grade examinations, are graded from 1 to 6. In order to be able to compare two sets of results G.C.S.E results were transferred from A to F into 1 to 6 on the basis of percentages or range of marks in each grade.

The content of question papers in French and German are similar to G.C.S.E but there are three papers assessing candidates' ability in speaking, listening and reading. Writing is optional in Standard Grade French and German Examinations. Standard Grade English writing paper includes personal, imaginative and functional writing as indicated in the 5-14 English language curriculum. Reading paper includes reading for information, to reflect on the writer's ideas and craft and awareness of genre. Speaking paper assesses pupil's ability in talking about experiences, feelings and opinions, conveying information, instructions and directions, in pair and group discussions.

7.3 Editing and coding data

From the initial 504 bilingual pupils, 476 were coded for analysis by Minitab statistical package (Ryan and Joiner, 1997). The remaining 28 pupils' results were not included in the statistical analysis as some relevant parts of their Standard Grade results were unavailable. The missing data in 476 pupils' results are shown in Table 7.1

Table 7.1: Missing Data

Category	Missing Entries
Pupil No	0
Year	0
School No	0
Sex	0
Mother Tongue	56
English	0
French	55
German	52
Eng. Read	0
Eng. Writ.	0
Eng. Spk.	0

The reasons for the missing 56 entries in Mother Tongue were primarily that these bilingual pupils are non Urdu speakers and may have sat G.C.S.E examinations in Hindi, Panjabi, Chinese or Bengali from weekend classes. Their results are not shown in the mainstream school record as they are regarded as external candidates. Moreover only one school from four sample schools offered the above languages in addition to Urdu; the rest offered Urdu only. The near resemblance of the other missing entries in French and German with Mother Tongue also suggest that some bilingual pupils have sat English only or they have taken their Mother Tongue examinations outside their school.

In theory, level of acquisition in first language influence levels of acquisition in second and subsequent languages. A Chi-square analysis was undertaken to ascertain the relationship between Mother Tongue (C5) and English (C6) results over three years to observe dependency or lack of it between languages.

7.4 Hypothesis of Homogeneity and Independence

The present longitudinal cohort study began with samples of defined population of S4 bilingual pupils. Among the overall sample of 476 bilingual pupils 231 (49%) attended Mother Tongue classes in their mainstream schools and 188 (33%) attended modern European languages. Only 16 (3%) bilingual pupils from the whole cohort group did both European and Asian modern languages.

The hypothesis of homogeneity in this context corresponded to hypothesising that there is strong probability of attaining similar grades in C5 or Mother Tongue (L1) and C6 or English (L2). Chi-square package was used to test H_0 (null hypothesis) that Mother Tongue and English are independent versus H_1 (hypothesis one) that they are interdependent.

The null hypothesis would be rejected if and only if the observed value of χ^2 is greater than tabulated value of χ^2 . The objective in this survey was to investigate whether any association existed between variables denoting bilingual pupils' attainments in Mother Tongue, English, French, German; English Reading, Writing and Speaking and Mother Tongue reading, writing and speaking. The first step in examining relationships between two of the variables, C5 and C6, was to cross tabulate the sample values of the variables.

Cross-tabulation of C51 (Mother Tongue results) and C52 (English results) was made. A 3 X 3 Contingency Table corresponding to the three grades (credit, general, foundation) in English and Mother Tongue were constructed from the initial data Table for 476 bilingual pupils (see appendix 7). From the data Table 200 pupils who sat both Standard grade and G.C.S.E examinations in English and Mother Tongue respectively were identified. For the purpose of comparison, both results were graded from 1-6 (G.C.S.E results are normally graded from A to F) in order to be able to make a 3 X 3 contingency Table.

From the initial 231 bilingual pupils who attended Mother Tongue classes in their school. 200 candidates' results have been tabulated in the 3x3 Contingency Table as the other 31 pupils either have attained 7 i.e. completed but did not attained a grade or were marked absent in the examination. The MINITAB (Ryan & Joiner, 1997) package calculated the data as shown in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Frequency of Mother Tongue and English results

		English			
		Credit	General	Foundation	ALL
Mother Tongue	Credit	12	76	9	97
	General	8	47	20	75
	Foundation	0	14	14	28
	ALL	20	137	43	200

In Table 7.2 the columns correspond to the number of bilingual pupils' attainment in English and the rows indicate the same number of pupils' attainment in Mother Tongue. The Table shows that 97 bilingual pupils attained credit grade in Mother Tongue and 20 from the same group achieved credit in English; 8 pupils who received credit grades in Mother Tongue but received general grades in English and so forth. To develop a test of the strength of the association between variables Mother Tongue and English, the null hypothesis that the above two variables are not associated in the population sample was made. On the basis of this null hypothesis the expected frequencies in the cells of the Contingency Table were observed in the MINITAB as 24. 78. The p- value was less than 0. 001. The tabulated value of x^2 was 9. 49. In this examination the observed value was found to be much greater than the tabulated value. Therefore the null hypothesis (H_0) at 5% level was rejected which implied that the scores on Mother Tongue were related with the scores on English. As the p value was less than 0.001, it indicated that there was a very strong relationship between L1 and L2 results.

Among the overall sample of 476 bilingual pupils 231 or 49% attended Mother Tongue classes in their mainstream schools, 188 or 33% attended modern European languages. Only 16 or 3% bilingual pupils from the cohort group did both European and Asian modern languages. Strong interdependence or homogeneity was also found in Mother Tongue and modern European language grades of these pupils.

Table 7.3: Frequency of Mother Tongue and French results

		French			
		Credit	General	Foundation	All
Mother Tongue	Credit	0	7	2	9
	General	1	5	1	7
	Foundation	0	0	0	0
	All	1	12	3	16

Table 7.3 shows that 9 bilingual pupils attained Credit grade in Mother Tongue, 7 of whom attained General level and 2 Foundation level in French. The Table also shows that of the 7 pupils who attained General level in Mother Tongue, 5 attained General level, 1 Foundation level and 1 Credit level in French. To develop a test of the strength of the association between Mother Tongue and French the null hypothesis that the above two variables are not associated in the population sample was made. On the basis of this null hypothesis the observed value of Chi-Square was found as 286.290 and the p-value was almost zero. So the null hypothesis could be rejected at 5% level. Moreover, the observed value was found to be much greater than the tabulated value. Therefore, the null hypothesis at 5% level was rejected which implied that the scores on Mother Tongue were related with the scores on French. As the p value was almost zero, it indicated that there was a very strong relationship between L1 and L3 results.

The percentage of male (0) and female (1) pupils' grades in Mother Tongue were reproduced in Table 7.4.

Table 7. 4: The percentage of male and female pupils' achievement in Mother Tongue examinations

Mother Tongue (%)	Sex	
	Male	Female
Credit	42.27	57.73
General	46.05	53.95
Foundation	24.75	50.49

Table 7.4 shows the distribution of male and female pupils securing credit, general and foundation grades in Mother Tongue examinations. Out of initial 476 bilingual pupils 231

were recorded to have attended Mother Tongue classes in their school during school hours. 58% of girls compared to 42% of boys achieved credit grades in their Mother Tongues and the similar trend exists in general grade where 54% of girls achieved general grades compared to 46% of boys. 9% of boys compared to 4% of girls were recorded absent in the examination and all girls who sat G.C.S.E examination in Mother Tongues passed whereas less than 1% of boys did not achieve any grade.

The investigation also shows that around 50% of bilingual pupils did not do Mother Tongue as school subject even when it was offered in their school curriculum. Time Table clashes, lack of guidance in this subject area when third year subjects choices were made, whether Mother Tongue would be of any use for further and higher education, low status of ethnic minority languages could have been the determinant factors in their decision making. Moreover, Urdu, Chinese and other minority languages were not in the subject requirement list in colleges and University prospectuses apart from one university (Aberdeen) in Scotland. These reasons were identified by teachers and pupils as reasons for low intake in Mother Tongue courses.

Table 7.5: Grades attained by male and female pupils in Mother Tongue examination.

Grades in	Sex		
	0 (male)	1 (female)	All
1	24	36	60
2	17	20	37
3	14	21	35
4	21	20	41
5	19	5	24
6	6	1	7
7	1	0	1

Table 7.6: Contingency Table for Gender and Mother Tongue

M-T (p)	Gender		
	Male	Female	All
Credit	41	56	97
General	35	41	76
Foundation	25	6	31
All	101	103	204

Tables 7.5 and 7.6 show overall better performance by girls. In particular significantly less number of girls are achieving foundation level marks in Mother Tongue than boys.

Mother Tongue intake in each school

Among 82 bilingual pupils in school 1, 49 pupils or 60% attended mainstream Mother Tongue classes and 31% European modern languages in year 1995 to 1997. The number of bilingual pupils taking up Mother Tongue as modern languages initially increased from 64% to 75% but dropped to 38% in year 1997. The similar trend was found in School 2 where initial increase from 18% to 44% was recorded in first two sessions but a significant decline from 44% to 11% was found in year 1997.

A different trend was found in school 4 where 43% of whole school population was from Asian background. There 53% of bilingual pupils were recorded to have done Mother Tongue in school from year 1995 to 1997. The intake in Mother Tongue initially increased from 44% in 1995 to 53% in year 1996 and remained the same in 1997. The following 3x3 contingency Tables show the percentage distribution of overall pupils' attainment in English reading, writing and speaking.

Table 7.7: Grades attained by sample bilingual pupils in Standard Grades English reading, writing and speaking papers.

Grades attained	English Reading (%)	English Writing (%)	English Sp. (%)
Credit	18.04	13.88	24.68
General	55.22	69.63	58.23
Foundation	26.74	16.49	17.10

Table 7.7 shows that bilingual pupils have done better in English speaking than in reading and writing. About 25% of bilingual pupils achieved credit grade in English speaking compared to 18% in reading and about 14% in writing. Around 70% achieved general grade in English writing and 58% in speaking. Bilingual pupils have achieved better grades in speaking than writing and largest number of bilingual pupils are at foundation level in English reading.

Bilingual pupils, on the other hand are doing better in reading than writing in Mother Tongue examinations for reading comprehension, inferencing and analysing can be explored further in subsequent research. Only 24% bilingual pupils achieved credit grades in Mother Tongue writing paper whereas 56% of pupils achieved credit grades in speaking and reading papers. Bilingual pupils' listening skills in Mother Tongue are considerably higher than their speaking, reading and writing abilities. Around 72% of bilingual pupils achieved credit grades in listening paper. This figure may correspond with number of pupils using Mother Tongue to converse with parents and relations. In the pupil questionnaire analysis 56% of bilingual pupils have self-assessed as reasonably competent speakers of Mother Tongue and this confidence is reflected in securing high score in speaking and listening examinations.

7.5 Problems in systematic sampling for comparative analysis between groups with and without community language learning.

Some lists in statistical investigation can be naturally grouped into sections according to the presence or absence of given attributes. Lack of information on whether pupils have sat Mother Tongue examinations outside schools have caused difficulty in separating the sample group into two clear groups; with Mother Tongue and without Mother Tongue. In all sample schools some pupils have been known, as indicated by community language teachers, to have taken G.C.S.E qualifications in community languages from weekend and after school classes but their results were not shown in their respective mainstream school results.

In such circumstances comparison group of pupils with and without Mother Tongue learning would not be possible.

An attempt was, however, made to investigate if any pattern of achievement in English was observable between groups with Mother Tongue and without Mother Tongue learning on the basis of available data. It needs to be emphasised that this particular finding would not be conclusive as two groups were not separated using pure statistical methods, as explained above.

Figure 7.1: Distribution of English results for bilingual pupils learning Mother Tongue within mainstream schools:

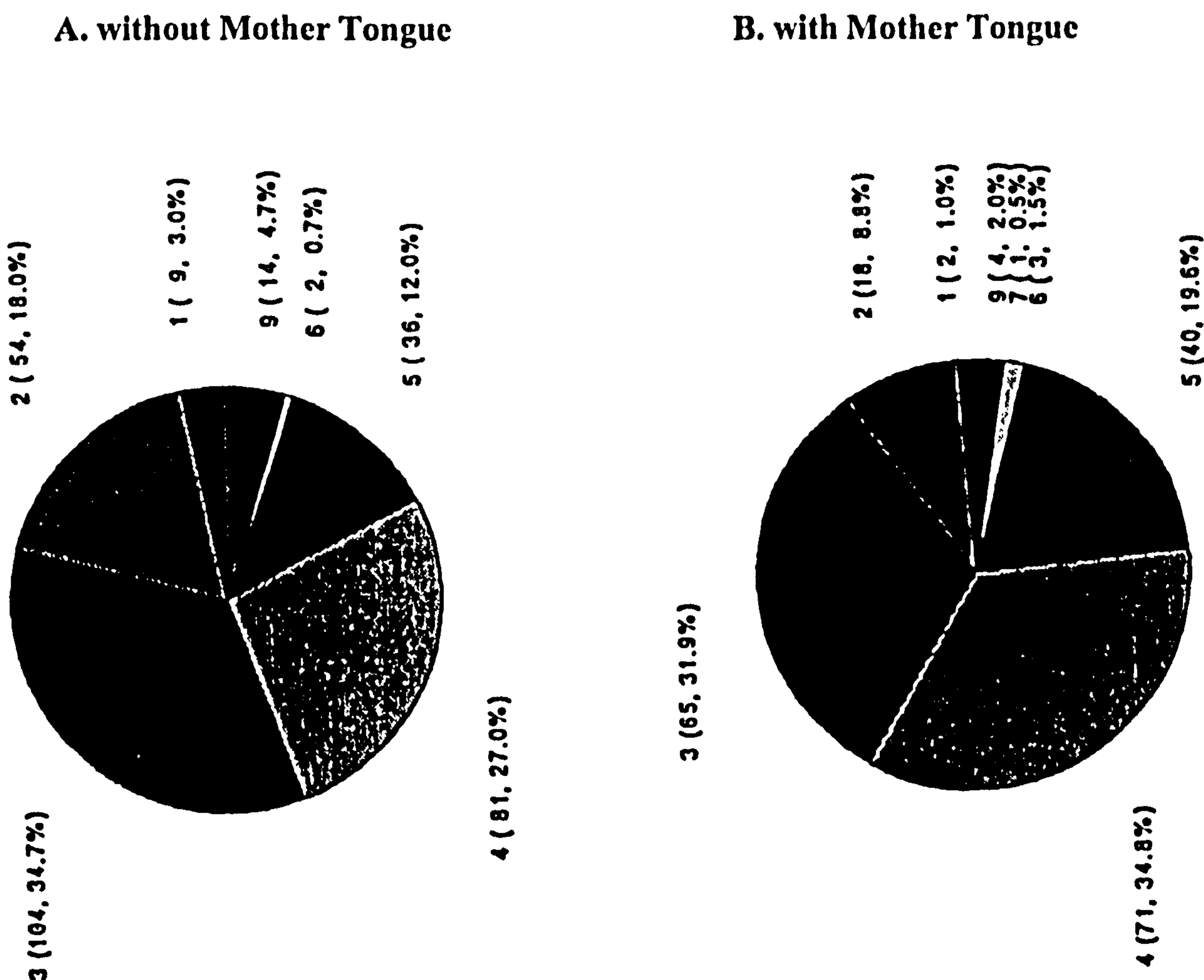


Figure 7.1 analysis showed significant differences in bilingual pupils achievement in English. Pupils with formal Mother Tongue learning at school are showing better attendance in English Standard Grade examination. 5% of bilingual pupils without M-T were recorded absent in English examination than 2% with M-T. On the other hand, more bilingual pupils (3%) without recorded Mother Tongue results have achieved grade 1 in English compared to 1% of the pupils with Mother Tongue results. Another important observable difference has been in the number of bilingual pupils attaining foundation level

marks in English. Thirteen per cent of bilingual pupils with M-T learning achieved foundation level marks in English as against twenty one per cent pupils without Mother Tongue learning. A significant difference of 8% was observed in this comparison.

In order to minimise errors in selecting comparative groups; with and without Mother Tongue learning, it is imperative that external candidates' community language results are recorded in pupils' respective schools. Availability of access for researchers to local education data base with such results would help find a clear picture on the influence or lack of it in second language competence and facilitate a long term first language policy for bilingual pupils.

7. 6 Summary of Main Findings

The findings as described in the previous sections can be summarised as follows:

- . Strong statistical interdependence is found in Mother Tongue and English results predicting that bilingual pupils with higher level of achievement in Mother Tongue would attain similar grades in English.
- . Strong interdependence or homogeneity is also found in L1 and L3 (French and German) results.
- . Bilingual girls are doing marginally better in Mother Tongue examinations at credit and general levels than bilingual boys and significantly less girls than boys are present at the foundation level.
- . Nearly half of the bilingual pupils are not attending Mother Tongue courses even when it is offered in their schools.
- . Most bilingual pupils attended Standard Grade English examination attained foundation marks in English reading paper.
- . Bilingual pupils are getting better grades in speaking than in writing papers in English.
- . Bilingual pupils are getting better grades in reading than writing in Mother Tongue examination. Almost three-quarters of candidates attended Mother Tongue examination attained credit marks in listening.

CHAPTER 8: FINDINGS FROM BILINGUAL PUPILS' QUESTIONNAIRE

8.1 Introduction

The immediate aim of pupil questionnaire analysis was to measure the extent of bilingual pupils' Mother Tongue use in all linguistic areas at home and school and their opinion on stages or classes for Mother Tongue learning. 206 Pupils from two secondary schools and five community-run weekend and mosque-based Urdu classes were included in this survey.

Table 8.1: Number of responses

School Identifier	Questionnaires Issued	Questionnaires Returned	% Response Rate
1	20	16	80
2	20	16	80
3	14	10	71
4	75	68	91
5	30	27	90
6	35	29	83
7	45	40	89
Total	239	206	86

The pupil questionnaire (appendix, 6a) consisted of twelve multiple choice questions. Respondents ticked in multiple answer categories on each question. Responses were bar-coded and tabulated in a spreadsheet (appendix, 6b). A variable allocation document, consisting of what variable numbers have been allocated to each item in a question, was produced.

Table 8.2: Coding frame

9	no answer
Q. 1	1-6
2	1-5
3	1-4
4	1-3
5	1-5
6	1-6

- 7 1-6
- 8 1-6
- 9 0-1 0= No, 1= Yes
- 10 0-1 0= No, 1= Yes
- 11 0-1 0= Outside U.K, 1=U.K
- 12 1-2 1= Male, 2= Female

In rows in the tabulated statistics number 9 represented missing data as respondents chose not to answer that particular question. Questionnaires were distributed amongst community language teachers and the target age level was 14-16. All the respondents in the focus group were attending Mother Tongue classes in and outside mainstream schools.

Table 8.3: Gender distribution of respondents

	Number	%
Male	76	37
Female	128	62
Missing	2	1

Tabulated statistics on responses to twelve questions were used to analyse bilingual pupils' attitude to their first language and their opinion about its stage for learning. The analysis shows following results.

60% of the respondents, all of Pakistani origin, in Glasgow, East Dunbartonshire and Renfrewshire claimed that their parents speak Urdu and 31% Punjabi. 91% of the total respondents commented on Urdu reading and writing abilities as Punjabi is regarded as a dialect in Pakistan. Future research is needed to find a demographic picture of minority Mother Tongues from community classes as other minority language speakers are not receiving Mother Tongue learning facilities in schools.

8.2 Tabulated Statistics

Question 1: What Asian Language(s) do your parents speak at home in Scotland?

Language	(%) Response
Punjabi	29
Both Punjabi and Urdu	37
Urdu only	25
Urdu and English	1

On question how good you are in this language (Q.2) 43% claimed that they were able to speak, read and write, 31% to speak and read a little, 5% to understand but not to speak.

Question 3: How well do you speak this language?

Identifier	Explanation	No. of Responses	% of Responses
1	A few words	2	1
2	A few sentences	6	3
3	Reasonably well	96	47
4	Fluently	88	43

47% of bilingual pupils assessed themselves as reasonably well and 43% as competent speakers of Mother Tongue. This figure has been collected from pupils who are attending community language classes. A similar survey in schools where presence of ethnic minority pupils are less would be beneficial in getting a conclusive view on Mother Tongue bilingualism in Scotland.

Q 4: Where did you learn to speak this language

Where	No. of responses	%
Home	138	67
Home and School	23	11
Asian countries	24	12
School only	6	3

On question of where did you learn this language (Q.4), 67% said to have learnt it at home, the rest mentioned home, school, Asian countries or both home and school or home and Asian countries.

Q 5: How often do you speak this language with your parents?

How often	No. of responses	%
All the time	84	41
Most of the time	76	37
When prompted	16	8
Never	6	3

In question 4, 3% of the pupils were claiming to be learning Mother Tongue in school only; this figure interestingly corresponds with the number pupils claiming to be not using their Mother Tongue with their parents.

Q 6: How often do you speak this language with your brothers and sisters?

How often	No. of responses	%
Never	28	14
Sometimes and when prompted	76	37
Most of the time and all the time	90	44

There are significantly more pupils who never use Mother Tongue with their siblings than those who never use Mother Tongue with their parents. This increase in language shift may be the outcome of increasing pressures of assimilation and social conformance.

Q7: Which language(s) do you speak with friends from same Asian background?

Which language	No. of responses	%
Mother Tongue only	3	1
Both Mother Tongue and English	89	43
Mostly English	8	33
English only	30	15

43% of the responders are using both Mother Tongue and English with their Asian friends and are claiming to be bilingual speakers. This figure corresponds exactly to the number of fluent Mother Tongue speakers (43%) in Question 3.

Q 8: Do you think Asian languages should be taught in

Learning Stage	% Response
Early primary	30
Primary 6/7	24
Secondary	30

To the question where Asian languages would be taught, majority responses response (30%) have been at early secondary level. The next popular stages are primary 6/7 (24%) and secondary 1/2 (21%). 7% of the respondents expressed interest at multiple levels, in the lower stages (Early primary, P6/7 and S1/2) and upper stages S1/2 and upper secondary. 9% expressed interest in learning Mother Tongue outside school and 2% both in secondary and outside school.

8.3 Supplementary Classes

39% of respondents are attending evening or weekend classes; part of them could be attending both. Arlington and Central Mosque, community run weekend classes in West End of Glasgow and Boclair academy (East Dunbartonshire) have been mentioned as the places where supplementary classes being held.

8.4 Place of Birth

69% of pupils responded to the questionnaire were born in UK Majority of the responders born in UK identified secondary schools as their preferred places for learning Mother Tongue and 39% of UK born pupils preferred S1 and S2 followed by 35% pupils in upper secondary.

Of pupils born outside UK 58% pupils expressed wishes to learn Mother Tongue in S1 and S2, followed by 23% in upper primary. Therefore, for both groups secondary school compared to primary appears to be the preferred places for learning Mother Tongue. this attitude may have been influenced by the present trend in teaching and learning of minority languages in Scotland.

8.5 Gender Distribution

60% of responders were female. Fuller (1980) in her study of black girls in a London secondary school found that girls tend to show strong identification with the black community and their roles as young women within it. The similar trend is observed in Glasgow as compared to boys more girls are studying their Mother Tongue in school and in supplementary classes.

Communication skills in Mother Tongue are equally distributed at 'reasonably well' level amongst boys and girls but boys appear to be more confident in assessing themselves as fluent speakers. Compared to 40% of girls, 46% of boys are claiming to be fluent Mother Tongue speakers.

8.6 Summary of Findings

- . Majorities of the participants in community language classes are Punjabi and Urdu speakers.
- . A significant number of pupils (36%) are not able to write their Mother Tongues even when they were attending Mother Tongue classes.
- . Only 3% have claimed to have learnt to speak their home language at school
- . More pupils use Mother Tongue with their parents than with their siblings.
- . Only 1% of the responding bilingual pupils are using Mother Tongue only with their friends from same Asian background
- . Majority of the respondents have expressed wishes to learn Mother Tongue either in early primary or secondary classes rather than in primary 6/7
- . Nearly two thirds of the respondents were born in UK and both UK born and those born outside preferred secondary schools to be the place for learning their Mother Tongue.
- . More girls than boys are attending Mother Tongue classes.

Chapter 9: Longitudinal Case Studies

9.1 Introduction

The case studies undertaken in this research have been selected as the result of a close relationship between the researcher and the interviewees, maintained over several years while settling down together as immigrants or second generation Asians in Scotland. As a consequence families with middle class values and perspectives predominated the selected study group, with the exception of three families (25%) where the main bread earners in the family were unskilled manual workers. The main aim of these ethnographic interviews was to assess whether the experiences of ethnic minority parents, as gained through their respective child rearing processes, have evolved into a consistent pattern with regard to Mother Tongue learning. The following areas were covered in the semi-structured interviews:

- . maintenance of cultural heritage
- . consequences of first language maintenance and language loss
- . responsibility for language maintenance

All language minority speaking parents, first or second generation, can be expected to have experienced certain difficulties in raising their children in an English dominant society. To identify if there were any common factors, a total of ten families were selected from Bengali, Chinese, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu speaking ethnic minority communities, given the criteria of choice as described earlier in this section. The selection criteria for the families were that

- . they were first or second generation fluent speakers of one or more of the above languages.
- . their children had attended or were attending Mother Tongue lessons in mainstream classes, or in community classes or not at all.
- . the process of development could be traced over a reasonable period of time spent in mainstream schools here in Scotland.

9.2 Family A: Both parents Urdu speaking

Background

Family "A" lives in East Dumbartonshire. Both parents speak Urdu, come from Pakistan, but prior to arriving in Glasgow they lived in Kenya for some years. Their first child started schooling in a local primary school in Kenya where English was the medium of instructions. On their arrival in Glasgow in the mid 80's, they settled in an area with a relatively high concentration of ethnic minorities (the Education Department's Primary Roll document puts this figure at 39% for 1995); the catchment primary school was attended by a significant number of Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali and Chinese speaking pupils, however, the school did not have any bilingual staff.

Since late 1980's, Mr A, a mechanical engineer, not having found suitable employment in Scotland, has been working abroad on short term foreign contracts. Mrs A, a supply teacher, has taken an active role in Urdu related activities in and around Glasgow. She is a member of several ethnic minority committees and enthusiastic about raising heritage language awareness amongst minority members. Mrs A maintains close links with Urdu projects and other Urdu related developments in Scotland. She has been taking the children on regular visits to her home country, and regularly provides hospitality to relatives, friends and friends of friends from Pakistan.

Family A has three children - aged 23, 20 and 19 respectively. A1 and A2 are attending a local University in Glasgow and A3 is at college. A1 was born in Pakistan, went to Kenya with her parents at the age of three and enrolled in an English medium local primary school there when she was five. Before arriving in Glasgow at the age of eleven, A1 spent a few years in Pakistan where she started her primary education in Urdu. She learned to read and write in Urdu at an age appropriate level. As her mother recalls, A1 settled in well in her elementary school. She received English lessons three times a week, and these lessons were given bilingually. So, the child knew little spoken English when she started her primary education in Glasgow, a situation that presented relatively little trauma to her due to the high concentration of Urdu/Punjabi speaking pupils in the school allowing her to converse and play in L1.

Bilingualism

By the end of her first year in primary school, A1 was speaking more English than Urdu. But Mrs A made a habit of speaking Urdu to all of her three children which helped A1 to stay interested in her Mother Tongue. She spoke Urdu with her brothers and parents, occasionally changing to English after brothers started attending school. A1's communicative Urdu reflects her early start and attitude towards greater awareness of her ethnicity. She seems to be consciously committed to learning and maintaining Urdu.

A1 went to a catchment secondary school where 34% pupils were from ethnic minority background, mostly from Pakistani origin. The school had monolingual ESL (English as a Second Language) teachers who provided additional help in acquiring English without any reference or assistance in their Mother Tongue. Despite some ethnic minority parental demands for inclusion of community languages in the school curriculum, for which Mrs A collected a petition personally, community languages were not made available in the catchment secondary school. Parents had to rely on weekend classes for Mother Tongue instruction and mosques and temples for religious lessons. They also had an additional responsibility of taking their examination candidates to another secondary school outside their catchment area for their G. C. S. E. and 'A' level examinations - an arrangement which was less than satisfactory, according to Mrs A. Mrs. A continued teaching Urdu reading and writing to A1 at home and when she was in Fifth year in school she sat G.C.S.E. Urdu Examination and secured a grade A pass. Mrs. A proudly stated that,

My daughter can speak, read and write and she has passed her GCSE and 'A' level examinations in Urdu and she has done well. She is taking a lot of interest in poetry and she is quite fascinated with the (Urdu) literature.

(Mrs A)

Younger Children

A2 and A3 were born in Kenya but spent their infancy in Pakistan; they came to Glasgow at the age of 6 and 5 respectively. They started their primary education in the same school where their sister had been. Since her first child did not face much difficulty in picking up English in school, Mrs A felt assured in maintaining Urdu at home with her younger children. However all three children by this time were bilingual, using both languages in

the same context with their parents and between each other. In some ways Mrs A thinks that A1 was more interested in Urdu than A2 and A3 as she was a full bilingual. A2 and A3 can speak 'perfect Mother Tongue' due to Mrs A's tenacious efforts at home but they can not write Urdu. They tend to speak Urdu to parents and other siblings when prompted. Mrs. A believes her younger children suffered more as they came here without any secure understanding of their own culture, traditions and language. They had difficulties at school, suffered racial abuses. Mrs. A worked hard to keep them motivated and stay in education.

Weekend classes

Weekend journeys to the community classes did not prove to be of much success as the children did not like the class atmosphere there. Lack of 'expertise' and 'proper system' were mentioned as the reasons for non-continuation of learning Mother Tongue in these classes. As Mrs A explained:

I tried to teach them Urdu in a community school, they did not like the atmosphere there ...because of the lack of expertise in the school and also it was not a proper system, moreover, five days a week they used to go to school, so they did not like the idea of going in the weekends.

(Mrs A.)

Mrs A believes, if Urdu was offered in her children's secondary school then they would have learnt to read and write Urdu satisfactorily but 'but now the time has gone'. Still, Mrs A is optimistic that all her children would maintain their Mother Tongue, in both oral and literal forms, to the next generation as they know how 'important' it is for them.

Values and Beliefs

Mrs A believes that for meaningful, fluent communication between parents and children Mother Tongue is vital; if the children visit their country of origin, they will be able to communicate with their grandparents and other relatives, compare and contrast values of two cultures, make decisions for themselves, thus widening the scope for both learning and enjoyment. Reading skills will give them additional advantage in this process. Children would be able to write to their grandparents, read magazines, newspapers, shop and street signs, feel at home with their origin and past. Mrs. A expressed concern over many ethnic

minority parents who do not speak English, and their children are learning and speaking English all the time. She feels that these parents will not be able to communicate fully to their children about their aspirations, expectations and cultural values.

...they won't learn any moral values from their parents and I think they won't learn a lot and slowly they will forget about their culture, they will adopt a new culture;they will lose their identity. I think that would be a disadvantage

(Mrs A)

Notwithstanding such a discouraging view, Mrs A is hopeful that the authorities would realise how important these languages are to the ethnic minorities and consequently give them a 'proper place' in the school curriculum. She reminded us in her interview that the ethnic minority population is increasing and.....

....our demands can only be met through the authorities and if the education authorities realise that the parents are suffering and they are suffering because of the lack of resources and if they support their cause then I think we will benefit from it.

(Mrs. A)

Mrs. A expressed relief that despite not having any formal education in Urdu, A2 and A3 have remained interested in the language, and she cited the family atmosphere as the reason. They listen to Bhangra and Hindi music, watch Urdu and Hindi films, visit the Mela (Asian fete), and accompany their mother to cultural and religious festivals. It is A1, however, admits Mrs A., who is showing more positive attitude and greater awareness of her ethnic origin. She is hopeful that all her children will teach their children Urdu in the future and maintain their ethnic culture.

Responsibility for first language provision

Mrs A believes that the number of Urdu speakers in Scotland are relatively large, and that most minority parents recognise the importance of Mother Tongue learning in their daily lives. Ethnic minority pupils, she believes, ought to learn their language in schools and the authorities should engage in increasing the number of schools that offer minority languages. The rising number of pupils in community run classes indicate that parents consider the learning of Mother Tongue for their children as very important. They are trying hard to maintain family values in their children and the authorities should help them in this area. Mrs A feels that the loss of language will precipitate a loss of culture and identity. Many ethnic parents are 'suffering' as their children are becoming alienated from their own culture and consequently from their own families. Co-operation and support is needed from the wider society to maintain cohesion in bringing up children from the ethnic minority communities.

9.3 Family B: Mother Second Generation Asian

Background

Mrs B, a professional with a Ph.D. in a science subject is a second generation Asian living in the suburbs of Glasgow with her family and parents. Her two children aged 10 and 8 are attending a local primary school where there is a significant presence of ethnic minority children but there is no bilingual staff in the school. The older child is learning Urdu from a tutor outside school hours but the younger one is not, as Mrs B points out,

'his English is not up-to scratch yet and his handwriting is not all that proficient.'

(Mrs B)

Mrs B came to Glasgow at the age of three with her parents and other siblings when the immigrant population were trying hard to get a foothold in this new environment. Mrs B did not attend any nursery school as her younger siblings were demanding more time and attention from her mother. However, at the age of five she started attending a local primary school with very little spoken English. Her parents and grandparents spoke only Punjabi at home, although they wanted Mrs B to be literate in Urdu, they could not fulfil their aspirations due to lack of facilities. Mrs B later commented that:

When we moved to Glasgow.. there were not many Asians where we were. My mother doesn't drive so it's not that she could have taken us further afield; even if she was aware. As far as I know there weren't anything (Urdu classes) available locally - no, there was nothing available. If there had been something available my mother would have sent me.

(Mrs B)

Lack of opportunities

Mrs B did not get the opportunity to study Urdu formally at any stage of her educational career, although Punjabi was used at home and in her ethnic community and she is fully conversant in her home language. She learnt French in her local secondary school but pointed out that she would have taken up Urdu if it was made available in her secondary school.

I think I still feel as if I missed out that and most of the language. I know I almost learnt on my own because at home we actually spoke Punjabi, that's my Mother Tongue. I was very keen to speak Urdu because it is such a beautiful language. So I taught myself Urdu, even though it is not all that different from Punjabi, it is different. I made an effort to learn it myself before I taught my children so they only speak Urdu but not Punjabi. I think I was left on my own to make up for the shortcomings.

(Mrs B)

Mrs B attended a local primary school where there were no other Asians at all. From birth to starting primary school she heard mostly Panjabi; relatives and friends who visited were Panjabi speaking. At the age of four and a half Mrs B was virtually monolingual and when she started primary one she felt that she was the odd one out, being the only one who spoke differently, ate differently and dressed differently at home. Mrs B now thinks that it would have been emotionally comforting if the school had shown some understanding and recognition of her ethnicity, as she expressed openly:

It would have been nice if there were some people who could recognise the way I was and it's comforting to see other people appreciate your culture. It makes you respect yourself when others respect you.

(Mrs B)

At school there were a very small number of children from the ethnic minority background, moreover, they spoke different languages. There were no bilingual teacher to help her understand some of the classroom lessons, despite her confusion, by the end of her first year in primary school, Mrs B learnt to speak more English than Panjabi. She spoke both Panjabi and English with her brother and sister.

Literacy in L1

Although Mrs B speaks Urdu fairly well now, she cannot read or write Urdu. She gets 'annoyed' with herself when she fails to read Urdu letters she receives from relatives living in Pakistan. She feels that her lack of formal knowledge in Urdu has left her unable to use the language to its fullest advantage. She is keen to keep the language alive for the next generations; with co-operation from other local ethnic enthusiasts she has set up an after school Urdu/Islamic class in her local secondary school and have been sending her daughter there since she was eight years old. She firmly believes that her children should be given time to develop the school curriculum first. Her son is not attending any Urdu classes as his English is still not developed.

...his handwriting is not all that proficient, he is at times quite lazy and I wanted to make sure that he improved his English handwriting first before confusing him with any other language but I am keen to encourage him as well once he gets a bit older.

(Mrs B)

Mrs B is determined that both of her children learn Urdu. She speaks some Urdu, the language that has higher status in Pakistan, to her children at home - they also get a good practice in speaking the language to their non-English speaking grandparents. When her older child entered the local nursery school at the age of three, she did not face any problem in picking up English. Within a few months she began conversing in English outside home but switched to Urdu/Punjabi at home.

Pronunciation in L1

Mrs B made an 'effort' to speak Urdu with her children from birth. She spoke only Urdu with her daughter till she was three or four years old. She knew from her own experience that when her daughter would be starting school, she would pick up English quickly. 'I also spoke only Punjabi when I was very young and when I went to school I picked up English fluently within two or three months ...truly enough when she went to nursery she could not speak English at all but within a few months she picked up English very nicely". This practice also ensured that her daughter had the right accent in Urdu. She believes if

children did not learn Urdu first at an early age, they learn to speak Urdu with an English accent.

You always have an English accent with your Urdu but because she learnt Urdu first she actually has a very good Urdu accent. It has not affected her English accent - she has got a Scottish accent, so she has the best of both worlds.

(Mrs B)

Mrs B's pride in her daughter's ability was also reflected in later admission that her daughter helps read the Urdu letters she receives from Pakistan. Her daughter started to attend the local community run Urdu classes from the age of eight but there were problems. She explained:

.. even though the classes were reasonably good at teaching but they were quite large and there were a big variety in the ages of the children. So, I felt it was difficult for the teacher to cater for all ages.

(Mrs B)

The classes were run late in the evenings from 7 p.m. till 9 p.m. Mrs B felt that this would be too much for an eight year old and so she withdrew her daughter from the local class and eventually found a local tutor and she is happy with her daughter's progress; as she said, 'I found a very good teacher for her who would tutor her on a one-to-one basis and felt that had great benefits'.

Although Mrs B is 'very keen on her children learning Urdu', she strongly feels that ethnic minority children should not be encouraged to use their Mother Tongue for communicating with other Asian friends in schools and particularly so in primary schools; *Asian pupils should be using English all the time.*

It is at primary schools that English develops and all other tutoring should be done at home or after school hours....I feel that children should learn Urdu but not at the expense of other school work.

(Mrs B)

Although Urdu is important for her children, Mrs B would not consider it to be a reason for moving her children to a school outside her catchment area where Urdu is offered in the

secondary curriculum. Extraction from 'normal curriculum work' in order to learn Mother Tongue in a primary school, Mrs B believes, may 'interfere with normal school work'. On the other hand she approves of introducing Mother Tongue in the secondary schools; this is how she puts it:

....they (the children) should be given a chance to prove themselves and make their language a qualificationI think that's very important for the children because they would know how well they have achieved and be able to say 'I can speak the language and here I have an exam to prove it. It's an asset to be bilingual and in this case most children will be trilingual.

(Mrs B)

Responsibilities for Mother Tongue maintenance

Mrs B's optimism depends on parental and communal effort in maintaining children's bilingualism; she feels that the long term responsibility lie with the minority families and even with the communities.

I think there is a real danger of the languages being lost. I feel that unless a great effort is made by the parents to teach the children.....they will diminish. I think it already has to a certain extent. It has become just conversant: we can no more than just converse in the language.....we don't have the insight to use more valuable words, more descriptive words. We have lost that already and have to make an effort to divide the language so it continues.

(Mrs B)

B2 has not become fully conversant in Urdu yet as Mrs B believes he should try and do well in his school subjects first and Mother Tongue learning at this stage may interfere with his level of acquisition in English. B1 will sit G.C.S.E examination in Urdu in the near future but she is not receiving any tuition in this subject at the moment. Lack of availability of tutors and increased curriculum related workload were mentioned by Mrs B as the reasons. B1's communicative Urdu, however, seems to reflect her confidence which may have stemmed from her introduction to the Urdu literacy at an earlier stage in the

primary school than her brother. Her accent is better and does not confuse the question-answer forms and she handles linguistic complexities, such as tenses and gender fairly well. She responds to corrections readily and is conscious about keeping language domains separate. Her own effort to teach Urdu literacy to her brother has not been quite successful as her spare time is restricted by the pressure of her forthcoming examinations. With her mother's encouragement she seems committed to learning and attempting to use Urdu in personal and social contexts.

9.4 Family C: Father, Bengali speaking

Background

Family C lives in East Dumbartonshire; Mr C came to U.K from India at the age of sixteen with his parents and completed his study in a comprehensive school in England, and later in London School of Economics. He came to Scotland with his wife, an English woman and three children, six years ago to work as a lecturer in a local university in Glasgow. Mr. C met Mrs. C while working in England. They have three children aged 10, 8 and 5. All three are attending a local primary school in their catchment area where there are very few ethnic minority pupils. Mrs C, a housewife speaks a few words in Bengali, her husband's first language.

Heritage Language and Culture

At this stage none of the children can speak their father's heritage language although they are willing to learn. Mr C puts it this way:

My children are quite willing to learn and are keen to go to the local weekend classes. The elder sons know some words and can speak a few simple sentences also read a few words in Bengali but the youngest... she knows a few words but can't read or write.

(Mr C)

Mr C explained that children from mixed marriages face additional linguistic difficulties especially in the cases where the father speaks an ethnic minority language. He stated that:

If both parents speak the same language then it's fine; children will hear and learn. When there are two different languages in the family...: if the mother speaks, say, Hindi then the child has a very good chance of learning Hindi because the mother and the baby spend a lot of time together. If the father speaks Hindi and the mother doesn't then there is very little chance that the baby will ever get to learn Hindi unless there is some positive effort.

(Mr C)

Although the mother is not a Bengali speaker, Mr C believes that their children will learn Bengali and there are three reasons for that; for communication purposes, cultural

connection and it is good to know another language. Although the main reason for ethnic minority language maintenance for Mr C is communication, he maintains that,

..It will be good if they can read and write because then they can write letters to their relatives back home and so keep in touch and also are able to read some simple literature which will help them learn some of our culture.

(Mr C)

Mrs C shows her enthusiasm in maintaining her husband's heritage language by accompanying her children to the Saturday Bengali classes, attending religious and social functions organised by the Hindu community in Glasgow. However, children do not speak Bengali amongst themselves, the two older boys use a few words and sentences with their father. Most of their short conversations in Bengali centre on requesting or asking for something or expressing feelings. The father admits that he has lost touch with the language to a certain extent too. '.... I don't read and write as well as I used to back then, because I don't use it much nowadays'. After arriving in England at the age of sixteen Mr C maintained his mother tongue for another three or four years. After that 'it went' because he didn't speak the language much - may be once a month when he went to visit his parents from the university. Mr C is keen to maintain his language in his own family, his reasons being as follows:

When we go back to India for holidays, if they (the children) can speak a little bit of Bengali then it is easier to communicate with the people there. The other thing is it is always good to know another language simply because of the way the language develops. It is always difficult to learn the second one, it is then much easier to learn any more and both wanting to learn that language might relate to them better.

(Mr. C)

On the subject of maintaining 'cultural connections' Mr C feels that it is important for the ethnic minority children to be able to read and write in their Mother Tongue, so they can write letters to their relatives as well as read some simple literature, which will help them learn some of their culture. On the other hand loss of Mother Tongue, Mr C points out,

would lead children to lose touch with their cultural heritage and children would not be able to relate to their parents as much. They would not have much regards for their parents' past.

Mr C also believes that when their children become parents, their culture would be somewhat different from their parents as the culture is evolving.

Children can take what their parents give and what they can see from their peers and they make up their own culture. Culture itself within a society, country is changing all the time

(Mr C)

At the time when ethnic minority children are finding their own place in the emerging pluralist society they should not be left alone to sort out their new identity. Mr C maintains that both parents and society should act together to minimise the losses of cultural heritage; both have to be tolerant and encourage children to maintain their cultural heritage in order to help them develop their self-identity and self-esteem. When the society at large accepts children's heritage culture - allows ways to express themselves in the society and school - it gives children 'more confidence to come out with'. If the children are not encouraged to express their feelings outside *'then they would shy away from their parents' culture, they would not show it anywhere else even at home at all'*.

Responsibility

Mr C believes that the society as a whole especially the school should allow all children to express their feelings about their culture so that the children will feel 'right, although this is different but it is still sort of okay.' Mr. C believes that being bilingual is not a matter for ethnic minority pupils only; *'....in Holland most people speak four languages, in Germany they speak two languages extremely well and some write English better than many English people do'*.

In terms of learning, Mr C. maintains, second language acquisition, although a difficult process, sets up a 'speech sense' which facilitates third, and subsequent language learning and this 'process does not harm at all'. On the subject of learning community languages Mr. C accepts 'learning a language, Hindi, Urdu, or Bengali there is not a lot of chance to use them verbally because they are so far away from their home countries. We are part of

the European community so it is not so important what the language is, French, Urdu etc. It is the fact that the brain has done the exercise.

Home or School

Despite above beliefs, Mr. C is uncertain as to where community languages or Mother Tongue should be taught. Since it is the Mother Tongue, he believes, it should be learnt at home; at the same time he feels that if Mother Tongue teaching, especially reading and writing, is left only with parents then *'we would not go very far'* In his own case his children are not exposed to his heritage language at home as he is out at work and his wife speaks English with them; so it is necessary to have societal support so their children can maintain their cultural link.

Although linguistically children are at the silent stage where they are listening to the tone, intonation, pronunciations and patterns of their father's first language, they are well exposed to their father's culture. Their diet, dress code at festival time, religious observances bear resemblance to their father's cultural traditions, so children have not been left alone to find their new identity but are constantly assisted and guided by their parents in their search for a 'new' culture.

Ethnic Identity

Mr C thinks that it is important for the society as a whole and schools in particular to allow children to express their feelings. *I feel society should make room for different things and accept them.* Children are coming from different backgrounds and there should be

...ways of expressing themselves both in society and school; by letting that happen, by accepting them would give them more confidence; they would feel that although.. it (their culture) is different still it's sort of okay.

(Mr C)

Mr C believes that the primary reason for maintaining ethnic minority languages is 'cultural'- language both in written and communicative forms are necessary to maintain 'cultural links'. It is a great pleasure for Mr C that his children *'...are willing to learn and are keen to go'* to the community classes to maintain the all important cultural links. Mr C

is concerned about not having enough facilities for Mother Tongue classes in his area and also about the fact that community teachers do not get adequate support from the councils in the running of these classes. He, at present, is sending his children to the community run weekend classes in the city of Glasgow, although these classes are not sufficiently organised. However, he strongly feels that learning of ethnic minority languages is vital in the up bringing of their children and at the same time the balance has to be made in prioritising, as he maintains that:

..there is a price to pay for every encouragement. Everybody can't be encouraged to do everything and so, if there is ever a choice then the language of the community should come first and if there are more possibilities available then others will be considered.

(Mr C)

Mr C believes that ethnic minority children should get the opportunity to 'express' their feelings outside and feel that 'it is okay to be different'. Although his children are taking some time in uttering full sentences in Bengali, he is confident that they would speak fluently later on, *it is a matter of arranging information...they (children) have a different approach of doing things.*

9.5 Family D : Parents Chinese speaking

Background

Mr and Mrs D came to Scotland from Hong Kong in 1991 with their two children. Both children were born in Hong Kong and they had a few moves before they came to Glasgow. Prior to arriving in Glasgow they lived in Switzerland and America for a few years.

Mr D, a financier working in an international company in Hong Kong, was transferred to Switzerland in 1981. The whole family moved to Switzerland where they stayed for fifteen months. Their daughter was then four years old and the son was just a little over one year old. Before leaving Hong Kong D1 was attending a Cantonese speaking nursery school. In Switzerland D1 attended an international school where the medium of instruction was English. As Mrs. D knew then that they would be going back to Hong Kong eventually and D1 would have to settle back into the Cantonese speaking education system in Hong Kong, she maintained Chinese at home with her two children. Mrs. D kept regular correspondence with her friend in Hong Kong, whose daughter was about the same age as D1, to find out about the syllabus and study courses.

....She kept writing to me telling me what kind of things her daughter was learning in school and I tried to teach my daughter the same things but it was not easy. I was known as the most troublesome mother in the world when we were in the States because she had half day school in the primary there and every afternoon she could see her friends playing on the streets after lunch while she had to sit down with me for her one page of Chinese writing.

(Mrs D)

Bilingualism

As mentioned above, the family moved to America in 1983 and finally returned to Hong Kong in 1984 where D1 enrolled into a primary one class in a Chinese medium school. In America D1 attended the primary school there and when they returned back to Hong Kong she started primary one again there. At the beginning D1 showed signs of restlessness as the system was more 'rigid' in Hong Kong than in America. Mrs E explained that:

...the teacher told me that she (D1) was quite restless, of course, she was used to all kinds of activities in America and found it difficult to sit still for half a day; she also found it quite hard to write the home work in her diary in all those Chinese writing. I was happy that I kept her Chinese because otherwise she would have had to attend an international school...and she would have had to lose a lot of her Mother Tongue.

(Mrs D)

D1 finished her primary education in the medium of Chinese and learnt English as a foreign language. The family immigrated to Scotland in 1991 after D1 completed her first year in secondary education.

Mother Tongue maintenance

For Mrs D, maintenance of Mother Tongue was not only for keeping in touch with one's 'own culture and origin' but also for practical reasons.

.....economy is booming in the far east whereas it is not easy to find jobs here; many of our friends sent their children back to Hong Kong to look for jobs when they were unable to find anything in Canada, Australia or here; there are more opportunities there and if you know the language it is easier.

(Mrs D)

With such foresight Mrs D continued teaching Chinese at home in Scotland; at this stage D1 was already a full bilingual. She could read and write Chinese at her age-appropriate level. D1 did not attend any community run Chinese classes in Glasgow as her competence in Chinese language was much more advanced than required for G.C.S.E qualification. As the secondary school that D1 was attending was not a centre for community language examinations, Mrs D had to take her to an approved centre to attend the examination and she duly passed with an 'A' grade in Chinese in that academic year. Although Mrs D was keen for her daughter to study for A level qualification, it was not possible due to the weight of the school curriculum and forthcoming SCE examinations.

At present D1 is an undergraduate medical student in a local University, using less and less Chinese at home and outside. Mrs. D thinks she will soon forget the language, as she is not

practising it. But Mrs D is hopeful that she might use the language in her working life as she might come across people from Chinese community and in that way she will be able to maintain her Mother Tongue.

Younger Child

D2's introduction to bilingualism began during his last two months of stay in America when he attended a pre school group where English was the medium of instruction. When the family returned to Hong Kong, D2 was about four years old and using English when prompted. He started attending a Chinese speaking kindergarten. In the first year in the kindergarten, Chinese language was used for all communication purposes, English was introduced in second year. Mrs D recalls D2 coped relatively better than his sister with two languages in the early years. After completing three years in kindergarten, D2 went to a Chinese speaking primary school where English was taught as a subject; at this stage D2's usage of English was limited in the classroom. D2 used his Mother Tongue for communications in all contexts. After completion of primary five D2 immigrated to Scotland where he started attending primary six class in a local primary school in the suburbs of Glasgow. Since D2 did not speak much English at that time, the school misinterpreted his linguistic and academic skills and sought help of a learning support teacher.

In the first year when he joined the primary school here, I think, the school had a learning support teacher helping him a little bit with the reading but he caught up very quickly.

(Mrs D)

Mrs D continued using Chinese at home with her children. She subsequently got involved in various Chinese cultures and language related activities both at personal and professional levels. Now she is a member of the Advisory Committee in San-Jai project looking over the welfare of the Chinese community living in Glasgow, as well as a member of the Chinese worker's group and the Strathclyde Chinese co-ordinating group. D2, like the older sibling, sat G.C.S.E Chinese examination when he was in third year in a fee-paying secondary school and secured an A' grade pass. He did well, in other school subjects attaining top grade in all subjects including English.

Shift

Although D1 and D2 are complete bilinguals, in the sense that they have good receptive and productive skills, now both are 'reluctant' to use Chinese. Mrs D puts it this way:

I think, sometimes, they feel embarrassed...they don't want to be different from the rest because...may be the other people who don't understand Chinese will look at them and find them strange. They also don't have many Chinese friends. Some of their Chinese friends were born in Scotland and they don't know much Chinese themselves.

(Mrs D)

Consequently the children's bilingualism is diminishing. D2 in particular is failing to understand the conversation that take place between parents, particularly when parents converse in Chinese with their friends and families they use many sophisticated vocabulary which are not present in their children's repertoire. Mrs D thinks that sooner or later they will loose their identity as well. She explained that, *'My son is thinking himself as a Scot rather than a Chinese...which for me is not a very desirable thing.'* To reverse the situation Mr and Mrs D are trying to take them back to Hong Kong every summer in order to expose them to the Chinese speaking community, to maintain their language, culture and identity.

Responsibility

Mrs D believes that whether minority languages will survive or not will depend to a great extent on the availability of government support. She showed her concerns about the future of Chinese languages in Scotland when she commented that:

Recently I heard that the unit in London is going to stop operating GCSE exams in many community languages, they will abandon all except Urdu - which will be a blow to the community languages.... I have spoken with the San Jai Chinese project already...they are going to do something about this.

(Mrs D)

Maintenance of minority languages in Scotland will depend on both parents and the community. Mrs D observed during her visits to many Chinese households that,

...many are involved with other Chinese, they will watch Chinese videos at home and in practice many Chinese families hardly watch the English channels on the television. They read the comics in Chinese and they speak among themselves in Chinese as well.

(Mrs D)

Mrs D is hopeful that by maintaining oral Chinese at home their children will learn a great deal about their culture and history. Through media and social functions children will learn much more than attending the Saturday classes only. Mrs D believes that '*...if they attend the Saturday classes they hardly have to do any Chinese except the little bit of homework they get.*'

Mrs D believes that Chinese speaking children will have difficulties in expressing personal feelings and thoughts in other languages, as she explained that,

...there are certain expressions that you cannot express in other languages. Even in Chinese languages there are Cantonese, Mandarin. There are certain expressions that you can only maybe express in Cantonese sometimes when we speak with our friends these days.

(Mrs D)

Such limitations in communication skills may contribute towards the minority language children's loss of identity. As Mrs D reminds us, 'even my son, he is thinking of himself more as a Scot rather than as a Chinese, which for me is not a desirable thing.'

9.6. Family E: Both parents Bengali speakers

Background

Mr and Mrs E are a professional couple, Mr E works as a Reader in an University in Edinburgh and Mrs E, a special needs teacher, works in a special school in the same city. Their only child, now aged twelve, was born in Edinburgh.

Mr and Mrs E came to Edinburgh about fifteen years ago from India and are now well settled in their own home and respective occupations. Mr and Mrs E are both multilingual with Bengali as their Mother Tongue. Mr E speaks Bengali, Asameese, Hindi and English fluently. In order to learn these four languages he also had to master three different scripts which he admits now, put pressure on him at his young age. The family is well involved in various Hindu socio-religious activities and regularly attend Hindu festivals in Glasgow and in other parts of UK. Mr E organises seminars and conferences on religious matters in Edinburgh and Glasgow and he is a firm believer in continuation and development of religious traditions amongst the young Hindus growing up in Scotland. Mrs E works tirelessly in supporting her husband's socio-religious beliefs and activities. The present researcher first met them at one of these occasions several years back when E1 was an infant.

Mother Tongue usage

Mr and Mrs E have successfully brought up their only child bilingually, despite the pressures of Urban life style and without the support of official or community run programmes. Both parents, more so the mother speaks Bengali with E1 at home, in presence of other Bengali speakers and on holiday in India. The child appears to be confident and comfortable in speaking Mother Tongue with adults in the community. He shows age-appropriate communication skills and is competent in conversing in Bengali not only about everyday matters but expressing his opinion about topical issues such as gun control after the Dunblane tragedy, millennium dome, children's perspectives relating to participation in socio-religious functions and so on. He does not mix L1 and L2 in speech, occasionally uses L2 substitute vocabulary in Mother Tongue as replacement words. When parents or L1 speaking adults are at hand to suggest target words in Mother Tongue, he uses them competently in subsequent conversations. Both Mr. And Mrs. E talk to E1 about everything that happens in day to day life; what they see, hear, think, they like doing -the

list is endless. The child is growing up knowing that his home language is important and is a valuable part in their interpersonal relationships. The child appears to be self-assured and confident in all situations. Mr E clearly expressed his delight at the child's academic and personal progress when he commented that,

I am quite happy with what my son is doing in school. English is his first language. He is learning French and we are teaching him Bengali in the house and he speaks Bengali fluently. I would like to teach him how to write Bengali, and I am taking the advantage of audio-visual systems; so I got a software which is a macro to Microsoft, so I am teaching him phonetically how to write Bengali and this experiment has been very successful.

(Mr.E)

Parents E are showing confidence in their belief that it is possible for children to grow up being good at school language as well as home language where two languages are different and of different status. They believe that children's home language can be developed without harming their progress in school languages; and all languages have certain additive values, which can only make a child's language repertoire richer.

Self Identity

E1 thinks of himself as Scottish. He knows his parents have come from India and have made Scotland their home. Mr E believes that as their roots are in India, E1 would like to learn about his roots. Mr E considers it important that E1 learns how to read and write Bengali so he would be able to read the Bengali newspaper, which comes to their home by post every fortnight from India.

..... lots of time in translation the actual meaning of the thing is lost; what we are hoping is, he will learn Bengali, be able to read the literature and he is interested in them

(Mr E)

It is Mr E's belief that no matter where one happens to live, one must know and understand his heritage, and to know the heritage 'one must learn Mother Tongue'. Mr E shared his concern over the fact that many of his relations living outside Bengal are speaking less and

less Bengali and that their children can speak Bengali but cannot read or write the language. Mr E expressed sincere satisfaction at his mother's acknowledgement of the fact that E1 speaks better Bengali than his cousins who live in Delhi or Bombay. Although E1's handwriting is not that good yet, his typing skill is very good and each year after the major Hindu festival he sends his 'pranams' (greetings) written in L1 to his grandparents in India. Mr E believes these types of linguistic gestures can help bring generations closer.

Difficulties in multilingualism

Mr E learnt four languages - Assamese (as he was brought up in Assam), Hindi, English and Bengali. Mr E explored the pros and cons in becoming multilingual, especially for his own situation he commented that,

I don't know whether it makes someone cleverer by learning four languages, but only thing I can say it was a disadvantage compared to the people in Northern India who learnt only two languages, which were Hindi and English.

(Mr. E)

Mr. E is conscious about the pressure of multiple language learning and the pressure it can pose on a learner at a time when curriculum is crowded and pupils are under pressure of curricular assessment. In common with many other ethnic minority parents, Mr. E is experiencing a dilemma in prioritising the needs between vocation-oriented subjects and L1 needs for second generation Asians. Perhaps it is one of the difficulties language minority people are facing in all multilingual countries, but he feels the pressure would lessen with recognition and maintenance of language diversities in social institutions such as schools.

Partnership between parents and the government

When E1 enrolled in a fee-paying primary school in Edinburgh he was already a bilingual speaker. He picked up English in his nursery school and the parents had no cause for concern in using Bengali with him whenever the opportunity arose.

Mr E feels that it will take some time in bringing in the facilities for teaching 'other (Asian) languages within the Scottish education system'.

I think it should be a partnership between the parents and the Government. Parents should create an environment within the house so they can learn their own languages, eat their own food - they are very important - and then the Government can help.

(Mr E)

The languages of the sub-continent are 'hundreds of years old, so they will always survive'. But the teaching of languages and the knowing of one's own roots will depend on the family. Mr E is experiencing a dilemma; although he regards Mother Tongue learning as vital in maintaining minority culture and values, he is not sure how this could be achieved within the school curriculum. His underlying fear is that Mother Tongue acquisition at school will somehow obstruct or interfere with his child's academic work. He is unsure about the future as he commented - 'it is difficult to say what will happen in the years ahead'.

However, E1's attitude towards Mother Tongue reflects his parental attitude towards their heritage and roots; his communicative Bengali shows awareness of complexities in content and context. His relative lack of self-awareness shows confidence in his linguistic ability, although he mixes lexis in some sentences. Most of the time he keeps two languages in separate domains. He has acquired a good repertoire of lexical and syntactical knowledge in his first language. He is not experiencing any difficulty in learning French at school and progressing well in other school subjects.

Mr E considers English as his son's first language in terms of usage and competence and such opinion is not unique. It appears that within ethnic minority communities the term 'first language' has different connotations in the context of minority Mother Tongue language. Such confusion between the first language and Mother Tongue may reflect the societal perception and treatment of minority languages for minority pupils' educational development. The society at large did not accord any importance to the immigrant's home language from the beginning of the settlement and the above confusion may reflect the minority community's way of coming to terms with the conflicting pressures and demands of the host society.

9.7 Family F: Both parents Bengali speakers

Background

Family F lives in Glasgow, both parents came from Bangladesh and lived in London for few years before settling in Glasgow. Better job opportunities and positive assurances given by friends who were already living and working in Scotland that there were less racial harassment in Scotland persuaded the family to come to Glasgow. It was in early seventies when Mr and Mrs F came to Glasgow with their 7 year old son. F1 had attended a local English speaking nursery school in London from the age of three. The family lived in an area with a fairly high concentration of Bengali speaking people. In spite of such high concentration of ethnic minorities in that area there were no bilingual members of staff in their catchment primary school. The family moved to Glasgow in early 70's and since then have been raising their children using mainly Mother Tongue at home and outside.

Mrs. F has played an active role in Bengali related activities in Glasgow. A GTC registered community language teacher herself, she devoted her spare time in teaching Bengali language in community run classes, organising cultural functions to commemorate their national Independence day, martyr day (Shahid Dibas), a day when thousands of students sacrificed their lives for preservation of their Mother Tongue and various socio-religious activities. She is also the honorary editor of an annual Bengali magazine in Glasgow. She seems to have an encyclopaedic knowledge of the Bangladeshi community and Bangladeshi overseas post-graduate students living in Glasgow. Both Mr and Mrs F offer support to new arrivals from Bangladesh in settling in their new environment and both regularly attend annual reunion of expatriates held all over UK

F1 and Mother Tongue

F1 is now a medical practitioner in his mid twenties. A competent Bengali speaker, F1 does not have equivalent level of literacy in his Mother Tongue as he has in L2. Mrs F commented in reference to her son's experience in a local primary school that:

My son was confused. He was listening to Bengali at home and at school he was in a different language environment. He was listening to

Christian hymns at school and at home he was encouraged to read the Koran. Some times he refused to read the Koran, as other children were not doing so

(Mrs F)

Mrs. F further explained that when her son was attending school, ethnic minority people were not so enthusiastic about teaching their children to read and write their Mother Tongue. They were more concerned about their children learning English, as it was perceived as the most important language to learn. Minority religions did not get any mentions in school activities at that time. According to Mrs F, her son was confused. He was listening to two different languages, experiencing different religious practices and confronting racial harassment at school. He used to complain of racial name calling and the mother made many visits to the school to discuss problems with the school management.

Mrs F taught her son to read and write Bengali at home although F1 was not so keen as he used to complain to his mother that his friends did not have to do any extra studies. Why he? Due to the lack of outside support as well as extra family pressure after the birth of F2 and F3, Mrs. F abandon her effort in making her son sufficiently literate in his Mother Tongue. Mrs F feels sorry that she could not continue with her son's literacy in his Mother Tongue. She maintained that:

My son not only got deprived of learning his Mother Tongue, he also did not know about the history, geography and cultural nuances of his homeland. To him schoolwork got the priority and cultural matters a burden.

(Mrs F)

Inspite of such difficulties now F1 converses mostly in Mother Tongue with his two younger sisters although sometimes the youngest sister responds in English. It appears that he sets the mode of conversation in different contexts with his younger siblings. Occasionally he reminds his younger sisters to converse in Bengali. F1 does not mix two languages in a conversation, shows an extensive use of vocabulary, handles complex sentences with tenacity.

Younger Children

F2 is now an undergraduate student at a local university and F3 a fourth year pupil in a fee-paying independent school. F2 is a full bilingual in the sense she communicates fully in both Mother Tongue and English in all contexts and equally competent in writing Bengali and English. Mrs F taught her son Bengali at home as no community classes were established at that time. Her daughters experienced less discrimination at school as schools were at that time becoming more aware of the needs of the ethnic minority pupils and included Islamic festivals in school calendar. Children from ethnic minority background could take time off for religious prayers and observances during Ramadan time.

F2 is a highly communicative child, when she entered English-medium primary school she knew enough communicative English to converse with her non-Bengali speaking friends. At that time she preferred answering in English at home even when her parents spoke in Bengali, as if she needed to maintain English at home in order to get the fluency she needed to feel comfortable within herself. That trend continued for first few years of schooling but after that she reverted back to answering in Bengali to her parents and siblings much to the delight of Mrs F.

F2 does not tend to mix two languages in the same conversation with fellow bilingual speakers but her preferences depend on the subject matter. She uses English when she is discussing fashion, friends, relationship, outings etc. with friends and uses Mother Tongue with parents and friends when discussing her future plan, problems with friends and siblings, marriage and daily activities. All children keep in touch with their grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins by writing letters in Bengali after Ramadan and Bengali new year. Mrs F commented that:

Now I don't have to remind them to send their greeting to their cousins and grandparents after Ramadan and F2 prefers writing in Bengali and she helps her younger sister to write in Bengali too.

(Mrs F)

F2 attended Mother Tongue classes in weekends and sat G.C.S.E examination and secured a good grade. Although she was keen to do further studies in Mother Tongue, pressure of school work and the additional time required to travel to weekend and after school classes finally persuaded her to abandon the idea.

Mrs F feels that she has done her utmost in maintaining minority culture and language alive for the second generation in her household and in the community. However, she is pessimistic about the survival of their home languages as children have become bilingual and she feels the societal pressure on our children is to be competent in English. The wider society is giving the impression to minority language speakers that their own languages are not that important for education and personal development. She feels unless the wider society pays adequate respect to minority children's home language, minority children would not feel proud of their language.

Our children are learning from the outside world that our languages are not that important for their education. We are not denying that learning of English is very important for their future life but children ought to value their own culture and language, as it is part of them.

(Mrs F)

Now Mrs F herself uses English when her daughters' friends are present but uses Bengali to discipline the children. Both F2 and F3 use more English to talk to one another than with the older brother as if he is their to remind them of their identity and family expectations.

In some ways Mrs F thinks F1 will maintain more Bengali than his sisters although F2 gained formal qualification, G.C.S.E, in Bengali. F2 was in third year in the local secondary school when she sat the G.C.S.E examination in Bengali in another school in Glasgow. Her mother prepared her for the examination with help from secondary community language teachers. Initially F2 showed interest in preparing for A level examination in the subject but difficulty in attending classes dissuade her from the attempt. Mrs F feels confident that all her children will maintain Bengali culture and respect their religion in the future although they have different levels of competence in their Mother Tongue and culture. The children will keep contact with their cousins and relatives back in Bangladesh. Although Mr F is busy with his occupation, he maintains close links with his community and Mrs F feels somehow it influences children's understanding of the importance of their culture, heritage and traditions.

Mrs F worked as a voluntary teacher in community language classes for a few years in late eighties, now she is disappointed with the lack of organisation and management of these weekend classes. She firmly believes that children ought to know about their language,

roots, history and religion but there should be a better management of it. The emphasis in weekend language and Islamic religion classes are on reading and writing in Bengali and Arabic respectively. Language teachers sometimes teach Bengali through English in order to ease the transition and make the target language readily accessible to learners.

When F3, a more introverted child than F2, entered English-medium primary school she knew English to get by with non-Bengali speaking friends. She preferred answering in English when her parents questioned in Bengali. That trend continued for first few years of schooling but now the child has reverted back to answering in Bengali to her parents and siblings although in less quantity. F3's literacy skill in Bengali would be at a beginner's standard; she can decode and read hesitantly. Her reading comprehension is limited due to her lack of academic vocabulary. Moreover she does not attend weekend language classes regularly as she has taken interest in art and music. It does not seem possible at this stage that she would make further improvement in literacy in Mother Tongue as community run classes are irregularly held. F3 feels less motivated to continue with learning Mother Tongue as she is approaching her Standard Grade examinations.

Responsibility

Mrs F feels both parents and schools should get involved in giving adequate Mother Tongue support to ethnic minority pupils as it is important that they learn their roots and learn to value their parent's culture. She explained that:

I think, first of all, it is the parent's responsibility to teach their children their own language and then the school should encourage. It will be our loss if our children lose their culture and language...

(Mrs F)

Mrs F believes that ethnic minority children are under external pressure to conform to the majority culture and values and without positive influence of their own culture and family values on them, these children will shy away from their parent's culture. Parents are restricted by time and resources in giving their children sufficient first language literacy skills, therefore they need support and assistance from the wider society in preservation of their traditions and history.

At the same time, Mrs F believes, choices are to be made in determining what is important for our children in order to succeed in this competitive world. English and modern languages are important for our children's success in vocational life. We would like our children to be ready for their future life, be able to compete with others at the same level, and at the same time be strong in their beliefs and in their identity, and accept the challenges that one has to face as time moves on.

9.8 Family G: Both parents second generation Punjabi/ Urdu speakers

Introduction

Mrs G came to Glasgow in 1969. Her father came to Glasgow alone from Pakistan at the beginning of 1960's leaving his family behind. After 5 or 6 years, once he became financially settled in Glasgow, he brought his family over from Pakistan and Mrs G was then 12 years old.

Before coming over to Glasgow with her mother and other siblings, Mrs G was attending an Urdu speaking primary school where she was receiving five hours a week English lesson. English was taught there as a subject and learning emphasis was mainly on reading and writing rather than on conversational skills. She was conversing in Punjabi with her parents, brothers and sisters at home, and this pattern continued in Glasgow as well. At the age of twelve she had age-appropriate Urdu literacy level which remained the same for subsequent school years in Glasgow, as she did not receive any formal teaching in Urdu afterwards.

After arriving at Glasgow Mrs G joined her local secondary school in first year. Although there was a significantly large number of Asian pupils in that school, there was no recognition of their home language and culture in school activities at that time. She was submerged in L2 without any L1 support but, on hindsight, she feels somehow her exposure to English as a second language and first language schooling back in Pakistan helped her to adjust to the western school environment more easily. Moreover She recalled that:

When I came here I could understand English but I could not speak English fluently. There were other Asian pupils in the school so I didn't feel isolated or lonely

(Mrs G)

Mrs I remembers that at this stage she was more able to relate to Asian friends than to others in her school years. Her aural communication skills in English improved after about two years but she remained a bilingual as her parents, relatives and friends continued using Punjabi and Urdu with her. She feels that conversing in three languages - Punjabi, Urdu and English - in daily life is not difficult as she attained a 'good' level of learning in all three languages.

Second generation Asians

Mr G was born and brought up in Glasgow and his marriage to Mrs G was, by tradition, arranged by his parents in the early eighties. Mr and Mrs G have three children, their ages ranging from 17 to 3 years old. G1 is a sixth year pupil in a local comprehensive school. The school is situated in a popular residential area in the suburb of Glasgow where approximately 23% of population are from ethnic minorities. Many pupils from this area attend private schools, therefore, the ethnic composition in the local secondary school do not reflect the actual ratio of minority and majority pupils.

All the G-siblings can speak Mother Tongue (Punjabi) fluently, from daily banter to making requests and promises. Mrs G took initiative along with other Panjabi/Urdu speaking parents in her area to start Urdu night classes for both children and adults. The headmaster of the local Secondary school has allegedly been supportive of the idea of ethnic minority pupils learning their Mother Tongues, but minority languages are not taught in the secondary school during school hours. Mrs H believes that,

It is very important that they (children) get their education inside school because the night classes, they are left with very little time for themselves...I feel that ethnic minority children have to know their Mother Tongue...that they have pride in themselves, pride in their origin. They don't have to feel that they are part of the western culture...When they have their own identity, then they don't need to follow others.

(Mrs G)

Mrs G's exploration of minority needs elucidates lack of recognition of multiculturalism in curriculum and mistrust in social strategies for minority pupils as it does not prepare pupils to be self assured. Her own school and subsequent experiences may have contributed to such strong belief that preservation of one's own ethnic minority identity, culture and ethnicity are paramount for self confidence, personal development and emotional and social growth, particularly for the children in that community. She believes that tolerance and respect for cultural pluralism grounded on the notion of recognition and valuing of minority differences ought to be embodied in educational provision. State education can not just teach children about majority values only. In common with many second-

generation Asians, Mrs G is anxious that her children gain a much wider knowledge and clearer understanding of Asian culture, language, religion and social practices than she herself was able to during her school days. Mrs G believes that such responsibility ought to be shared by the parents and the school.

Responsibility

Mrs G believes that the responsibility for the maintenance of the Mother Tongue lies not just with schools or the society at large, it falls on the parents in the first place. In her own words:

The responsibility would have to fall to the parents, nobody else is prepared to take an interest. At the end of the day the ball is in the parent's court.

(Mrs G)

G1 speaks Panjabi with parents, grandparents and relations, although some of the relations are multilingual, being able speak Panjabi, Urdu and English. From birth to the age of four, G1 heard only Panjabi; her grandmother lived with the family during this time and spent a great deal of time with G1. The home atmosphere was geared towards preservation of home culture and language. Mrs G's brother lived nearby, had an Asian business and married a Panjabi speaker from Pakistan. At the age of four G1 was virtually a monolingual Panjabi speaker.

At the age of four and a half G1 started attending a local primary school and the situation did not present much of a problem due to the presence of other Panjabi/Urdu speaking children in that school. There were no bilingual speakers amongst the staff. The mother was not worried about the situation as she knew from her own experience that the child will pick up English quite soon and there were other children in the same situation. By the end of his first year in school G1 was speaking more English than Panjabi. Although parents were speaking Panjabi at home, the child increasingly responded in English.

When G1 was seven years old, he started attending an after school Urdu/Islamic studies class in a local Secondary school. The local ethnic minority community set up this class and Mrs. G took an active interest in the running of the school. In the beginning, G1 was a little reluctant to attend after school classes as this made him miss playing with his friends from the neighbourhood but soon he became accustomed with the new routine and made many new friends in the after school classes. Mrs G was not entirely happy about after

school language classes as she felt extra evening classes were putting pressure on her children and interfering with their homework.

Children in the community classes were using both Mother Tongue and English between themselves. Mrs G's second child was also attending this class and they both were bilingual, using both languages in certain contexts, with their parents and with each other. By the time G3 was born there was an upsurge in the maintenance of Urdu language in the school curriculum and the family felt good about using Panjabi/Urdu with all their children knowing that their language will get support from outside as well.

Urdu was used for reading letters, magazines and newspapers while writing is restricted to their weekend class work and homework to this date. Urdu was not offered in their local secondary school as yet although the language was included in the Standard grade course. Mrs G regards Reading and writing of Mother Tongue as an important vehicle for understanding heritage.

9.9 Family H: Mother second generation Panjabi speaker

Background

Mrs H came to Scotland at the age of 8 with her parents who emigrated from Pakistan back in 1969. The parents settled in Glasgow where her father was employed in an Asian business and her mother, a housewife, brought up her three children in the traditional Muslim way. Despite Mrs H's formal schooling in English language only, she has remained a bilingual speaker in her own social contexts but her literacy level in Urdu has remained at a basic level - the level she came to Glasgow with.

When Mrs H was growing up in this country, she did not get any opportunity to attend any Urdu classes. She stated that

The best thing I got was managing to read Arabic, and for that we had to travel a long distance. I used to come back from school and end up going on the bus and that used to take about half an hour, and then spent about two to three hours learning Arabic and Islamiat (Islamic religion). By the time we got home it was nine or ten o'clock.

(Mrs H)

Mrs H recalls her school experience as a stage where she was 'hankering after the western life because at that time there was just not any opportunity to learn about your own culture'. The absence of affirmation of minority ethnic language and culture in schools made a large gap in her personal life and to some extent in social contexts. The cultural and educational gap between home and school created emptiness in her emotional development. Mrs H explained that,

I do feel, yes, it did create a vacuum because for a time I did feel lost. Because there was no help given to us at that crucial stage; may be that is one of the reasons I feel that I have to make an effort for my children.

(Mrs H)

Bilingualism

Mrs H got married to Mr H in Pakistan in the mid eighties and returned to Scotland. Now they are raising their five children in a suburb of Glasgow. The oldest child is 17, the twins are at 14, the fourth child is seven and the youngest is three years old. Mr H owns a small business and uses Panjabi, Urdu and English in conversation to his clients. Mrs H used to help her husband in running the small business before but now due to family pressures she spends most of her time with the children. On the question of whether the children can communicate in their Mother Tongue fluently, Mrs. H commented that,

Up to a certain degree (they can communicate in Punjabi). The older three can, the younger two are still finding it a little bit difficult, and they usually end up speaking in English.

(Mrs H)

Child one is at the final stage of secondary education and the twins are in S4. The oldest child attended a community run Urdu class for four years and last year managed to pass the G.C.S.E Urdu examination; the twins are preparing for the same examination for this academic year. These three children are fluent Urdu/Panjabi speakers and they are comfortable in using Mother Tongue at home and in their own social contexts. Parents use English, especially when the children's friends from outside are present but use Mother Tongue to discipline the children in such situation. The younger two children have not started attending supplementary language classes yet as the mother is spending a lot more time with her youngest child who has been receiving hospital care.

Mrs. H thinks it is very important that their children learn their Mother Tongue. She thinks that:

(Children) have to know where they come from and by knowing their Mother Tongue they find out about their culture, their way of life, their roots.

(Mrs H)

The older three children did not attend any nursery classes and entered their local primary school without any organised English medium pre-school experiences. Mrs I did not hear any comments from their class teachers about their inability to understand lessons in English; but the mother was disappointed that within a year her children were replying in

English when addressed in Punjabi by their parents at home. The children switched to speaking in English with their friends with whom they were speaking in Panjabi before. Mrs H was disappointed at this change and continued using Panjabi with her children and now with mother's insistence the children have become practising bilinguals. Mrs H uses every strategy to ensure that her children meet other Punjabi speakers in the community. She feels proud of the fact that her three older children can communicate with her friends on the phone in Punjabi and can write down the message in Punjabi at the same time.

Although the younger two children are growing up in a bilingual environment; the sibling communication patterns show more usage of English at home. As a result the younger two children are keener to communicate in English with members of family and outside friends. The older three children show some degree of diglossia but mixing of two languages in speech, a standard practice amongst many minority ethnic youngsters living in Scotland, is not viewed by parents as an aberration of their children's linguistic skills but as an addition to knowledge of their ethnicity.

Mrs H did not want to put any pressure on the youngest child as he was recovering from a long term illness but she believed that due to her children's early exposure to bilingualism, they will probably take up Punjabi/Urdu when they feel like it. The children speak only English amongst each other and the mother's communications with the youngest child are predominantly in English, though she frequently uses endearment terms in Punjabi. When she does use Punjabi with the child she adds an English translation of what she has just said in the end. Mrs H believes that with greater availability of Urdu classes in and outside mainstream schools at this point in time, all her children will eventually become fully bilingual

Mrs H recalled her own initiatives in starting up a supplementary language class a few years ago as she said,

We felt we had to make the effort. About four or five years ago we decided to do something. In this way the main stream schools might decide that this is a very important part of our culture and take us on because a lot of children do attend Urdu classes now.

(Mrs H.)

Mrs H has remained loyal to the community classes but she has her own ideas about how to make these classes better organised. Now that she has to take a back-seat role in the running of the community classes due to her youngest child's health, she hopes that things will change in the future. She feels that she has done all she could do and the community and the larger society would do the rest. The maintenance and development of Mother Tongue lie, she believes, with both the parents and the authority as she commented that:

The parents I suppose have the main responsibility in this but society at large has to play a big role. Hopefully in the near future our schools, our education authorities will take on this role as well for us, when they start to realise that we are having to make so much more effort; our kids are having to work extra hard to try and maintain their own richness.

(Mrs H)

9.10 Family I: Parents second generation Hindi speakers

Background

Family "I" lives in Aberdeen. Mrs I was born in Glasgow and her parents originally came from India. Mrs I's father came to UK for higher studies and eventually got settled in Glasgow with employment in the city council. Mrs I is the only child and now she is in her early thirties and has a six year old daughter. Mr I was born in Scotland and they met in the university. They have lived in Glasgow for some years since their marriage.

Mrs I's parents played an active part in Hindu socio-religious activities in the area and they were members of several social and cultural committees in and around the city. The mother kept close contact with the community members and took her daughter on visits to her native land. She and her husband both spoke Hindi with her at home and maintained high moral principles, which derived from their traditional kinship, values and beliefs. Mrs I attended a local primary school and when Mrs I started attending school she could speak very little English but she was a highly communicative child. She commented that:

*When we were young, nobody talked about learning Mother Tongue...
we got the impression by school that it was not really important for us.*

(Mrs I)

From birth to five years old Mrs I heard only Hindi; the maternal grandmother lived with them during this time and spent a great deal of time with the child. Her parents' friends who visited were Hindi speaking. At the age of five Mrs I was monolingual and her parents were not worried about the fact she could not speak English when she started primary one as they believed that she would learn English in the school anyway.

Mrs I remembered that it was not easy at that time in school, as there were very few Hindi speaking children in the school and there was no language support available for ethnic minority pupils. But soon she picked up English and made a few good friends.

It was through talking to friends I got confident in English. I was using Hindi to my parents and friends in the community.... Eventually I spoke English only to all my friends and Hindi to my parents.

(Mrs I)

Now Mrs I is bringing up her daughter bilingually; using both languages in some contexts. As she commented *you could not really speak English to a baby...my parents speak to her in Hindi as well. I wanted her to speak to me in Hindi...* The family now live in a town where there are very few Hindi speaking people. Although Mrs I is keen to teach her daughter Hindi, she is finding it increasingly difficult without any outside support. Mrs I herself attended local community classes on weekends at her young age and her parents were very encouraging about it. But there are no weekend or after school classes in her area, so Mrs I feels she will have to teach her daughter Hindi herself although she does not feel confident about it.

I know only communicative Hindi, I don't have enough knowledge about the language so I don't feel comfortable to teach that language to my child.... I want my daughter to read and write Hindi, but I don't how it will be possible.

(Mrs I)

Mrs I feels that her daughter's ability in English is age appropriate and her handwriting is good. The daughter is about eight years old now and *the time is right for her to learn Hindi.*

I am making an effort at home to always speak to her in Hindi because I know she is making good progress in learning English....if she loses her own language she will be losing a lot.

(Mrs I)

9.11 Family J: Both parents Hindi speakers

Background

Mr and Mrs J are a professional couple both with ethnic minority related occupations. Both are Hindi speakers from India. Their two children are 18 and 16 respectively. The older child is attending first year at a Scottish University and the younger one is preparing for his Higher examinations. The younger child attends a local school, which does not cater for community languages.

Mrs J was bringing up her children at a time when less priority was given to the learning of Mother Tongue by both minority and majority communities and less tolerance was shown by teachers to usage of minority Mother Tongue in classrooms. Mrs J commented philosophically that:

All languages are equal and there is knowledge and wisdom in every culture. But many of our people did not believe that and at that time we all were concerned about learning English

(Mrs J)

Teachers in mainstream schools were asking parents not to use home language that much because it was keeping their children back from learning English at school.

Mr J, being unable to find a job in his professional field, joined a local ethnic minority project on voluntary basis in organising various minority activities, then as the project got a foothold he became a paid worker there. Mrs J was bringing up her children in traditional Hindu ways; visiting the local temple every Sunday, helping children to learn their religious songs and prayers, which are traditionally recited in Sanskrit. She took her children to local minority melas (fete), celebrated Diwali (lighting festival) and whenever they could manage, spent their summer holidays in India.

Bilingualism

Mrs J was committed to teaching her children Hindi at home as she believed children should grow up with a positive and respectful attitude to their parents and family traditions.

Mrs J commented that:

Mother Tongue is the home language and if our children do not learn that language, they would not learn to respect their parents and culture.

(Mrs J)

Subsequently she started teaching Hindi language in the local temple to the children who used to accompany their parents to the temple. Many parents were happy with this arrangement but her attempt to teach literacy in Mother Tongue was not seen as adequate by some of her relatives living in Glasgow as they believed that learning of home language may inhibit their children from learning English. They used to comment that she was 'holding them back' from 'real' education. But lack of encouragement from her own relatives did not dampen Mrs J's enthusiasm in bringing up her children bilingually. Mr J feels that his children could not have achieved literacy in Mother Tongue if his wife was in employment.

Self-identity

The family was living in an area where many ethnic minority families were equally committed to raising their children bilingually and biculturally. They believed that children were getting enough 'grounding' in host culture and language at school, and it was the parents' responsibility to ensure that their children were getting access to learning their own traditions and culture.

Mrs J spoke only Hindi to her first child. It was not easy as she recalled, all the children's television programmes were in English and her neighbour's children were speaking English; she used to translate what was being said in the television programme in Hindi. But after the birth of her second child Mrs J left her son to his own devices in understanding English television broadcasts.

when J1 entered the local primary school he was fluent in Hindi and had enough English to get by for classroom activities. Mrs J was working part-time at that time leaving the

younger child with an English speaking child minder. During this time J1 started showing preference for English; he started responding to parents in English as if he did not want to speak Hindi any more. Mrs J said that *'it was not that he could not speak Hindi any more. It was as if he had made a choice'*. Mrs J felt disappointed that all her efforts had failed as J1 started speaking less and less Hindi.

Mrs J continued taking her son to the weekend classes, but the main attraction for her son in going to these classes was not to learn the language but to meet and play with his friends. At this time most children were using English only with each other and responding to adults in either English or Hindi. Parental insistence on speaking Hindi was the main reason for the children speaking their Mother Tongue. It appeared to all concerned that there were two mutually exclusive worlds; both trying to impose their ideology in mutual isolation.

Much to their parents delight both J1 and J2 have remained interested in minority culture and languages. And in some ways Mrs J thinks J2 is more interested in Hindi than J1. An upsurge in community languages and demands by ethnic minority communities for maintenance of minority traditions and culture in schools have affected the younger child more in understanding the values of parents' culture. Mrs J is still a voluntary Hindi teacher in a community run weekend Hindi school and on weekdays she works as a social worker mainly for the members of the ethnic minority community.

Both J1 and J2's communicative skills in Hindi reflect their early introduction to the language and relative lack of self-consciousness. Mrs J proudly stated that:

*My both sons speak very good Hindi. They can read and write as well
They both got GCSE qualifications in Hindi. My younger son wanted to
do A level Hindi, but he could not find extra time as he was preparing
for his Higher.*

(Mrs J)

Their accent is native like and handles complexities of sentence construction with ease. Both have gained high grades in their community language examinations; their attitude to languages and minority culture reflect their increased understanding of the political process involved in the settlement of the language minorities in this country.

Mrs J believes that both parents and the host society have to carry the responsibilities for determining the ways of fulfilling minority children's linguistic needs. Like discipline, the encouragement to learn Mother Tongue should come from home first and then supported by the wider society.

9.12 Summary of Main Findings from the Case Studies

The case studies demonstrated a strong positive attitude towards the minority languages and cultures in general. The results of the survey highlighted a broad consensus amongst the ethnic minority parents that all languages were equal and that there was knowledge and wisdom in every language and every culture.

As to the perceived importance of minority languages and its maintenance, the parents identified the 'loss of heritage, culture and identity' as the main Motivators for learning Mother Tongue. As one parent remarked:

Children have to know where they come from and by knowing their Mother Tongue they find out about their culture, their way of life, their roots.

(Mrs J)

A significant number of parents believed, confirming Cummins et al (1995), that bilingualism in itself is of great educational value. The learning of a second or third language ensures that 'the brain has done the exercise'. There were perceptible differences within the surveyed parents as to whether any economic advantage could be gained from learning Mother Tongue. One of the major factors contributing to this perception is the level of international status attached to the particular minority language in question. Thus Mrs D, a Chinese speaking parent, for example, mentioned that:

Economy is booming in the Far East. Whereas not easy to find job here and many of our friends have sent their children back to Hong Kong to look for jobs. There are far more opportunities there and it is easier if you know the language.

(Mrs D)

It could be argued that a positive response to Mother Tongue learning would be unsurprising as the interviewees were minority language speakers and they were expected to show their loyalty to their ethnicity. But differences in opinion were also apparent in cases of first and second-generation minority parents with regard to places, levels and sequences in learning of Mother Tongues. Some second generation parents, unlike the first generation parents, believe that learning of Mother Tongue should start after the children have mastered English and not before; and community and parents would be responsible

for teaching and maintenance of minority Mother Tongues not the school specially at primary level.

Differences in opinion also exist amongst members of different ethnic minority communities with regard to the 'external' and 'internal' reasons for learning Mother Tongue. The internal reasons can be characterised by the psychological well-being that can be gained through knowing one's own culture and language, and the external reasons by gaining economic advantage in the field of employment, businesses and commerce. Meaningful, fluent communication between parents, grandparents and children, understanding of two cultures and learning moral values were mentioned by both first and second generation parents as major reasons for learning one's Mother Tongue. Similarly, all parents considered reading and writing as necessary for reading religious texts, literature, poetry and for attaining qualifications.

A few parents identified the difficulties that their children were facing in fully accepting their parents' rigid restrictions of family culture as they were growing up here in Scotland rather than in Pakistan. Parents believed that many ethnic minority youngsters were rejecting both their parent's culture and the British way of life and developing their 'own culture'. The contributing factors were thought to be a lack of an in-depth understanding of or affinity towards any culture.

It seems clear from the study that the ethnic minority parents were well aware that their children were under great deal of pressure in sorting out their identities, that the concept of ethnic identity within a majority culture is not a static but a dynamic one; that this concept changes over time and is 'context dependent'; and that there are intra-individual differences in its development. The results of these case studies on parental attitudes to Mother Tongue learning corroborated Huthnik's (1991) earlier findings on the identity of South Asian young people where he concluded that:

... it would be beneficial for the psychological well-being of the ethnic minority individual to be aware of his/her ethnic origins in order that s/he may acquire adequate psychological strategies to cope with prejudice and the discrimination.

(Huthink, 1991, p167)

The attitudes of the ethnic minority parents, both first and second generation, towards minority languages seemed not just to be dominated by their personal and social affiliation with strong sentimental connotations but also influenced by practical relevance within the ever-widening parameters prevalent in the modern day world. Usage of Mother Tongue by the subsequent generations in the domain of business and commerce 'in the global village' have been identified by parents as the external reasons and understanding their roots and developing self confidence as the internal reasons in the maintenance of minority Mother Tongues.

A few parents expressed underlying doubts or fears about language interference. In direct contrast to the present findings (Thomas and Collier 1998) some parents believed that their children's learning of English could be interrupted or interfered by learning of their first language, as one parent commented that:

...the first priority is to learn the normal work and even though Urdu is very important, I would like them to learn basically in their own time...I am not too keen on their loosing the corporate time.

(Mrs B)

The majority of interviewees, however, believed that the maintenance of first language in itself does not impede subsequent language learning and they favour the idea of introducing Mother Tongue in schools. Although all parents showed positive attitude towards the maintenance of Mother Tongues, they differed as to where the learning should take place. A few parents believed that Mother Tongue learning during school hours would take place at the expense of 'other school work' and '*..a great effort has to be made by the parents to teach children...*'. In contrast the comment

I would like to make the authorities aware that Mother Tongue is very important and if it is lost then our very culture would be lost. So these languages should be taught in almost all the schools....if the education authorities realise that the parents are suffering...if they support our cause then we will benefit from it

(Mrs A)

supports the idea that Mother Tongue teaching is the responsibility of not just the parents but of the wider society and the schools as well.

In summary, the broad consensus and the differences relating to the 'why', 'when' and 'where' issues could be listed as follows:

- . All parents, without exception, wanted their children to learn Mother Tongue for both 'internal' and 'external' benefits, where:
 - . internal benefits ranged from a sense of dignified identity through understanding and respect for one's roots and heritage to developing a more robust intellectual capability to negotiate their own rightful place in a multiracial and multicultural society; and
 - . the external benefits ranged from the additive values derived from gaining competence in a second language to economic and commercial advantage in a rapidly shrinking 'global village.
- . A discernible difference emerged between the first and the second generation parents as to the 'when' and 'where' issues; thus:
 - . the second generation preferred mastering of English by their children before being introduced to Mother Tongue, lest it should impede progress in English; whereas
 - . the first generation preferred parallel learning, starting early; moreover
 - . the second generation parents tended to believe that parents have a bigger role to play in the teaching of Mother Tongue; whereas
 - . the first generation emphasised the shared role between the parents, school and the society at large.
- . Both groups concurred, however, that community schooling impose an extra layer of hardship and consequential demotivation for their children, and urged the authorities to be responsive to their children's needs through the provision of adequate resources in mainstream schools.

Chapter 10: Discussions

10.1 Purpose and Priorities

The main purpose of this study was to analyse the cognitive, social and personal aspects of Mother Tongue teaching in Scottish schools. In devising the framework of this research significant weight was attached to the previous research findings such as those quoted below:

all language minority groups benefit enormously in the long term from on-grade-level academic work in L1 (their first language). The more children develop L1 academically and cognitively at an age appropriate level, the more successful they will be in academic achievement in L2 (in this case, English) by the end of their school years.

(Thomas and Collier,1997,p60)

The Mother Tongue is that language, the loss of which results in the loss of rootedness in traditions and mythology of the speech community and leads to intellectual impoverishment and emotional sterility.

(Pattanayk,1986, p7-8)

To the extent that instruction in Lx (in this case English) is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly (in this case minority Mother Tongue) will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly and adequate motivation to learn Ly.

(Cummins,1996,p111)

The immediate objectives of this study were:

- . to analyse the extent of formal and informal use of Mother Tongue by ethnic minority pupils living in Scotland and the impact of non-Mother Tongue teaching on family life where minority language is the main communication vehicle
- . to investigate and analyse the attitude and practices of the local education authorities towards the maintenance and development of minority ethnic Mother Tongues in schools
- . to explore the nature of any relationship between achievement at Standard Grade and GCSE results in English, French and Community languages of a sample of bilingual pupils in Scottish secondary schools.

The underlying aim of these objectives was to analyse a number of essential elements which, when considered in the context of educating minority ethnic pupils here in Scotland, would facilitate the adoption of good pedagogic and administrative practices while lending support to the nation's current inclusive education and social policies. Moreover, the additional value-added objective was to develop a substantial data bank on the linguistic and academic achievements of a large number of bilingual pupils in Scottish schools, having collated and analysed the attitudes and practices of twenty two local councils on Mother Tongue education and the extent of usage of Mother Tongue involving over two hundred bilingual pupils.

The research undertaken on the educational, personal and social benefits of learning Mother Tongue for language minority pupils in multicultural Scotland generally received a positive feedback from the participants. Education authorities in Local Councils, ethnic minority parents and pupil-responses have provided an integrated approach in constructing a coherent and consistent view on Mother Tongue bilingualism and the attitude of the stakeholders. In devising the strategies for the quantitative investigation significant weight was attached to prior research findings that proficiency in second language exhibits a strong positive correlation with the proficiency in first language.

To undertake a statistical analysis of L1 and L2 results, 476 bilingual pupils' results were coded and in order to understand the extent and reasons for minority Mother Tongue maintenance and development, 206 bilingual pupils questionnaire responses were analysed and ten bilingual families were observed and interviewed as case studies. The result was an account of a comprehensive view on the effectiveness on learning of minority Mother Tongues in educational institutions, society and family.

10.2 Main findings emerging from the data

The statistical analysis showed strong interdependence between the examination results in two languages, L1 and L2. Thus, for example, when pupils attained top grades in Mother Tongue examinations they also got similar grades in English. A similar level of interdependence was also observed between attainments in Mother Tongue and those in French. This statistical finding directly confirms Cummins'(1986b) interdependence theory that second language acquisition is influenced by the extent to which the first language has developed. The above finding also sheds light on one of the objectives in this study as to

whether Mother Tongue learning impeded or facilitated the acquisition of the lingua franca for bilingual learners.

Conducting a statistical comparison between two discrete groups of bilingual groups - one with Mother Tongue and the one without Mother Tongue - was not, however, possible as the pupils in the second category might have been learning Mother Tongue outside schools, for example in weekend classes, temples or in mosques, and their examination results were not entered in their mainstream school records. In order, therefore, to minimise errors in isolating two discrete sample groups, pupils' Mother Tongue examination results require to be coded in their respective schools and a recording system on ethnic minority pupils' attendance in supplementary language classes require to be maintained in mainstream schools.

The breakdown of bilingual pupils' attainments in English and Mother Tongue speaking, reading and writing papers showed both similarities and dissimilarities. Pupils were doing significantly better in English speaking than in English writing and reading. Similar trend was found in Mother Tongue speaking paper but differences were observed in the results of Mother Tongue reading and writing papers. Bilingual pupils were doing better in Mother Tongue reading than in writing but the reverse was found in English; pupils were weaker in English reading than English writing.

Familiarity with context, idioms, specialised words, identification with the setting. and characters may have been instrumental in gaining better results in Mother Tongue reading comprehension papers. Corresponding with the basic linguistic principle that children's learning should be built on the experiences which children bring in to school could also have been helpful in understanding the content of the Mother Tongue reading exercises. Reappraisals would be necessary to find out if children whom teachers considered to be low achievers in English were capable of working at a higher level in Mother Tongue. Furthermore, teachers of English need to work closely with the community language and bilingual teachers to understand the strengths and weaknesses in pupils' Mother Tongue and encourage pupils to use and share their knowledge of Mother Tongues in developing their skills in second language. In order for such language transferability to occur adequate materials and teacher expertise are required; receptivity to linguistic diversity needs to permeate the atmosphere in classrooms and schools and influence the language teachers' whole approach to the bilingual pupils' learning of languages.

The attainment pattern in writing papers in Mother Tongue examinations might be due to the fact that writing starts considerably later in Mother Tongue syllabus, and that the mastering of community language scripts require a considerable amount of time and effort. In Standard Grade modern language syllabus emphasis is put on developing conversational skills in the early years in secondary education. and writing is regarded as optional. Whatever the explanations of such anomalies in reading and writing attainments in L1 and L2 might be, they do not negate the statistical findings in this study that overall attainments in L1 and L2 are correlated and interdependent and it reconfirms Thomas and Collier's (1997) findings that the more children develop their first language academically and cognitively at an age appropriate level, the more successful bilingual pupils would be in academic attainments in second and subsequent languages.

One major area of concern emerged from this study; why was it that more than 50% of the sample group of 476 bilingual pupils did not avail themselves of the opportunity of learning their own Mother Tongue in their own school? The analysis of the present data would not help identify the exact reasons for such an outcome; further investigation is, therefore, needed to isolate the influencing factors in such language selection procedure. Parent case studies revealed that some anxieties remained about the place of Mother Tongue learning as well as about interference of Mother Tongue learning on acquisition of English. Mrs. B, a parent participant in the case studies, commented in reference to Mother Tongue learning at mainstream schools that:

Asian pupils should be using English all the time....it is at primary school that English develops and all other tutoring should be done at home or after school hours.

(Mrs. B)

Such a hierarchical view was held by a very small number of the participating parents, who thought that the European languages such as French and German would be more beneficial for their children's education than their Mother Tongue. Although they regard Mother Tongue learning as vitally important for their children's personal and social development, they seem to disregard its role in cognitive and academic development. The permeation of

such beliefs from the adults to the young members of the minority ethnic communities may have been an influential factor in the low uptakes in Mother Tongue classes in secondary schools. There was, however, unanimity amongst minority ethnic parents that Mother Tongue learning was vital in understanding one's roots, culture, relationships and family values, and its absence would adversely affect family life in the areas of closeness, empathy, understanding, and respect for heritage.

Several minority parents in the case studies showed concerns that their children were left, in their formative years, to their own devices to adopt or drift into a new culture based neither on their ancestral nor their host culture. Exclusion or alienation of the minority history and culture from the majority culture, coupled with its marginalisation and the absence of a sound knowledge base and positive perception on the part of the children of their own minority history and culture, would leave these children, many parents believed, in a social vacuum, unable to challenge inequalities, or to participate in opportunities, or to resolve problems through power sharing.

While the inclusion of community languages in a limited number of mainstream schools resulted, as indicated earlier, from initiatives and demands by the ethnic communities themselves, such facilities are not being used by many of their children. There are confusions amongst a number of practitioners and pupils in understanding the purpose and cognitive benefits of such provision. More specifically, there is a need for a paradigm shift, and it needs to be driven by the people in power. The challenge of an anti-racist curriculum, the challenge of making learning more meaningful to children from varying backgrounds, would put pressure on the authority to seek new policies. Human rights to a sense of dignified identity and the rights of all children to accessing knowledge that promotes cognitive consonance within an environment where cultural and linguistic diversities are respected and valued for the positive contribution they are able to make to the wider community, would be the most challenging issue facing everyone involved in education.

Dissemination to both minority and majority parents of research findings on language issues would help alleviate parents' anxieties over the relationship between first and second language learning. The CERES report (1999) recognised the need for parents to be the partners in the promotion of bilingualism and community languages. The report stated in

reference to the advantage that can be gained by full involvement of bilingual parents in their children's education that:

Bilingual pupils feel valued and motivated to maintain their community language whilst developing the language of the school.

(CERES, 1999, p20)

In order to involve bilingual parents in the school it would be essential to have an easy communication between home and school. Ghuman (1995a) observed in his investigation on parental participation that:

The white teachers in the research were of the opinion that South Asian parents, especially Muslims, do not give girls equal opportunity on a par with boys...(and) South Asian parents do not attend parent's meeting.

(Ghuman, 1999, p220)

For bilingual parents to get more involved in their children's education, it is important that the schools value their children's cultural and linguistic diversities and make it an important part of their education. For schools to be effective in this role, the local authorities need to ensure that pupils' Mother Tongue are recorded in pupil's school enrolment record and it's maintenance and development are monitored. The next question would be how Scottish local authorities are dealing with bilingual children's educational needs and what form of Mother Tongue support is provided for bilingual children.

10.3 Councils' attitudes to Mother Tongue teaching

The past decade has witnessed an increasing assertion by the education authorities of the transitional or subtractive values of Mother Tongue learning by minority ethnic pupils in Scotland and, as a result, support for learning was put on ESL rather than on first language acquisition. Additionally, there have been variations in practice and attitudes within the councils in implementing community language provisions within and outside schools. It is likely, moreover, that diversity in practices of each local council were influenced by the demographic patterns and demands by ethnic minorities in each unitary authority. An interesting parallel can be drawn here from the attitude and policy towards the inclusion of modern European languages in the curriculum, based mostly on the top-down assessment

of the economic and cultural merits of these foreign languages. In contrast, inclusion of Mother Tongue in the curriculum has been largely a bottom-up process, determined by the level of demand from the minority communities involved.

What emerged clearly from the analysis of the council questionnaire survey was that most councils have been reactive rather than proactive in meeting the Mother Tongue needs of the ethnic minority pupils. The reasons for having a policy or a policy statement were identified by local authorities as a response to the demands from the ethnic minorities. Moreover, the ethnic minorities living in urban councils appeared to be more vociferous in their demands for equal opportunities in terms of languages than the ones living in suburban or rural councils.

The pedagogical purposes for Mother Tongue usage in mainstream education were focused on subtractive/transitory form of bilingualism by most responding councils in the sense that the maintenance and usage of home language in nursery and early primary classes were supported specifically for making the transition from Mother Tongue to the lingua franca, not for additive values in Mother Tongue learning. Of late, however, a more meaningful debate has been concerned less with whether Mother Tongue should be taught in schools but more with the value added function of Mother Tongue learning to self perception and academic achievements of ethnic minority pupils.

Levine (1990) in his analysis of the attainment targets in English language for bilingual learners observed that:

The most harmful effect on bilingual learners lies in the official decisions about examining assessment procedures, to treat language as though it were the same order of knowledge as that in the other curricular areas. The results: equating language with English, and treating it as though all pupils' experience of language is the same and therefore easily measurable, will be seriously to underestimate the ability of pupils who know a different language.

(Levine, 1990, p70)

Inclusion of Baseline Assessment as a requirement for nursery and early primary classes in Scotland would further highlight the need to evaluate the purpose and strategies for

including ethnic minority pupils' home languages in mainstream classrooms. Nursery and primary bilingual teachers harbour reservations about the transitory usage of minority bilingualism in classrooms and show preferences for long term, grade related Mother Tongue learning to a higher level. The arguments for development of home language to upper primary levels have been dominant amongst linguists and practising language support teachers in multilingual classrooms but the low levels of appropriate resources in terms of materials and ethnic minority teachers continue to present major practical hurdles in attaining this goal.

There are questions about 'consistency' between policy and implementation. Around 70% of the responding councils had no specific minority language policy yet were providing support in the running of the community language classes. One urban unitary authority is supporting forty four community language classes outside mainstream schools. A large number of ethnic minority pupils are attending these language classes outside school hours indicating that ethnic minority parents consider such education as important for their children's personal, social and educational development. Although most of the minority children are born here, they are encountering prejudices, in this instance linguistic prejudices against non-European language speakers. Many parents are concerned that without a national policy on teaching and learning of minority Mother Tongues in schools such vital education for their children would be lost. The home-school mismatch would create negative consequences, for example, confusion, conflict and low-achievement.

10.4 And the future?

Ingram(1990) stated in his analysis of languages and language policy in British schools that Britain does not possess a clearly formulated policy but it is possible to infer a policy from the education provision.

The current situation is that the full linguistic repertoire of some pupils is not being reflected in classroom teaching. It is also ignored as an individual, societal and national resource. By preferring to concentrate resources and teaching in a number of ways that fail to acknowledge bilingualism as a positive intellectual, social and educational advantage for pupils, education provision is undervaluing, undermining and underselling significant groups within British society.

(Thompson et al. 1996,p120)

In Scotland, bilingualism has been largely restricted to the revival of the Gaelic language and the value of maintaining and developing minority ethnic Mother Tongue has not yet been recognised by the authorities as a linguistic and educational necessity for the minority ethnic pupils. There is a need for the authorities to identify more precisely the languages that are spoken by the bilingual pupils and attach equal status in terms of inclusion in national curriculum to all such languages. Pattanayak (1991) indicated that the multicultural debate in UK was overshadowed by the controversy between multicultural and anti-racist education and hence the real issues of the educational needs of minority ethnic children were lost. Since ideological and political changes are in progress in devolved Scotland, it is now time for local councils to reconsider the current linguistic provisions for the bilingual pupils in two ways. Firstly, by meeting educational needs of the minority ethnic pupils within mainstream education and secondly, by offering the type and range of courses that would encourage young bilinguals to retain their bilingualism/biculturalism in their integration process as well as understanding diversities in the society. The nature of education in schools, itself a complex process, takes on a new dimension when moral, social, intellectual and political contexts are added to it, as Sayer (1982) pointed out:

Education is always a moral issue. It involves values, standards, and judgements. In addition, it is always intellectual, because disciplined

thinking is crucial. And it is always political, since the values and ways of thinking that are used favour some sections of the population, but not all.

(quoted in Tierney, 1982, p86)

10.5 The Gender Issues

The relative pattern that emerged from the analysis of the attainment grades in total, showed that bilingual girls were doing better in Mother Tongue examination than bilingual boys. One plausible explanation could be, as evidenced from the Bilingual pupils' questionnaire analysis, that a significantly larger number of girls were attending supplementary Mother Tongue classes than boys. Despite such disparity between the genders, differentiated parental attitude to boys and girls were not observed in the case studies associated with this research. In contrast, Ghuman (1999) observed, in reference to gender related issues, that the south Asian girls face a unique predicament; one imposed by their parents and the other by the wider society (racism). Ghuman commented that:

Asian parents tend to prefer boys in all walks of life and give them more freedom and opportunities. Girls, on the other hand, are expected to carry the izzat (honour) of the family...

(Ghuman, 1999, p225)

None of the ethnic minority parents in the case studies, however, expressed any preference that only their daughters should learn and maintain Mother Tongue or that the responsibility for maintaining heritage, tradition and culture lay with girls only. One of the possible reasons for such difference could have been that the longitudinal case studies comprised mainly of middle class parents. However, the combined survey finding, it has to be said, is more in line with Ballard's (1979) comment on second generation Asians that:

Asian children carry with them a deep sense of family loyalty and an awareness of their cultural distinctiveness.

(Ballard, 1979, p115)

Corroborative evidence could be found in Weinreich's (1979) comparative study on ethnicity and adolescent identity conflict, where Asian boys and girls were found to have general conflicted identifications with general representatives of their own ethnic group,

but not with their own parents. Due to their non-conflictual identifications with their parents, their allegiance to their ethnic group was in most cases assured and few were likely to reject their ethnic roots. (Weinreich, 1979)

10.6 Curriculum development

The conclusion that emerged from the suburban and rural local authorities' responses on the reasons for developing Mother Tongue materials was primarily to use such materials as medium for English as a second language. On the other hand, most urban authorities indicated that they would develop materials in order to teach minority languages as modern languages in schools and such initiatives have been taken by a small number of both urban and a few suburban councils from beginners' level to Standard Grade and Scottish vocational levels. The later finding corresponds to the view identified by Thompson (1996) in analysis of the languages and language policy in Britain that education provision in Britain is currently in 'a state of transition' and it is not too late to reconsider the current provision and educational needs of bilingual children.

Callender (1997) in exploring black language and the curriculum pointed out that:

language is a powerful symbol of cultural identity and several commentators have reported that the language choices of young Black people are closely linked to their identification with the Black community.

(Callender, 1997, p31)

The importance of Mother Tongue teaching received support in two ways; one as an important marker for ethnic identity, the other as an important stepping stone for academic achievement. But the later view was challenged by Gilborn and Gipps (1996) in their research on the achievement of ethnic minority students in England and Wales that the performance of children of Pakistani origin tended to be lower in English, maths and science tests than that of the Indian, Afro-Caribbean and white children.

The determining factor in the achievement of South Asians was whether or not the pupils spoke English at home.

(Ghuman, 1999, p216)

The minority parents in this present study presented a different picture that all parents used Mother Tongue with their children at home and that their children have succeeded in their

school examinations and gone into higher education; in many instances they are well established in their respective professions. Under-achievement can not be attributed to a single influencing factor such as absence of English language usage at home; such factors as high unemployment rate amongst minority ethnic parents, high proportion of parents in manual occupation, lack of child-supervision due to parents' unsociable working hours, parents' lack of formal education etc. could have a cumulative effect on bilingual children's underachievement.

10.7 Teacher training

As far as provisions for ethnic minority graduates to train as community language teachers were concerned, only three responding councils reported to run appropriate courses in teacher training colleges. Only one urban council stated that they had this provision under consideration because of the presence of Standard Grade Urdu in the curriculum. Although Urdu was included as one of the modern languages in the Scottish 5-14 education curriculum in 1996, teacher training colleges in Scotland, in general, did not incorporate any initial training in Mother Tongue teaching or in bilingual education.

What emerged clearly from the findings was that most unitary authorities mentioned their own training agenda according to their interpretation of the role of minority ethnic Mother Tongue in education whether it was intermediary or direct. A very small number of urban councils were supportive of the additive values of Mother Tongue and focused on relevant training programmes such as inclusion of community languages in the initial teacher training programme and providing in-service training in Mother Tongue teaching.

Nevertheless councils in general have been known to be conscious of the needs of the bilingual learners and committed to development which they see to be of benefit to their bilingual children. The most obvious form of staff development for teachers employed specifically for the bilingual learners have been associated with English as a second language courses which have placed Mother Tongue learning at a transitory level. Staff development is seen by Local Authorities as critical but in the areas of Mother Tongue bilingualism the form and content of staff development, as well as by whom and on what scale, remained unexplored.

The recent publication by the Centre for Education for Racial Equality in Scotland on *Bilingualism, Community Languages and Scottish Education* recommended that the professional training establishments should:

Include mandatory modules on language awareness, bilingual issues and multicultural anti-racist education within initial training. This should include a look at the position of community languages within Scotland and the implications for educational practice.

(CERES, 1999, p32)

Schools provide an important point of contact between speakers of different languages, and the attitudes of the teachers towards community languages are likely to exert a significant influence as to whether the language users assign positive or negative values to these languages. Edwards (1983), in reference to teacher attitudes to language and pupil achievement, pointed out that:

...attitudes towards language are more critical in an educational setting than actual linguistic differences...a good deal of evidence exists which suggests that teacher attitudes towards individual pupils may play an important role in their academic achievement.

(Edwards, 1983,p11-12)

A hierarchy of preferences was reported by Mercer (1981) to exist in teachers' attitude to languages:

The child who comes from a lengthy stay in Europe speaking French or Spanish is considered to be very fortunate and is encouraged to make efforts to maintain fluency in that language. The bilingualism of the British born Asian child, in contrast, is either undervalued or ignored.... Teachers have been overheard admonishing children speaking Gujarati...to 'stop jabbering'.

(Ibid. p37)

Teacher education institutions, therefore, need to prepare student teachers for work in a multi-cultural society and sensitise them to the equal status of all languages and additive values of bilingualism. An appreciation of Scotland's community languages within pre and in-service training courses would enable all staff to develop strategies to maintain and sustain language diversities for speakers concerned as well as for the wider community.

The General Teaching Council in Scotland (1994) recommended that universities, colleges and local authorities should make every effort to recruit more black bilingual lecturers and teachers in order to reflect more faithfully the reality of the Scottish society.

It has been a matter of concern for minority ethnic parents that their own attitude to their children's first language learning are not reciprocated by the teachers' attitude. In Verma and Ashworth's (1986) research in West Yorkshire, evidence was found of discrimination and prejudice on the part of a significant number of teachers and that the racism of teachers were causing pain and anxiety to many young Asian pupils. The Swann Report (1985) commissioned a research investigation into the identification of teachers' attitude to minority ethnic pupils and concluded that:

The whole gamut of racial misunderstandings and folk mythology was revealed, racial stereotypes were common, and attitudes range from the unveiled hostility of a few, through the apathy of many and condescension of others, to total acceptance and respect by a minority.

(DES, 1985, p236)

Children who speak a language or dialect other than Standard English face additional problems through the lack of awareness of teachers. Devaluation of bilingual pupils' linguistic skills in classrooms could be counter productive for pupils in developing critical understanding of this society and the reasons for them to be here.

10.8 Pupil self assessment on Mother Tongue learning

All of the 206 bilingual pupils consulted in this study were attending Mother Tongue classes in mainstream and supplementary classes and therefore the aim was not to explore their attitude to Mother Tongue learning but to measure the extent of Mother Tongue usage in their personal and social contexts. How do they respond, for example, to the expectation from their own language communities while being influenced, predominantly, by the wider society.

Around 50% of the responding bilingual pupils reported to be fluent speakers of their Mother Tongue; the same percentage converse with their parents in their home language all the time but with their siblings most of the time. Only 1% of the responding pupils were using Mother Tongue only with their peer groups from the same linguistic background and 47% reported to be using both Mother Tongue and English. Bearing in mind that the whole

sample group was attending community language classes, it might be appropriate to ask here as to what influencing factors were present in only half the sample population using Mother Tongue in wider contexts than the rest. For reasons discussed before, the analysis of the present data would not reveal the reasons for the differences in pupil responses; a survey using random sample of language minority pupils from both within and outside of the community language classes might bring about a clearer understanding of this phenomenon. Given that the entire population of the responding children were in attendance of Mother Tongue classes, parental influence in valuing Mother Tongue learning could be considered positive.

Another identifiable issue in the questionnaire responses was that pupils who were born outside the UK (i.e. in the sub-continent) preferred learning Mother Tongue in Secondary schools whereas pupils who were born in UK preferred learning in both early primary and secondary schools. One possible explanation could be a higher level of confidence in the former group due to a higher level of exposure to, familiarity with and pre-disposition towards their Mother Tongue.

10.9 Parents' attitude to Mother Tongue learning

An ethnographic approach in gathering information from parents allowed understanding and empathy to develop between the interviewer and the interviewees, as both sides shared minority ethnic background, culture and values. Mother Tongue learning by children was considered by all parents to be extremely important in developing awareness and understanding of their roots and heritage, as well as for religious purposes; at the same time all of the parents interviewed voiced concerns as to whether their children would continue to be able to use their Mother Tongue in the longer term. Some parents considered it appropriate to encourage their children to be competent in the language of their school first and start teaching their Mother Tongue later. They seemed to be under the impression that the learning of both Mother Tongue and English would confuse their child, or that the learning of two or more languages would be a burden on the learners. At the same time most parents considered that both languages were important for their children's academic, social and personal development. This parental attitudinal finding on the place of Mother Tongue in their children's education corroborated with previous literature research finding by Taylor and Hegarty (1985).

Taylor and Hegarty (1985), in a survey of research literature on the South Asian languages, concluded that:

Overall there is considerable consensus across the relatively few studies on language attitudes that the South Asian language speakers value both their first language and English. Their Mother Tongue are seen to have considerable importance for communication at all levels, for cultural maintenance and for identity.

(Taylor & Hegarty, 1985, p188)

Both first and second generation Asian parents in case studies feared that non-maintenance of minority cultures and values in the mainstream education system would create a gulf between them and their children. Keeping contact with the elder generations at their parental home and elsewhere, treating the members of the family with respect and playing an active role in their social and religious life were expected by most parents to be the main part of their children's social development.

A number of parents indicated that Mother Tongue learning did not interfere with the acquisition of the language of the school and that Mother Tongue should be taught in schools alongside other subjects. Equally the second-generation parents showed strong interest in giving their children a deeper understanding of their heritage culture almost echoing Ballard's (1979) finding that:

Many second generation parents were emphatic about their intention to give their own children a wider knowledge and clearer understanding of Asian culture than they had when they were children themselves

(Ballard, 1979, p129)

Overcrowding of the curriculum, interference with English language acquisition, and distraction from corporate timetable were mentioned by some second generation parents as the rationale for non inclusion of community languages in mainstream schools. There appeared to be a conflict between the realisations that Mother Tongue learning is essential for maintenance and perpetuation of family values, culture and personal identity, and that Mother Tongue learning in school may interfere and deprive children of acquisition and learning of some essential elements in the curriculum.

Edwards' (1983) comment that ambivalence exists among second and third generation members of linguistic minority communities towards the belief held by many Asian

children that the languages of their parents are second-rate, unworthy of educational attention, is not substantiated by this research. There appears, on the contrary, a growing understanding amongst second and third generation minority ethnic parents, as was observed through the case studies involving mainly middle-class families, that a strong sense of cultural identity is important for their children. Many parents are concerned that their children are left, in their formative years, to their own devices to develop or drift into a new culture based neither on their ancestral or their host culture. What remains controversial amongst minority parents is whether responsibility for Mother Tongue classes should fall on school.

The Bullock report (1975) laid the foundations for the development and implementation of language policies and practices in local education authorities. The report stated that

No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, nor to live and act as though school and home represent two separate and different cultures which have to be kept firmly apart

(The Bullock Report, 1975, p286)

The question could be raised here as to how many minority ethnic parents have been consulted by the schools about the implications and practices of this recommendation? Many minority parents are still under the impression that Mother Tongue played no role in acquisition of English and their children should achieve fluency in English as rapidly as possible. Although there has been a growing understanding of the importance of family values and traditions and the development of a strong sense of cultural identity, many minority parents are unaware of how and where these development should take place and in what form. Davey (1983) pointed out in his discussion on the acquisition of ethnic awareness that:

It is imperative that schools should make every effort to incorporate parents into their thinking and planning....It is not sufficient that schools should merely keep parents informed...they need to get the parents actively involved in the school's affairs and provide a forum for parents-to parents exchanges, as well as for a continuing parent-teacher dialogue.

(Davey, 1983, p180-181)

Some minority parents came to believe that Mother Tongue learning for their children would be made the integral part of their educational experiences in mainstream schools so that their children would learn to give equal status to their home language and did not have to spend extra time and effort in travelling to weekend classes. Stone (1981) mentioned of the disenchantment of minority parents and community groups with what schools had to offer and *organising Saturday classes-to supplement the second-rate education which the school system offers their children.(p11).*

It is undeniable that parents have a decisive and discernible effect on the development of their children's ethnic attitudes. Ghail (1999) commented in reference to anti-racism and minority community mobilisation that:

...much contemporary work on anti-racism (in Britain) is marked by historical amnesia.

(Ghail, 1999, p117)

Hall (1991a) in his account of black identity formation from within British context suggested a number of elements of identity. The first is that identities are always incomplete; always actively in the process of being formed. Minority pupils in their attempt to form their cosmopolitan identity need to see their elements of ethnicity on par with the majority pupils. The deviation from the egalitarian approaches may lead to differential practices that presume that individuals are unitary racialized subjects occupying predictable power positions. Henriques et al.(1984) argued that minorities and majorities

..are not unitary subjects uniquely positioned, but are produced as a nexus of subjectivities in relation of power which are constantly shifting, rendering them at one moment powerful and at another powerless.

(Henriques et al. 1984, p225)

For the minority ethnic pupils, an awareness and appreciation of their ancestors' culture, history and heritage, anti-colonial movements and struggle towards justice and social inclusion would provide a clearer understanding of the politics of British anti-racism and help to understand what it means to be a member of the racial minority and be British at the same time.

10.10 Siblings

Different levels of Mother Tongue learning amongst children in the same family indicated that although the parents placed high priority on Mother Tongue learning, changes in family circumstances affected the order of priorities. In some instances the older children received more parental support in learning their first language and in others the younger ones. Availability of classes, changes in attitude to continuation of home language, levels of motivation and family pressure were some of the reasons identified in the case studies for varying levels of Mother Tongue learning. There was not much difference in first and second generation minority parents' perception on the needs of Mother Tongue learning; only difference was that the second generation parent's perception was influenced by lack of opportunities for Mother Tongue learning in their own early years.

All parents consulted were generally positive to the teaching of Mother Tongue to their youngsters; the differences in opinion appeared on the response to whose responsibility would it be to teach Mother Tongue to their children; parents, minority communities or the wider society. With a few exceptions, the parents commented that parents and the immediate community can do the initial teaching but the final responsibility lies with the councils or the wider society. There was a widespread feeling amongst parents that if the full responsibility were to lie with parents only, then children's acquisition level in their first language will remain low, inadequate and incomplete. Mercer (1981) reported that only 11 per cent of ethnic minority children in Leicester attended supplementary schools, although the vast majority of minority ethnic parents expressed a wish to send their children to Mother Tongue classes. For this reason alone Mercer argued that:

State schools cannot justifiably leave the educational treatment of an important area of their pupils' experience to voluntary institutions.

(Mercer, 1981, p156)

During the consultation with the minority ethnic parents, a significant number of parents raised concerns over the quality of teaching, lack of progress, travelling, slow pace in learning as problems in supplementary/weekend Mother Tongue classes. Education authorities in Scotland have a responsibility to involve minority parents in policy decisions in order to interpret the cultural and linguistic orientation of their neighbourhood. Minority parents need to be aware of such views as made by the Scottish Consultative Council on

the Curriculum (1994) in reference to range of linguistic diversity that exist in Scotland that;

....a different variety of English from the standard variety of English taught in English; it may be Gaelic; or it may be a language whose original home is far from Scotland-a European language like Italian, or a language like Arabic, Bahasa Malaysia, Bengali, Cantonese, Panjabi, Swahili or Urdu.

(Quoted in CERES, 1999, p5)

For south Asian parents Mother Tongue was not only the important vehicle for teaching of their religion, it also served as a strong identity marker; a chief instrument for the transmission of values, attitudes, sentiments and skills. The half-hearted support of the local education authorities, some parents believed, have left the teaching of minority languages as insignificant in the eyes of their children.

The present inclusive climate has made significant awareness for the need for minority ethnic pupils' first language acquisition amongst Local Councils, schools and educators, yet uncertainties lie with programme delivery and programme implementation. In general, there is cautious advancement in the inclusion of community languages in the school curriculum as the critics believe the number of languages that are spoken by the minority ethnic pupils are too diverse and the philosophical underpinning is utopianistic as well as conducive to creating division and discrimination amongst the diverse minority communities. The critical issue in this study was to identify the principles that support Mother Tongue intervention for minority ethnic pupils and encourage educators for thoughtful deployment of the ideas. What is needed is not the retreat from this idea, however idealistic or utopianistic, but as the study identified, a careful organisational intervention.

10.11 Next steps

The future of ethnic minority languages lies with the new Scottish Parliament. With Gaelic being established as the heritage language in Scotland, a culturally inclusive language policy would be needed at national level that will reflect the complex linguistic diversities in the nation. The aim of such policy would be to provide a clear and coherent framework

for supporting and developing languages of the racially diverse Scottish citizens. It would stress the importance for ethnic minority pupils to learn their Mother tongue as well as the languages of Scotland's European partners.

The impact that Mother Tongue learning has on Scotland's linguistically and culturally diverse people on improving their self-esteem and on the levels of achievement in academic, social and professional areas of life are well documented. The evidence of such benefits has been presented throughout the discussion on findings of this study. A number of critical issues relating to curricular development, teacher training, pupil and teacher assessment and management and allocation of critical resources need to be addressed in the near future in order to provide an effective service to meet the needs of the linguistic minority pupils.

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

11.1 Summary of Main Findings

- . On the basis of the statistical analysis it can be claimed that Mother Tongue learning by minority ethnic pupils in schools facilitates rather than interferes with the learning of English and other European languages. Strong interdependence was found in Mother Tongue and English results in this study to indicate that pupils with higher level of achievement in Mother tongue would attain similar grades in English. Homogeneity was also found in Mother Tongue and French and German results. Such observable interdependence between Mother Tongue and English attainments by minority ethnic pupils demand that further thought be given to pedagogical and administrative considerations.
- . Community languages were not recognised by Councils as an essential element for personal and academic growth in ethnic minority pupils but rather as a transitional tool in gaining competence in English.
- . The majority of local councils do not have any specific policy in minority ethnic Mother Tongue teaching.
- . Demands for Mother Tongue teaching originated from minority communities.
- . The general approach to Mother Tongue learning minority parents and pupils was positive. Many minority parents believed that through the learning and development of their children's bilingualism that their children would gain insight into social issues, explore individual positions and perpetuate ethnic values and norms to the next generations.
- . Exclusion from mainstream education and marginalisation of minority languages in supplementary schools only would result in distorting the values of ethnic minority cultures to the eyes of the minority children.
- . Some anxieties remained amongst minority parents about the time and sequence issues in Mother Tongue learning in mainstream schools.
- . Bilingual pupils prefer learning Mother Tongue in secondary and early primary classes rather than in p6/7 in mainstream schools.

- . More girls than boys are attending Mother Tongue classes and girls are attaining marginally better grades than boys.

11.2 Implications

What could be worse for the ethnic minority communities from the old colonised countries living in Scotland than the feeling that their children face the prospect of belonging neither to the host country, nor to the country that they left behind two decades ago? Each generation likes to see that their children are doing better than themselves and the instrument that they pass on to the younger generation for future development remain strong, yet flexible. Knowledge of one's roots, heritage, language and traditional way of life, as parents believe, would make individual pupils stronger for both academic and social development. Many minority parents believe that through the development and maintenance of minority languages in school curriculum, their children would gain insight into social issues, appreciate individual positions in a pluralist society.

In the context of economic globalisation, it is possible to argue that knowledge of other cultures is not only desirable for vocational purposes but its introduction in education will develop a sense of inclusiveness and enrichment within both the majority and the minority pupils. In a pluralist society the cultures of different ethnic groups flourish best in interactions and interrelations; therefore, the education system needs to promote and maintain productive contact between languages and cultures. Separate schools or separate curricula will not bring about cohesion in a mixed society, as pointed out by Gundara (1994):

Separate schools or curricula do not assist in bringing about intercultural understandings. Within complex societies the need to develop cross-cultural negotiations and leanings is an important issue.

(Gundara, 1994, p17)

Maintenance of subtractive bilingualism, on the other hand, would lead to the maintenance of racism and degradation of minority languages. Exclusion from mainstream education and marginalisation of minority languages in supplementary schools only would result in distorting the values of ethnic minority cultures even to the eyes of the minority children themselves and this will reduce the opportunities for minority members in develop a

critical consciousness and morals that would help them evaluate shared or common issues towards a set of convergent, negotiated aims and objectives.

There is no logical substance in assuming that learning of one's own language, traditions and values are detrimental to education. If the education system in Scotland is genuine about eradicating racism and if its commitment to equality, fairness and the well-being of all citizens remain steadfast, then realisation of a truly ethnically pluralistic society would be a reality in the school agenda for the new millennium. The critical first step towards this would be to dissociate racist ideology from the curriculum.

11.3 Recommendations

It is recommended that the Local Authorities in Scotland:

- . adopt an additive view of Mother Tongue bilingualism and extend the debate on Mother Tongue bilingualism to both minority and majority communities in order to promote community languages as an aid to cognitive, personal and social growth for ethnic minority pupils.
- . include Mother Tongue bilingualism as an essential skill in recruitment and selection of bilingual staff, supported by effective pedagogic strategies for bilingual education in mainstream classrooms and a planned programme of staff development for all educational practitioners in this area, in order to provide a sustained and effective programme of bilingual education for minority ethnic pupils aimed at ensuring better overall attainments by them.
- . improve, in addition, quality of community language classes outside mainstream, with a view to promoting and motivating parental involvement.
- . develop teaching materials which are context relevant for pupils living in Scotland, with particular focus on removing racially prejudiced/insensitive material.

It is recommended that all schools should:

- . provide community language classes with adequate planning such that children would have the opportunity to learn both first language and an additional European language, and create a climate, primarily through teacher attitude and adequate

provision of vital resources, in which bilingual pupils would value such an opportunity and would feel encouraged to exploit it.

- . ensure that staff can participate in in-service training that promote bilingualism, explore effective pedagogy in developing bilingual pupils' language skills, and create opportunities for increasing parental involvement
- . act positively to recruit bilingual staff in support for learning in all areas of the school work, and encourage liaison between them and all subject teachers with a view to monitoring pupil progress, curricular and staff development.

It is recommended that all teacher education establishments should:

- . include mandatory modules on language diversity and bilingual issues within initial training programmes.
- . actively seek to recruit bilingual academic staff, support staff and students through positive action programmes
- . explore ways of providing in-service courses for Asian teachers to specialise in community language teaching as an elective.
- . foster partnership with universities internationally to co-operate in the promotion of community languages in Scottish universities e.g. through enabling community language students to take placements abroad.
- . explore ways of offering degree courses in community languages local universities and further education colleges.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Study visit to Italy

A1.1 Introduction

This report is the outcome of a two-day visit to Galileo Galilei and Max Vallier schools in Bolzano situated in northern Italy.

The visit was organised by European Commission as a part of the Socrates programme designed to assess situations in intercultural and anti-racist education in Italy, Norway and Scotland. Three teachers from each participating countries met in Galileo Galilei and Max Vallier schools to exchange ideas on intercultural issues in order to improve their own understanding of ethnic diversity and principles of anti-racist thinking with a view to developing relevant teaching materials for their own pupils and, after evaluation, for incorporation into school curricula.

What follows is observational, no comparison has been made to other academic or empirical work in the area of bilingualism or intercultural education in this part of the world. Despite this, the core findings would add, it is believed, to the context and perspective of bilingual learning.

A1.2 Purpose & Agenda

The main purpose of the visit was to promote anti-racist awareness among core groups of teachers from participating schools from Scotland, Norway and Italy, by acquainting them with the principles of anti-racist thinking

1.2.1 Wednesday 05 November 1997:

Journey from Glasgow to Bolzano via Brussels.

Thursday 06 November 1997: Galileo Galilei and Max Vallier schools.

A.M.: Introduction to the Head teachers of two schools.

Visit to Galilei and Vallier classes and laboratories.

Meeting with the Director of the Italian school Department for Bolzano province in the Headquarters.

P.M.: Meeting in Galilei school with teachers working on 'PARAT' (promoting anti-racist education among teachers and pupils) project.

Visit to the Exhibition about the issues of racism organised by the Town council of Bolzano.

Dinner in Italian restaurant with Head teachers and teachers from both schools.

Friday 07 November 1997: Town Council, Ladin Pedagogic centre, Galileo Galilei and Max Vallier schools.

A.M.: Meeting with two political representatives of Bolzano Town Council at the town hall.
Visit to Ladin pedagogic centre about 'the trilingual teaching system' in the Ladin Valleys.

P.M.: Lunch at Vallier school.
Meeting with the member of the Italian pedagogic centre and co-ordinator of intercultural school projects.
Talk with a group of immigrant women working at 'Donne Nissa' centre and with the teachers of Vallier school.
Dinner together at Headmaster's house.

Saturday 8th November 1997:

A.M.: Sight Seeing.

P.M.: Dinner at a German speaking family house.

Sunday 9th November 1997:

A.M.: Departure from Bolzano.

P.M.: Arrival in Glasgow Airport.

A1.3 General background of Galilei and Vallier schools.

Galileo Galilei and Max Vallier, both technical schools, catering for 14-18 year olds, are situated in Bolzano and the distance between the two school buildings is not more than five metres.

The medium of instructions are different in those adjoining schools; Italian in Galilei and German in Max Vallier. There are 296 pupils in the Italian school and about 800 in the German school. This north eastern part of Italy, formerly a part of Austria, became

part of Italy since 1918, at the end of World War I. This might explain why Italians are the minorities in their own land, with the German speaking population outnumbering those speaking Italian by three to one.

Curriculum

Pupils at Max Vallier, the German speaking school speak a dialect in German which is not used as the medium of instruction in language oriented subjects such as German literature, History, Religion etc. All pupils in first and second years study the same subjects in both German and Italian speaking schools.

These subjects are:-

History

Mathematics

German as Mother Tongue and as a second language in the Italian school

Italian as Mother Tongue and as a second language in the German school

English as a foreign language

Physics

Chemistry

Law

Religion

Physical education

Electronics

Statistics

Technical Drawing

Pupils in third and fourth year choose subjects from areas such as:-

Industrial Information

Electronics and Telecommunications

Electrical Engineering

Mechanical Engineering

Computer Automation

Bilingualism

All pupils in Max Vallier speak German as their Mother Tongue and Italian as their second language; on the other hand pupils at Galilei speak Italian only. They learn Standard German as their second language in classrooms; since pupils in the German school don't speak German as their language for communication but a dialect; pupils at the Italian school speak to pupils in the German school in Italian. Therefore, the language for communication between pupils of Galilei and Vallier schools is Italian. None of the schools can be strictly called bilingual schools as the two languages are kept separate by law.

All signs and posters are in German in the German school and in Italian in the Italian school; mixing of the two languages for academic or communication purposes are avoided by school policies in adherence to the language policy in Bolzano province. Levels of bilingualism is higher amongst German speaking pupils as they are fluent in both languages whereas Italian speaking pupils speak no German on day to day basis.

Preservation of minority language seems to be the core reason for such a language policy but the disadvantage is manifested in separatist ideology and prejudices amongst two groups of students because of limited contacts between two groups in schools and daily life.

The PARAT visit coincided with the remembrance week; this day is not observed in the town as it may rekindle old conflicts. One teacher in Galilei school mentioned that the reason for not observing remembrance day is that the Italian students misconstrue it as their victory day and consequently arises tension in both schools.

Teacher supply

Any graduate wishing to enter the teaching profession can apply provided they have already declared which community, Italian, German or Ladin, they belong to. It is virtually impossible for graduates with degrees from foreign universities to work as teachers in Bolzano as their qualifications are not recognised as such. A Moroccan graduate with fluent Italian is reluctantly working as a 'mediator' in an adjoining primary school where Moroccan children who have recently arrived in Italy are requiring bilingual instructions in Arabic and Italian to follow their school curriculum. The Moroccan graduate is keen to work as a teacher as her qualifications are

comparable. Local graduates to be regarded as full fledged teachers must sit two written and two oral exams which are taken on irregular basis. A German teacher with twenty two years of teaching experience was sitting the first written exam which was taking place in her area after six years. Teachers are tested on their knowledge of subjects not on methodology.

Immigrant Workers

The percentage of teachers involved in teaching of migrant workers is 21% and the percentage of children of migrant workers is 1% but it is presumed that this number will increase as soon as the new school reform is passed by the Government. At the moment schooling is compulsory for teenagers up-to 14 in Italy.

The children of the migrant workers speak languages like Arabic, Polish, Albanian, Urdu, Romany and many more; there are no Mother Tongue teachers in those languages. The local primary uses the services of a Moroccan and a Somalian mediator whose duties involve liaising with parents and pupils outside classrooms. This stop-gap measure has aroused serious concerns amongst the mediators over authorities lack of cultural and educational awareness of the needs of the minority pupils.

The discussion on Friday afternoon with the co-ordinator of inter-cultural school project revealed the fact that Bolzano province is anticipating the arrival of 16 gypsy, 12 Pakistani and other nationals to join secondary education in next session and they are keen to develop a long term strategy in dealing with the education of the children of these migrant workers.

The political representatives at the town council stated that there were no policies relating to the immigrant issues. The main immigrant groups in Bolzano are Moroccans and Albanians. Amongst 96,000 inhabitants in Bolzano nearly 2.5% (2522) are immigrants who have come mainly from Albania, Morocco and the rest are gypsies. Nearly 300 gypsies and chintis (a tribal group) live with their families in various areas of Bolzano. Local council help them to find jobs and then it is their own responsibility to find accommodation and other necessities. They all live in pre-fabricated houses which were built with the help of the town council. Children are bussed to all schools-organised by the town council through a co-operative. These children attend regular schools then after school hours they attend extra classes for intensive Italian language

learning. At this point the councillor emphasised that the key word in dealing with immigrants is respect to other cultures, moreover the representatives were keen to learn about the immigrant education in Glasgow.

Bolzano council meet once every six months to discuss issues raised by representatives from immigrants, since immigration is a recent phenomenon the council have not set up a regular programme yet.

Trilingual Education in Bolzano

The Ladins form the second largest minority group in Northern Italy. Like the Welsh, Scots, Bretons, Catalans and Asians living in Britain, the Ladins are struggling to preserve their identities amidst speakers of major European languages. The Ladins' homeland, the Dolomite mountains of Northern Italy is now predominantly inhabited by Italian and German speakers. In Italy the Ladin speakers live in two autonomous regions, itself divided into two autonomous provinces Bolzano/Trento and Friuli. There are also Ladin speakers in Veneto, Switzerland and language is the single unifying feature of the Dolomite Ladins. Like French, Italian, Catalan Ladin is a neo-Latin language, that is the result of the encounter and mixture of Latin with the languages spoken at the time of the Roman conquest.

Around 30,000 Ladin speakers live in the Dolomites. The children begin their Kindergarten education in Ladin; this is followed by a speedy introduction to Italian and German. Pupils learn History and Mathematics in German, Geography and Art in Italian. All children get two hours of Ladin lessons every week for cultural awareness. In secondary schools Ladin speaking pupils get one hour a week Mother Tongue teaching. The co-ordinator of the Ladin Pedagogic centre referred to the Ladin speaking pupils as the "easier language learners", and stated that they are 'doing better in tests', despite there being a shortage of teaching resources in Ladin.

It would appear that the Ladins are setting a trend for the future of Europe by keeping alive a distinctive language and culture that dates back to Roman and pre-Roman times. The Ladin speakers have successfully provided the basis for policies which could support every minority community in their pursuit of linguistic and cultural identities in the European Commission.

1.4 Conclusion

One of the central themes of this research is the concept of bilingualism as an additive rather than a subtractive form of learning. The study trip raised relevant questions in this and related areas, thus for example, the preservation of minority language through legal enforcement and what effect this is likely to have on both the social integration and cultural harmonisation of the communities involved as well as on their language acquisition skills and wider development. The issue of the Ladins, involved in trilingual learning and claimed to be 'easier language learners', raised equally important questions in these areas as well as the areas of developing self-concept based on a positive perception of one's own linguistic and cultural heritage.

A periodic review of these issues with the three-nation working party as well as a study of similar models elsewhere in Europe, it would appear, would be worth undertaking in the future.

Appendix 2: Study Visit to Tower Hamlets, London

A2.1 Purpose and Objective

The primary purpose of the visit to Tower Hamlets was to make a qualitative evaluation of the teaching and learning activities in classrooms where over 80% of pupils were bilingual.

The visit objective was to take an in-depth look at a typical case, not with a view to collate generalised statistical data, but to gain valuable insights into the process, practice and the significance of Mother Tongue teaching and usage for ethnic minority pupils in schools as well as the attitudes of teachers, administrators and the pupils themselves in England.

A2.2 Focus of Study

The main focus in observation and discourse was:

- . How effective is Mother Tongue learning in cognitive development in an area where over 80% pupils are EAL speakers
- . What status is given to Mother Tongue teaching in such an area
- . What are the attitudes of teachers, administrators and pupils to Mother Tongue learning
- . Is first language input transitional or is it a support mechanism through primary and secondary school activities

Methodology

In-depth interviews with teachers, parents, senior pupils and secondary school coordinators and the Director of Language Support Services were planned and conducted, with the above focus at their core, such that useful insight could be gained in respect both of the teaching of Mother Tongue, its values, accessibility, status, and also of tools for self development and scope for academic advancement, or otherwise.

Both qualitative and quantitative methodology in the form of observation, in-depth interviews and questionnaire were used to gather information and data relating to the above objectives.

The qualitative evaluation at Tower Hamlets was carefully designed and executed in conformation with qualitative investigation characteristics. Thus, for example, the evaluation would be naturalistic as it would attempt to describe as it happened; heuristic in the sense that the evaluation approach was subject to continuous redefinition as our

knowledge of the project and its outcomes were increasing; holistic in the sense that the planning ensured that detailed attention was given to different dimensions, including its contexts, participants, interrelationships with language support services, and so on; inductive in that no pre-determined expectations were imposed on the observation and interviews; interpretative in that the approach to the evaluation was built up through description of significant facts; and dynamic and participative within the framework of the time devoted to this particular study.

A2.3 Mother Tongue teaching and usage in Tower Hamlets

Background

The London Borough of Tower Hamlets has been ranked by the DFEE as one of the highest authorities in terms of Additional Educational Need. Unemployment amongst parents is high, in St. Paul's Way 77% of pupils are entitled to free school meals, a figure which probably underestimates the true picture as some older pupils may not be claiming their entitlement.

The present study was carried out in two secondary schools - St. Paul's Way and Swanley Secondary, as well as two primary schools, Stebon primary and Smithy St. primary, in Tower Hamlets.

The majority of pupils in these four schools come from a number of local council estates which have a high population density and very few amenities. The schools are, thus, focal points for many in the community and both secondary schools are used throughout the week for community purposes.

Secondary School 1

School 1 is a co-educational comprehensive school situated in an area of great economic and social deprivation. There are currently over 1000 pupils on roll, of whom over 60% are boys. There has been a steady increase in the number of girls applying to the school. The school has a hearing impaired unit; the 1995 OFSTED reported 18 pupils needing special help for hearing impairment.

The majority of pupils - about 90% - are of minority ethnic origin with over 80% belonging to the Bangladeshi community, and the rest shared between Somali, Turkey and

others. According to the 1995 OFSTED report, well over 80% of pupils come from homes where the first language is not English, Bengali and Somali being the main first languages. "Value added analysis of results suggest that pupils are doing better than could be expected when their abilities and background are taken into consideration." (p.14)

In English pupils' standards are higher in speaking and listening than in reading and writing.. Pupils in general are less able to express themselves in writing with the level of confidence they show in discussion. The main weaknesses in pupils' English writing have been identified as lack of overall organisation of content by average and less able pupils, and errors in technical accuracy across the ability range. Paragraphing, punctuation, spelling, and features of written standard English are not sufficiently secure in many pupils to stand up to the pressure of examination. Extended vacations, numbers of years and breaks in schooling were mentioned as the obstacle to fulfilment of pupil's potential level. This opinion is reflected in the 'outstanding' results in Art and Bengali where 90% achieved grade A-C and in French results matched national average. These are the three subjects where comprehension and the ability to communicate in written English are less crucial.

The most recent results in History reflect very closely pupils' results in English language. In lesson observed, the Bilingual/EAL teacher's cultural and linguistic knowledge were not used in clarifying the significance of learning situations as well as developing new concepts and vocabulary. The Bilingual teacher's background knowledge would have been beneficial in relating pupil's new knowledge with their immediate environment as well as appropriately using pupils' first language competence. Pupils generally discuss and builds on each other's contributions in their first language; bilingualism is in practice in all learning environments. The role of talk in classrooms is recognised by The National Oracy Project (1987-1993) as an essential part of the active learning strategy. Moreover, Hall (1996) mentioned.

For bilingual learners the opportunity to use their first language is a way of confirming languages, meaning and the conceptualisation of complex issues will be enhanced. Pupils must be encouraged to support their learning and understanding in this way if their language has a high status at school.

(Hall,1996, p57)

Insensitivity to cultural differences and eugenic assertions like 'we don't have this problem as you have' in multiethnic classrooms displayed subtle racist tone in a lesson.

Bengali is studied in all years; GCSE results are well above national norms with approximately 90% of those entered gaining A* to C grades. According to the 1995 OFSTED report pupils are making good progress in all four language skills but their progress is better in speaking and listening; the similar trend is observed in English language. Sylheti dialect speakers make the transition to standard Bengali appropriately; both Sylheti and Bengali are used by pupils in classroom conversation. Bengali is offered to both indigenous English speaking and Bengali speaking pupils but according to the OFSTED report the syllabus needs to reflect learning requirements for both groups. The school has 14 language support teachers of whom 10 are bilingual. New EAL learners are given school based intensive English support on one to one basis by language support teachers for six to eight weeks. There are no separate language units, as they exist in Scotland. After eight weeks, pupils attend mainstream classes with supervision from language support staff.

OFSTED report has pointed out inefficient use of language support staff and greater care has been advised over time-tabling with the implications of curriculum change. At the same time, deployment of EAL staff attached to departments and good collaboration with subject teachers and lesson preparation, based on shared and agreed scheme of work, has been recommended.

Collaborative teaching involving subject and language support, setting cross-curricular language targets, encouraging pupils to use glossaries, informing pupils of their level, reviewing the school marking policies and learning in small groups have been identified as the ways of improving pupils' attainment. The pressure on the language teaching staff, at present, is to raise pupil's linguistic ability to Stage 4 level where pupils will show influence of extended reading when writing, be able to skim and scan, can confidently undertake a range of different types of writing and be able to read a range of materials confidently, this is expected to materialise by the millennium. This expectation corresponds to the fact that most ethnic minority pupils are British born and living in bilingual environment. and as proclaimed by The Tower Hamlets Language policy 'Bilingualism can be educationally enriching and has a positive effect on intellectual performance'.

Secondary School 2

School 2 is a coeducational comprehensive school based in a modern building in Whitechapel area of Tower Hamlets. The school opened in 1992 and 'places great emphasis on encouraging pupils to set and maintain the highest possible standard of work, using their abilities to the full'.

Following Tower Hamlets Language policy all learners, bilingual or otherwise get access to the whole curriculum. Beginner as well as developing bilingual learners are not taken out of their regular classrooms to learn English. New learners are given class based as well as language support based English language teaching; a large number of language support teachers are bilingual which helped beginner bilinguals to respond and accelerate in second language acquisition.

The summer 97 results show 71% pupils gaining grades A*-C in Art, 73% in Bengali, 82% in Music and 69% in Drama ; the attainment in this category in English was 26%. Bengali is now available in all years; the Bengali teacher mentioned that timetabling problems have inhibited Bengali speaking pupils in taking up their Mother Tongue for GCSE. Bengali signs are on display on the notice board, school office, corridors, parents room but Bengali speaking language support teachers as well as the language teacher expressed concerns over status and adequate support in extracting the full benefits of Mother Tongue learning. 1996 OFSTED report recommended major improvement in the operation of the language support work in their key issues for action.

Primary School

School 1 is situated in Stepney area of East London. There are 232 pupils on roll of which 18 are nursery pupils. More than 80% of pupils are of Bangladeshi origin and have little English when they start school. According to the 1997 OFSTED report attainment of the majority of pupils by the end of Key Stage 2 is in line with national averages, although, pupil's attainment in English has been lower than in 1995 and 1996. Authorised absences due to families taking extended holidays in Bangladesh is high and this has a detrimental effect on attainment and progress.

However. Pupils show positive attitudes to learning "...they listen carefully to their teachers, work hard, and are enthusiastic learners....most pupils by the end of Key Stage 2 mastering the necessary bi-lingual skills to access all of the National Curriculum". The

appointment of co-ordinators for most subjects, presence of teachers and staff from the same ethnic background as the pupils, qualified and experienced language support staff have been mentioned as effective factors in school's attainment. In lesson observed, mutual co-operation and respect for each other's strength amongst classroom teacher and bilingual instructor created an encouraging and positive work ethics in the year 6 class where pupils were using their home language and English to understand and solve problems with Probability. In mathematics pupils attain levels in line with national standards. Mother Tongue is effectively used to enhance understanding and concept formation; all staff received special training in teaching bi-lingual pupils which constitutes a particular strength of the school.

All bilingual pupils use Mother Tongue in conversation and understanding lessons; number of pupils attend weekend and mosque language classes. One year 6 pupil proudly indicated to a mathematical problem in a SAT specimen paper which he did on the previous night in his Bengali Maths book.

The school has effective partnership with parents. They are well informed about their children's progress and the school curriculum. All information is translated in minority Mother Tongues and EAL bilingual teachers maintain communication with ethnic minority parents.

Appendix 3: Transcript 1: Mrs A

Q. Why is it important or not so important for ethnic minority children to use and first of all know their Mother Tongue ? Some people say that it's not so important that our children must learn Mother Tongue, what is your view ?

A. As for the importance of community languages or Mother Tongue, I think it's very important because it's through their Mother Tongue that children learn about their culture and moral values. Moreover, they can communicate with their parents and grandparents and also with the people of their own culture. If they don't know the language they won't benefit from it.

Q. What kind of benefits do our children get from learning their Mother Tongue? Can you identify those benefits?

A. Oh! Yes, there are many benefits as far as learning the Mother Tongue is concerned. First of all, the parents cannot express themselves fully in English because most of the parents are so fluent in speaking English. But the children who are born and brought up here, their first language becomes English and when they speak English to their parents then the parents are at the loss to express their views in English to their children but if the parents teach their children the Mother Tongue then at least they can communicate in Mother Tongue. So, first is the communication between the parents and the children, the other thing is that they will learn about their society and about their culture. We, living here tell them about their country of origin so if they go to those countries, they will be discuss all sorts of things with the people living there. If they know the language then they will be able to communicate with their grandparents and other relatives and will be sort of ambassadors for this country and then give and take good things to and from both cultures. They will be able to compare all these values and therefore become a lot more broadminded and because they will be knowing about other ideas. If they can read then that's even better as they will be able to read books and other materials over there in that language, I think that would be a very good idea for them and when they come back I think they will sort of more informed about the people around, about the environment around and I think overall it's very important that the children should learn their Mother Tongue.

Q. I agree with you totally that there are lots of benefits that the children can gain from learning their Mother Tongue but what do you think will be the effects of non-Mother Tongue teaching on the family life? You have mentioned that the children would not be able to converse with their grandparents and other relatives, would not be able to read & write about books from their country of origin, apart from that, are there any other effects that will really be upsetting for the ethnic minorities?

A. If they don't know their Mother Tongue then there is a tendency that they won't like to learn their Mother Tongue because they spend most of their time outside in schools and other places where they speak mostly English and wouldn't be so keen to learn the Mother Tongue. In the house.....speaking with their parents they would like to speak English and that would cause many problems. Well, the educated parents might be able to cope with the situation that the children are speaking in English with them and they can answer in English but the parents who do not know English and have no knowledge of English will be in turmoil and.....well, they might understand a little bit, living in this country but they won't be able to fully express themselves to their children about their own culture and environment etc. I think that would be a disadvantage for the children, they would be more aware of the things happening outside the house and wouldn't have any knowledge of things their own house, they wouldn't learn moral values from their parents and think they won't learn a lot and slowly they will forget about their culture and they will adopt a new culture, they would try to apply things from their own mind, I think that would be a disadvantage and apart from that as I told you before they wouldn't be able to communicate with their own country and with other family members andthey won't know anything about their country's culture, about their politics, about the importance of their language and the thing is they will lose their identity and that is very important and that's why we have to preserve our.....languages, our Mother Tongue, we have to preserve it, we have to teach them Mother Tongue. We have to tell them that it's very very important that they learn their Mother Tongue.

Q. Do you think that these ethnic minority languages will be lost in the next generations?

A. I have hopes and at the same time I have fears as well. Just now, I feel that languages are being taught in some of the schools so I am quite hopeful that authorities would realise

that these languages are important. At the same time I have fears as well, that these languages might be lost if the authorities are not aware that they should be given proper place in the school curriculum. I think that these languages should be recognised in all the schools, in secondary as well as primary and nursery schools so that the children from the very beginning have awareness of their Mother Tongue and the languages. It would mean that they will learn the language not that the parents force the languages on them so they don't feel ashamed of learning their Mother Tongue as the children in the past used to.

Q. You have mentioned that authorities should take more care in the teaching of these languages. What problems do you think might arise if these responsibilities are left with the community and the parents only-- which has been the case for many years. When we first came here the responsibilities were on the parents and the community itself to make sure that the children were getting enough knowledge and understanding of their culture. You have already mentioned that authorities should take more care- more responsibility towards it, would you expand on that? Why do you think that it (responsibility) should be extended to the authorities now?

A. Parents are quite keen and these days they want their children to learn their Mother Tongue and they are trying very hard and that's why they send their children to community school classes... ..Yes, there are many advantages and there are disadvantages as well. At that time when there were no community classes, then the parents felt lost because they wanted to teach their children their languages and at that time the communities realised that these classes should be set up somewhere so that the parents had access to take their children and teach them Mother Tongues. But now, there are millions of Asians living in this country now and considering the population we should have something more concrete in the education system that these languages should be taught in schools, that's why I think this was recognised a few years ago and Urdu and other languages were started to be taught in secondary schools, there are three or four schools where these languages are being taught, I think that there should be more schools where children can go and learn the languages. Apart from that there should be primary schools as well, offering the same subjects.

Q. You have three children, can they all read and write Urdu?

A. Yes, my daughter can speak, read and write and she has passed her GCSE & 'A' level exams and she has done well, she is taking a lot of interest in poetry and she also quite fascinated with the literature. My sons can read all right, they can speak perfect Mother Tongue but they cannot write because at that time when they were at school age, I tried to teach them Urdu in the community school, they didn't like the atmosphere there and so because of the lack of expertise in the school and also it was not a proper system, moreover, five days a week they used to go to school so they didn't like the idea of going in the weekends. So, they didn't learn to write and I do ...feelthat they cannot write but can read all right. If at that time they could learn the language in the school along with the other subjects as they were learning French, if Urdu was available at that time then in think they would have learnt it but now the time has gone.

Q. Do you think that your sons will encourage their children to learn their Mother Tongue?

A. Yes! I think, because I several times tell them about the importance of Mother Tongue and they know that it is very important that they should be speaking and their children should be speaking their Mother Tongue. I think they will try their best because my sons were saying that they know what to do with their children, what to tell them, what to teach them, so I am quite confident that they will teach Mother Tongue to their children.

Closing Statement

I think I would like to make the authorities aware that Mother Tongue is very important and if it is lost then our very culture would be lost. So these languages should be taught in almost all the schools because our population is increasing and we have to fulfil our demands and our demands can be met through the authorities. If the education authorities realise that the parents are suffering and they are suffering because of the lack of resources and then if they support our cause then I think we will benefit from it.

Appendix 3: Transcript 2: Mr D.

Today we are interviewing Mr D who came to the UK at the age of sixteen and has been living and working in Scotland for the last six years.

Q. I understand that you have three children, could you tell me their ages & what they are doing ?

A. The eldest is 10 years old, he is a boy, the next one is 8 years old and he is also a boy, the youngest is a 5 year old girl. All three are going to the local primary school.

Q. Can they speak their home language ?

A. No, the elder sons know some words and can say few simple sentences and also can read a few words in Bengali, the youngest knows a few words as well but can't read or write.

Q. I understand, your wife is not a native Bengali speaker, you yourself are, what were the reasons for maintaining your Mother Tongue for the children ?

A. One reason is that when we go back to India for holidays, if they can speak a little bit of Bengali then it is easier for them to communicate with the people there. The other reason is, it is always good to know another language simply because of the way the language develops, it is always difficult to learn the second one and when you have learned the second one then it is much easier to learn any more. Lastly, wanting to learn that language might help them to learn some cultural connections and they may also relate to them better.

Q. By learning, are you thinking about reading & writing or just listening and speaking skills ?

A. Of the three reasons I gave earlier, the first one, 'communicating', is sort of the main reason but for the third reason, 'cultural connections' it will be quite good if they can read and write because then they can write letters to their relatives

back home and so keep in touch & also they will be able to read some simple literature which will help them to learn some of our culture. So I could say the main reason is for the children to speak well and it will be quite good if they can read and write as well, they are learning little bits at home.

Q. You, yourself can read and write Bengali ?

A. Yes but I don't read and write as well as I used to back then because I don't use it much nowadays.

Q. When you came here, you said you were only sixteen and so you went to your local secondary school, is that the time when you lost contact with your Mother Tongue?

A. No, I think I had contact with my Mother Tongue for another three to four years maybe, after that it went because I didn't speak the language much maybe once a month.

Q. So, do you think that your reading skills, em.....are you quite happy with the reading skills that you have already acquired before you came here ?

A. Well, yeah! I could read and write very well then, but I don't know.....

Q. You might be aware that in some of the schools in Scotland ethnic languages are taught and from 1998 Urdu will be regarded as one of the Standard Grade subjects. Is it important for the children to learn their Mother Tongue in primary schools or do you think it should be left to the community classes ?

A. I think first of all,.....in a broader sense as it's the Mother Tongue, I think that it should be learnt at home. That's why it's called Mother Tongue because it comes from the mother. I think that obviously in school or community or if society can set up something where they encourage these things but, of course there is a price to pay for every encouragement. Everybody can't be encouraged to do everything and so, if there is ever a choice then the language

of the community should come first and if there are more possibilities available then other will be considered. I think it's like discipline, it must come from first and then supported from outside.

Q. What are the disadvantages for not learning it at home and at the same not being encouraged to learn it at school ? What do you think the children will be losing?

A. I think the children will be losing.....in the same sense of what.....if one asked the question, what's the difference between me bringing up my child and somebody else bringing up my child, other than the 'care' aspect of things, I would say when I bring up or people who are near to me they not only do things in terms of care and that sort of things also we exchange ideas, what I think is right, what I like and how I like things and they even see from their peers and they make up their own culture. Culture itself within a country is changing with time. I think in context what the school or the general society should do is..... the actual things come from the parents and they should be tolerant and encourage the children so there should be ways of expressing themselves in the society and school. By letting that happen, by accepting these, would give them more confidence to come out with, if it ever happens that the children aren't really able to express that kind of feeling outside then they would shy away from their parents culture, they wouldn't show it anywhere else even at home at all. So it is important for the society and school and the society as a whole allow to express these things so that the children will feel, 'Right! Although this is different but it is still sort of okay.' I think society should make room for different things and allow them.

Q. The authority has started recognising the fact that ethnic minority children should remain bilingual and even multilingual and to that effect they have started setting up bilingual classes in nursery and eventually, providing there are enough resources, the children will be able to learn their Mother Tongue in the primary schools (early primary classes), what is your view on that? Do you think it will hinder their acquisition of English ?

A. I don't think so, I mean what can happen is it might be a bit later that the children will speak their English or whatever is the language, it's not because they don't understand it and even people like Albert Einstein didn't really speak well till he was about five. What tends to happen, that sometimes some children just make noises but don't really speak well and some children take very long time before they come out with anything, when they do they often come out with full sentences. So the thing is just because somebody is a bit late it doesn't mean anything that they don't understand or they are confused, it's the way they actually arrange their information, it just means that they have a different approach of doing things. Being bilingual is not a question of ethnic minority, if you go to Holland, Germany: in Holland most people speak four languages, in Germany they speak two languages extremely well and some write English better than most English people do. So it doesn't hinder them, they might take a little bit longer before they come up but that doesn't matter and so being bilingual is not just important for the ethnic minority it is important for the whole of U.K because we are a part of European community and in terms of learning I think learning a second language is the difficult bit and once we learn it the rest is easy, so it is not so important what the language is, French, Urdu etc., it really doesn't matter, it's the fact that the brain has done the exercise to be able to acquire that language and set-up other speech sense or something like that, that's what's important, it doesn't harm at all.

Q. You have already mentioned that these languages should be maintained in the next generation otherwise the children would not know about their heritage, are there any other reasons why these languages should be maintained ?

A. Well, I think that is very close to, 'Why is the language?' The primary reason for language is communication and before people started to write anything, in the stone ages they didn't write but on the other hand they communicated with each other so again primary reason for language is communication and if we think about only that then one language is enough for Scotland and England but for places like Holland and Belgium it's different, they are small countries

and by travelling a little distance you cross the boundary and then you have to speak a different language. I think learning a language, Hindi, Urdu or Bengali there is not a lot of chance to use them verbally because they are so far away but there is the other kind of communication of writing, you can write them letters, read a book so you are expressing ideas or something like that. Then I think the written language is important and also it is really the cultural link and you might be a part of that community, you might go to a function or something and there is a whole thing to do with culture. I think primarily for cultural reasons.

Q. You have already mentioned that the responsibility to a certain extent lies with the parents, Mother Tongue should be taught at home by the parents. What do you think would happen if the whole responsibility is left with the parents?

A. I didn't mean that it would only be left with the parents. What I meant was that it shouldn't be the case that parentswho think it's a good idea to learn a second language.....and then leave it to other people. I think that's wrong and that's what I want to avoid. I think parents should help and of course, they get some help from the outside as well. If it was only left to the parents, on average what would happen is that we wouldn't go very far. If both parents speak the same language then it's fine, children will hear and learn, when there are two different languages within the family, if the mother speaks, say Hindi then the child has a very good chance of learning Hindi because the baby and the mother spend a lot of time together, if the father speaks Hindi and the mother doesn't then there's very little chance that the baby ever get to learn Hindi unless there is some positive (unclear), that's one of the reasons and the other is, if it's left to the parents because parents are so busy that mostly you wouldn't be able to go very far because if both parents work and other things are going on then you wouldn't be successful but there will be some of the times.

Q. At the moment your two sons are attending community classes, are you happy with the services that you are getting from there ?

A. I don't know very much about the teaching but I suppose.....it's easy to put a question but a lot difficult to answer it, there is not an awful number of alternatives and I don't know of any other alternatives except hiring a private tutor and therefore I think it's all right, I wouldn't say it's ideal but it's all right, I don't look any other way. They are probably trying the best way that they can, they are certainly willing, things could be better organised but I don't want to criticise.

Q. Do the children mind going to the weekend classes instead of going to the football, swimming etc. ?

A. No, not at all, in any case they are doing football, swimming, cricket as well. So it's not as if that they could be doing something else at that time, they are also quite willing to learn and are keen to go.

Q. Thank you very much for your comments Mr. D. It will be very useful.

Appendix 3: Transcript 3: Mrs E

Q. Could you tell me a little bit about your children's background?

A. First of all, my elder one, she is a daughter, both children were born in Hong Kong and then we had a few moves. In 1982 the whole family moved to Switzerland and there we stayed for about fifteen months and at the time my daughter was at the age of four and my son was just a bit over a year. After fifteen months in Switzerland we moved to America and stayed there for about ten months before going back to Hong Kong in the summer of 84. Then my daughter started primary, she already had one year of nursery before we left for Switzerland and in Switzerland she attended the International School which was English speaking.

Q. So she went into a Cantonese speaking nursery school in Hong Kong?

A. Yes and then she attended the international school, I helped her with her Chinese and Cantonese at home because we would be returning to Hong Kong after two years and I wanted to her to settle back into the system of Hong Kong and then when we were in America she attended the primary school and when we returned back to Hong Kong she started primary one and went on till secondary one when we came here in 1991 and she had her education here since. It has been seven years now so she finished her standard grades, Highers and sixth year studies in a private school and is now doing second year medicine in Glasgow University. As for our son.....

Q. Could you tell me where her Mother Tongue fitted in all her educational years because she has moved quite a lot, how did she maintain her Mother Tongue?

A. Well, as I said before she had one year of nursery in a English speaking school, then in her two years abroad she only had English kinder-garden and primary.

Q. At house you were maintaining Mother Tongue?

A. Yes because I knew they would have learnt a lot in those two years even in those kinder-garden classes in Hong Kong they learn a lot and luckily I have this colleague whose daughter is just one week younger than my daughter and she kept writing to me telling me what kind of things her daughter was learning in school and I tried to teach my daughter the same things but it was not easy and I was rated the most troublesome mother in the whole world when we were in the States because she had half day school in primary then and every afternoon she could see her friends playing on the streets after lunch whereas she had to sit down with me for one page of Chinese writing.

Q. Now she is getting the benefit of that, is she?

A. Yes, when we went back to Hong Kong she joined the primary school, I think the first half of the year was very difficult, in fact the first week, for the first few days she came into our bedroom every morning pleading to us if she could stay in the house for just one more day. I think she was finding it very difficult to cope with the Hong Kong system. When I went to see the teacher in the parents meeting around January, I asked about her performance and then the teacher told me that she was quite restless. Of course, she was used to all kinds of activities in America and found it difficult to sit still for half a day, she also found it quite hard to write the homework in her diary in all those Chinese writing. I was happy that I kept her Chinese because otherwise she would have had to attend an international school when we went back to Hong Kong in 84 and she would have had to lose a lot of her Mother Tongue.

Q. I know, she managed to get a good grade in the GCSE exams in Glasgow. So, did you maintain her Mother Tongue at home while studying in school in Glasgow or did she go to a community class?

A. She had passed the stage, I mean Chinese classes in Glasgow would only be equivalent to the primary six level in Hong Kong but she had completed secondary one and we tried to use Chinese at home as far as possible and then I gave her a few past papers to try and she got the highest grade in her Chinese GCSE exam.

Q. Did she ever show any interest in doing 'A' levels in Chinese?

A. No, because with the 'A' levels you have to study about Chinese history and with her heavy load of work at school and university now, I don't think she can manage it.

Q. How did your son learn Chinese?

A. Well, his first year with a group was in pre-school in the States during the last few of our stay in America. Of course it was English speaking and then when we returned to Hong Kong he really started at the first year in a Chinese speaking kinder-garden but they learn English from the second year and so he completed his three years of kinder-garden and then went on to a Chinese primary school but studying English as a subject until primary five when he came over and joined in the primary six here.

Q. He didn't have any problem in picking up any more English suitable for the class?

A. I think in the first year when he joined the primary school here the school had a learning support teacher helping a little bit with the reading but he caught up very quickly.

Q. It is very apparent that since the children were partly educated in Hong Kong, you were able to maintain their Mother Tongue. What benefits or lack of benefits do you see of the learning of Mother Tongue?

A. First of all, it is always good to know one more language and then Mother Tongue is from your own culture and I think it is important for them to know their Mother Tongue and a bit about their country and their culture, where they come from and another thing is, it is very practical. Economy is blooming in the Far East whereas it is not easy to find a job here and many of our friend have sent their children back to Hong Kong to look for jobs when they were unable to find anything here, Canada or Australia. There are far more opportunities there and it is easier if you know the language.

Q. The Chinese children who are getting educated in Glasgow, not all of them are getting the benefit of learning their Mother Tongue. The question that is coming to my mind is can one learn their culture without learning their Mother Tongue? Through English, will it be the same?

A. I think you can also learn, there are many books written about China, there are many books written about Hong Kong, you can certainly learn through them.

Q. What extra benefits do you get from learning about your culture through your Mother Tongue?

A. Well, there are certain expressions that you cannot express in other languages. Even in Chinese languages, there are Cantonese, Mandarin, there are certain expressions that you can only maybe express in Cantonese because sometimes when we speak with our friends these days, there would be terms that our so would not understand because he is not used to hearing those terms, now that he is mainly exposed to the English speaking community.

Q. What do you think would be the disadvantages of not learning one's Mother Tongue? Thinking about the kids who are growing up in Glasgow from a minority background.

A. I think sooner or later they will lose their identity, they will forget. Even my son, he is thinking of himself more as a Scot rather than a Chinese, which for me is not a desirable thing.

Q. The way things are going now that there isn't much support for the minority people to maintain their Mother Tongue. Do you think in near future these languages will be lost in Scotland?

A. Well, it depends a lot on government support I suppose. Recently I heard a news that the University of London is going to stop operating GCSE exams in many

community languages, they will abandon all except Urdu, that will be a blow to the community languages.

Q. Chinese community is the second largest ethnic minority community in Scotland according to 1991 census. If they are going to maintain Urdu only because they are including it in the Standard Grades then do you think that the community should put pressure on the authority or who would be responsible?

A. Well, I have spoken with the Sanjai Chinese project already about this and I think they are going to do something about it, they are probably going to write to the Scottish Exam Board and give them a push.

Q. So, I know you are involved with various committees, could you tell us a bit about your Chinese language related work?

A. I am mainly with the Sanjai Chinese project and there I am in the advisory committee and try to provide with information related with education because I am a teacher myself. I am also a member of the Chinese Workers' group and the Strathclyde Chinese Co-ordinating committee but due to the lack of funding for this committee the number of meetings keep on dropping.

Q. Do you think your children would want to maintain their Mother Tongue for their next generation if they decide to live in Scotland?

A. I doubt that very much because from my experience both my children are speaking less and less Chinese even at home we try to get them back to Hong Kong every year to expose them to the Chinese speaking community to keep their Chinese reading because all the shop names and road signs are in Chinese but here they are surrounded by Chinese speaking friends. I think that more than ninety percent of the day they speak English. I doubt very much.

Q. Do they speak Chinese with their Chinese speaking friends?

A. It depends, I think they are very reluctant to use Chinese. I think sometimes they feel embarrassed.

Q. Can you identify the reasons, why they feel embarrassed?

A. They just don't want to be different from the rest because maybe the other people who don't understand Chinese will look at them and find them strange. They also don't have many Chinese friends and some of their Chinese friends were born in Scotland and they don't know much Chinese themselves.

Q. So, are you quite hopeful or are you quite pessimistic about the continuation of the Chinese languages in Scotland? What kinds of efforts do you think should be put in?

A. It depends, because like some of the pupils I support in the schools. If the family's in catering business then they will be mainly involved with other Chinese, they have loads and loads of Chinese videos at home and they hardly watch the English channels on the television. They read the comics in Chinese and they speak among themselves in Chinese as well. I think there is hope but even with these things only the spoken side of the language will be maintained because even if they attend the Saturday classes they hardly have to do any Chinese except the little bit of homework they get.

Q. What will be lost if they don't learn to read or write, they only learn to speak?

A. Well, they can communicate verbally but they wouldn't get any work done, I mean they wouldn't be able to read any documents or write any reports in Chinese etc.

Q. Thank you very much for your comments Mrs. E. It will be very useful.

Appendix 4:
Distribution of GCSE & Standard Grade Results of 476 Bilingual Pupils

Row	Pupil No.	Year	Sch_No	Sex	M_T	Eng	French	German	Eng_R	Eng_W	Eng_Sp
1	1	5	1	1	8	3	2	8	3	3	3
2	2	5	1	1	*	3	*	8	3	3	4
3	3	5	1	1	2	4	8	8	4	4	3
4	4	5	1	0	3	4	8	8	4	4	4
5	5	5	1	1	8	3	3	8	3	4	3
6	6	5	1	0	3	3	8	8	3	3	3
7	7	5	1	0	1	2	8	8	3	2	2
8	8	5	1	1	8	3	5	8	4	3	3
9	9	5	1	1	1	3	8	8	3	3	3
10	10	5	1	0	1	4	8	8	4	4	5
11	11	5	1	1	8	2	8	8	3	2	2
12	12	5	1	1	8	4	4	8	4	4	4
13	13	5	1	1	2	4	8	8	4	4	4
14	14	5	1	0	3	4	8	8	3	4	3
15	15	5	1	0	8	2	3	8	4	3	1
16	16	5	1	1	8	4	5	8	2	4	3
17	17	5	1	1	1	3	8	8	4	3	3
18	18	5	1	1	8	3	3	8	4	3	3
19	19	5	1	0	5	4	8	8	3	4	4
20	20	5	1	1	1	3	8	8	4	3	3
21	21	5	1	0	5	3	8	8	5	3	3
22	22	5	1	0	4	4	8	8	5	4	4
23	23	5	1	1	1	4	8	8	4	3	3
24	24	5	1	1	1	3	8	8	4	3	3
25	25	5	1	1	9	3	8	8	3	3	3
26	26	5	1	0	9	3	8	8	4	3	1
27	27	5	1	1	*	4	*	8	4	4	3
28	28	5	1	1	9	4	8	8	5	4	3
29	29	6	1	1	9	9	8	8	9	9	9
30	30	6	1	1	5	5	8	8	5	5	5
31	31	6	1	1	8	2	1	8	2	3	1
32	32	6	1	1	1	5	8	8	5	5	5
33	33	6	1	0	8	4	2	8	5	5	6
34	34	6	1	0	5	5	8	8	4	4	3
35	35	6	1	0	5	5	8	8	5	5	6
36	36	6	1	1	1	3	8	8	3	4	2
37	37	6	1	0	5	4	8	8	4	4	5
38	38	6	1	0	2	3	8	8	4	4	2
39	39	6	1	0	7	4	8	8	4	4	3
40	40	6	1	0	4	3	8	8	4	4	5
41	41	6	1	1	8	3	3	8	4	4	3
42	42	6	1	1	*	5	*	*	4	5	5
43	43	6	1	1	8	2	3	8	2	3	2
44	44	6	1	0	3	4	8	8	4	4	5
45	45	6	1	0	*	3	*	*	3	3	3
46	46	6	1	0	4	4	8	8	5	4	4
47	47	6	1	0	4	4	8	8	5	4	3
48	48	6	1	1	5	4	8	8	5	4	4
49	49	6	1	1	&	3	2	8	3	3	3
50	50	6	6	1	0	9	9	8	8	9	9
51	51	6	6	1	0	1	3	8	8	3	4
52	52	6	6	1	1	2	3	3	8	4	4
53	53	6	6	1	0	1	4	8	8	4	4
Row	Pupil	Year	SchNo.	Sex	M_T	Eng	French	German	EngR	EngW	EngSpk

	No.							n				
54	54	6	6	1	1	4	5	8	8	4	5	
55	55	6	6	1	0	1	3	8	8	3	3	
56	56	6	6	1	0	2	4	8	8	5	4	
57	57	7	7	1	0	1	4	8	8	5	4	
58	58	7	7	1	1	8	3	8	5	4	3	
59	59	7	1	1	8	2	8	2	2	3	2	
60	60	7	1	0	8	3	3	8	3	3	2	
61	61	7	1	0	4	5	8	8	5	4	5	
62	62	7	1	0	5	4	8	8	4	4	5	
63	63	7	1	1	*	5	*	*	5	4	5	
64	64	7	1	0	*	4	*	*	4	4	5	
65	65	7	1	1	8	2	4	8	2	2	2	
66	66	7	1	0	8	3	4	8	3	3	3	
67	67	7	1	0	1	3	8	8	3	3	3	
68	68	7	1	1	8	2	4	8	3	2	2	
69	69	5	1	0	8	4	4	8	5	4	4	
70	70	5	1	1	8	3	4	8	3	2	3	
71	71	7	1	1	8	3	3	8	4	3	3	
72	72	7	1	1	2	2	3	8	1	2	2	
73	73	7	1	0	8	2	3	8	2	2	2	
74	74	7	1	0	4	5	8	8	5	6	5	
75	75	7	1	1	8	4	6	8	5	4	4	
76	76	7	1	1	*	4	*	8	5	4	4	
77	77	7	1	0	2	3	8	8	2	3	3	
78	78	7	1	0	3	5	8	8	5	5	5	
79	79	7	1	1	8	5	3	8	4	5	5	
80	80	7	1	0	8	2	3	8	2	3	2	
81	81	7	1	0	1	3	8	8	3	3	1	
82	82	7	1	0	1	3	8	8	4	3	3	
83	83	5	2	1	1	2	8	8	1	2	2	
84	84	5	2	1	8	3	4	8	3	3	3	
85	85	5	2	1	8	2	1	8	3	2	1	
86	86	5	2	0	8	3	5	8	4	3	3	
87	87	5	2	1	8	4	5	8	5	3	4	
88	88	5	2	0	8	2	2	8	2	2	2	
89	89	5	2	0	8	5	4	8	5	4	5	
90	90	5	2	0	8	5	5	8	5	5	5	
91	91	5	2	0	8	4	8	9	4	4	5	
92	92	5	2	0	8	4	8	9	5	4	4	
93	93	5	2	1	8	2	2	8	2	3	2	
94	94	5	2	0	1	4	8	8	5	5	3	
95	95	5	2	0	*	3	*	*	3	3	2	
96	96	5	2	0	8	1	1	8	1	2	1	
98	98	5	2	0	*	5	*	*	4	5	5	
99	99	5	2	1	1	3	8	8	3	3	3	
100	100	5	2	1	*	3	*	*	4	3	2	
101	101	5	2	0	*	5	*	*	6	5	4	
102	102	5	2	0	8	4	5	8	5	4	4	
103	103	5	2	1	8	2	2	8	3	2	2	
104	104	5	2	1	8	1	8	1	2	1	1	
105	105	5	2	1	8	3	5	8	3	4	3	
106	106	5	2	1	8	5	4	8	5	4	4	
107	107	5	2	1	8	3	8	3	3	2	2	
108	108	5	2	1	1	3	8	3	2	1	1	
109	109	5	2	1	8	2	3	8	3	2	2	
Row	Pupil No.	Year	SchNo.	Sex	M_T	Eng	French	Germa n	EngR	EngW	EngSpk	

110	110	5	2	1	08	1	1	8	2	1	1
111	111	5	2	1	8	3	2	8	3	3	2
112	112	5	2	0	9	4	8	8	5	3	3
113	113	5	2	1	9	3	8	8	4	3	2
114	114	5	2	1	8	3	3	8	5	3	2
115	115	5	2	1	1	3	8	8	3	3	2
116	116	5	2	0	8	4	6	8	4	4	4
117	117	5	2	0	8	4	5	8	4	4	4
118	118	5	2	0	*	1	*	*	1	1	1
119	119	5	2	0	8	4	5	8	4	4	4
120	120	5	2	0	8	4	4	8	4	4	4
121	121	5	2	0	8	3	3	8	3	3	2
122	122	5	2	1	8	9	9	8	9	9	5
123	123	5	2	1	8	2	2	8	2	2	1
124	124	6	2	0	5	4	8	8	5	4	4
125	125	6	2	1	3	2	8	8	4	3	2
126	126	6	2	1	1	2	8	8	1	2	1
127	127	6	2	1	8	3	3	8	3	3	3
128	128	6	2	1	8	4	5	8	4	4	5
129	129	6	2	1	3	3	8	8	3	3	2
130	130	6	2	0	2	4	8	8	4	4	4
131	131	6	2	1	8	2	3	8	3	2	2
132	132	6	2	0	8	4	5	8	4	4	4
133	133	6	2	0	8	1	2	8	1	1	1
134	134	6	2	1	8	2	3	8	3	2	2
135	135	6	2	1	8	3	5	8	3	4	3
136	136	6	2	0	8	5	5	8	5	5	5
137	137	6	2	0	8	4	3	8	4	3	4
138	138	6	2	1	8	2	2	8	2	2	2
139	139	6	2	0	8	4	4	8	3	4	4
140	140	6	2	1	*	5	*	*	5	5	6
141	141	6	2	0	8	4	5	8	4	3	4
142	142	6	2	1	*	4	*	*	4	4	4
143	143	6	2	1	3	2	8	8	2	3	2
144	144	6	2	0	5	4	8	8	4	3	4
145	145	6	2	0	*	3	*	*	4	3	3
146	146	6	2	1	*	2	*	*	2	2	2
147	147	6	2	1	8	4	5	8	4	4	5
148	148	6	2	0	3	2	8	8	2	2	3
149	149	6	2	0	*	4	*	*	4	4	3
150	150	6	2	0	1	3	5	8	3	3	3
151	151	6	2	1	*	4	*	*	4	4	4
152	152	6	2	1	8	3	4	8	4	3	2
153	153	6	2	0	9	6	6	8	6	6	5
154	154	6	2	0	4	5	8	8	5	4	5
155	155	6	2	1	5	5	8	8	5	4	5
156	156	6	2	0	6	3	8	8	3	3	5
157	157	6	2	1	3	2	8	8	2	3	1
158	158	6	2	0	5	4	8	8	5	3	5
159	159	6	2	0	8	2	8	8	2	3	2
160	160	6	2	1	4	3	8	8	4	3	2
161	161	6	2	0	*	4	*	*	4	5	4
162	162	6	2	1	3	3	8	8	4	3	2
163	163	6	2	0	9	5	8	8	5	4	5
164	164	6	2	0	8	5	6	8	5	4	5
Row	Pupil No.	Year	SchNo.	Sex	M_T	Eng	French	German	EngR	EngW	EngSpk
165	165	6	2	0	8	4	4	8	4	4	5
166	166	6	2	0	8	5	6	8	4	6	5

167	167	6	2	0	*	4	*	*	4	4	4
168	168	6	2	0	8	5	5	8	5	5	3
169	169	7	2	0	8	6	6	8	5	4	5
170	170	7	2	1	8	'5	5	8	5	4	4
171	171	7	2	0	6	5	8	8	5	4	5
172	172	7	2	1	8	3	8	4	3	3	2
173	173	7	2	1	8	3	4	8	3	3	3
174	174	7	2	1	8	4	6	8	5	4	2
175	175	7	2	1	8	5	8	6	5	5	5
176	176	7	2	1	8	4	5	8	4	4	3
177	177	7	2	1	8	3	3	8	3	3	2
178	178	7	2	0	4	4	8	8	3	3	5
179	179	7	2	0	8	4	5	8	4	4	3
180	180	7	2	0	8	3	8	3	3	3	2
181	181	7	2	1	8	3	8	3	3	3	2
182	182	7	2	1	3	3	8	8	4	3	3
183	183	7	2	1	8	2	8	3	2.	2	1
184	184	7	2	1	8	3	5	8	3	3	3
185	185	7	2	0	3	4	8	8	5	4	4
186	186	7	2	1	8	1	8	2	2	2	1
187	187	7	2	0	8	5	6	8	6	5	5
188	188	7	2	0	8	2	8	3	3	2	2
189	189	7	2	0	8	5	6	8	5	5	5
190	190	7	2	1	8	2	3	8	3	2	2
191	191	7	2	0	8	2	3	8	3	2	2
192	192	7	2	0	8	4	5	8	5	4	4
193	193	6	4	1	1	3	8	8	3	3	4
194	194	6	4	0	8	4	6	8	4	4	3
195	195	6	4	1	*	2	*	*	2	2	2
196	196	6	4	0	*	3	*	*	3	4	3
197	197	6	4	0	3	3	8	8	3	3	3
198	198	6	4	1	3	2	2	8	2	2	1
199	199	6	4	1	4	4	8	8	4	4	3
200	200	6	4	0	6	5	8	8	5	5	5
201	201	6	4	0	8	4	4	8	4	5	4
202	202	6	4	0	4	4	8	8	5	5	3
203	203	6	4	1	3	3	8	8	4	3	2
204	204	6	4	1	1	3	8	8	5	3	2
205	205	6	4	1	5	5	8	8	5	4	5
206	206	6	4	1	2	3	8	8	3	3	3
207	207	6	4	1	3	4	8	8	5	3	4
208	208	6	4	1	8	4	5	8	5	4	4
209	209	6	4	1	8	3	5	8	3	3	4
210	210	6	4	1	*	2	*	*	1	2	3
211	211	6	4	1	1	4	8	8	4	4	3
212	212	6	4	0	8	5	6	8	5	5	4
213	213	6	4	1	*	3	*	*	4	3	3
214	214	6	4	0	8	3	3	8	3	4	3
215	215	6	4	1	*	5	*	*	5	5	5
216	216	6	4	1	*	5	*	*	5	5	3
217	217	6	4	0	8	5	5	8	5	5	3
218	218	6	4	1	8	3	3	8	3	4	2
219	219	6	4	0	8	3	8	4	3	3	3
Row	Pupil No.	Year	SchNo.	Sex	M_T	Eng	French	German	EngR	EngW	EngSpk
220	220	6	4	0	4	4	8	8	4	4	3
221	221	6	4	1	1	3	8	8	3	3	3
222	222	6	4	0	9	5	8	8	5	5	4
223	223	6	4	1	3	5	8	8	5	4	5

224	224	6	4	1	8	4	5	8	4	5	4
225	225	6	4	1	3	3	8	8	3	3	2
226	226	6	4	0	2	4	8	8	4	3	5
227	227	6	4	1	4	5	8	8	5	5	4
228	228	6	4	1	1	2	8	8	2	2	2
229	229	6	4	0	1	2	8	8	1	3	3
230	230	6	4	0	1	5	8	8	5	5	5
231	231	6	4	0	*	3	*	*	3	3	3
232	232	6	4	0	4	5	8	8	5	6	4
233	233	6	4	0	*	4	*	*	4	5	4
234	234	6	4	0	1	3	8	8	2	4	3
235	235	6	4	0	6	5	8	8	5	5	5
236	236	6	4	0	2	3	8	8	3	3	4
237	237	6	4	1	4	4	8	8	5	4	4
238	238	6	4	0	4	5	8	8	5	5	4
239	239	6	4	0	9	5	8	8	6	5	5
240	240	6	4	1	1	2	8	8	2	2	3
241	241	6	4	0	8	3	2	8	3	2	4
242	242	6	4	0	9	5	8	8	5	5	5
243	243	6	4	1	1	3	4	8	3	3	3
244	244	6	4	1	*	3	*	*	4	3	3
245	245	6	4	0	5	4	8	8	4	4	5
246	246	6	4	1	8	3	2	8	3	3	3
247	247	6	4	0	9	5	8	8	5	5	5
248	248	6	4	0	*	2	*	*	1	2	2
249	249	6	4	1	*	4	*	*	4	3	4
250	250	6	4	0	8	3	2	8	3	3	2
251	251	6	4	1	3	5	8	8	5	5	5
252	252	6	4	1	8	2	1	8	2	2	2
253	253	6	4	1	3	4	8	8	4	3	5
254	254	6	4	1	8	1	2	8	2	1	1
255	255	6	4	1	2	4	8	8	4	4	3
256	256	6	4	0	2	3	8	8	3	3	3
257	257	6	4	1	2	4	8	8	3	3	5
258	258	6	4	1	2	5	8	8	5	4	6
259	259	6	4	1	4	4	8	8	4	4	4
260	260	6	4	0	8	3	5	8	4	3	3
261	261	6	4	1	*	5	*	*	6	5	4
262	262	6	4	1	8	4	6	8	4	4	4
263	263	6	4	1	8	4	4	8	4	3	4
264	264	6	4	0	2	5	8	8	6	4	5
265	265	6	4	1	8	4	5	8	4	4	3
266	266	6	4	1	1	2	3	8	2	3	2
267	267	6	4	0	4	4	8	8	4	4	4
268	268	6	4	0	4	4	8	8	4	4	3
269	269	6	4	1	9	4	8	8	4	4	4
270	270	6	4	0	*	4	*	*	4	4	4
271	271	6	4	0	1	1	8	8	1	1	1
272	272	6	4	0	8	3	3	8	2	3	3
273	273	6	4	0	1	3	8	8	4	3	3
274	274	6	4	1	2	3	8	8	4	3	3
Row	Pupil No.	Year	SchNo.	Sex	M_T	Eng	French	German	EngR	EngW	EngSpk
275	275	6	4	1	5	9	8	8	9	9	9
276	276	6	4	1	*	4	*	*	3	4	4
277	277	6	4	1	8	4	4	8	3	4	4
278	278	6	4	0	*	5	*	*	5	4	5
279	279	6	4	0	5	4	8	8	4	5	3
280	280	6	4	0	4	5	8	8	5	5	4

281	281	6	4	0	*	5	8	8	6	5	5
282	282	6	4	1	*	3	*	*	3	4	3
283	283	6	4	1	2	4	8	8	5	5	3
284	284	6	4	0	5	3	8	3	Z	4	3
285	285	6	4	0	2	3	8	8	3	3	2
286	286	7	4	1	1	3	8	8	3	3	3
287	287	7	4	0	1	4	8	8	4	4	3
288	288	7	4	1	8	3	5	8	3	4	3
289	289	7	4	1	4	4	8	8	5	4	4
290	290	7	4	1	'4	4	8	8	5	4	4
291	291	7	4	1	8	3	3	8	2	3	3
292	292	7	4	1	1	2	8	8	2	3	2
293	293	7	4	1	1	3	8	8	3	4	3
294	294	7	4	0	4	6	8	8	6	6	5
295	295	7	4	0	8	4	5	8	4	5	4
296	296	7	4	1	4	5	8	8	5	5	4
297	297	7	4	0	5	5	8	8	5	5	6
298	298	7	4	0	2	4	8	8	4	3	4
299	299	7	4	1	2	3	8	8	4	3	3
300	300	7	4	1	8	3	4	8	3	3	3
301	301	7	4	1	8	2	3	8	2	2	2
302	302	7	4	1	1	3	8	8	3	3	3
303	303	7	4	0	8	3	8	8	3	3	3
304	304	7	4	1	1	3	3	8	3	3	4
305	305	7	4	1	1	4	8	8	5	4	3
306	306	7	4	0	5	5	8	8	6	5	3
307	307	7	4	0	1	5	8	8	5	4	5
308	308	7	4	1	2	3	4	8	3	4	2
309	309	7	4	0	1	3	8	8	3	3	3
310	310	7	4	0	2	3	8	8	3	3	3
311	311	7	4	1	2	3	8	8	3	4	3
312	312	7	4	1	8	3	2	8	3	3	3
313	313	7	4	0	8	3	8	2	3	3	4
314	314	7	4	1	8	3	3	4	3	3	3
315	315	7	4	0	4	3	8	8	3	2	3
316	316	7	4	1	3	5	8	8	6	5	3
317	317	7	4	1	8	3	4	8	3	3	2
318	318	7	4	0	5	4	8	8	4	4	5
319	319	7	4	0	8	2	3	8	2	2	2
320	320	7	4	0	8	3	3	8	2	3	3
321	321	7	4	1	4	5	8	8	5	5	4
322	322	7	4	1	4	4	8	8	5	3	5
323	323	7	4	1	2	4	8	8	4	4	4
324	324	7	4	1	8	2	3	8	2	3	1
325	325	7	4	0	2	3	8	8	3	4	3
326	326	7	4	1	8	5	5	8	5	5	4
327	327	7	4	1	*	6	*	*	5	6	6
328	328	7	4	1	*	5	*	*	5	5	6
329	329	7	4	1	8	4	4	8	4	4	4
RqW	Pupil No.	Year	SchNo.	Sex	M_T	Eng	French	Germa n	EngR	EngW	EngSpk
330	330	7	4	1	3	4	8	8	4	3	3
331	331	7	4	0	8	2	3	8	1	2	2
332	332	7	4	0	1	4	8	8	4	4	4
333	333	7	4	1	8	3	3	8	3	3	3
334	334	7	4	1	2	5	8	8	5	5	6
335	335	7	4	1	1	1	8	1	2	1	1
336	336	7	4	0	8	3	4	8	3	4	3
337	337	7	4	1	8	4	4	8	4	4	4

338	338	7	4	1	8	4	4	8	4	4	4
339	339	7	4	1	4	4	8	8	4	4	4
340	340	7	4	0	4	4	8	8	4	4	4
341	341	7	4	0	4	5	8	8	5	5	4
342	342	7	4	0	8	2	4	8	2	3	2
343	343	7	4	1	4	5	8	8	5	6	4
344	344	7	4	0	2	4	8	8	4	4	4
345	345	7	4	0	5	9	8	8	9	9	9
346	346	7	4	0	9	5	8	8	5	5	4
347	347	7	4	1	4	4	4	8	5	5	3
348	348	7	4	0	3	5	8	8	6	6	3
349	349	7	4	1	4	4	8	8	5	4	3
350	350	7	4	0	8	2	3	8	2	2	2
351	351	7	4	0	6	6	8	8	7	6	5
352	352	7	4	0	8	3	5	8	3	4	3
353	353	7	4	1	3	3	8	8	3	4	3
354	354	7	4	0	3	4	8	8	5	5	3
355	355	7	4	0	5	5	8	8	5	5	5
356	356	7	4	0	*	3	*	*	3	3	3
357	357	7	4	0	8	3	3	3	3	4	3
358	358	7	4	1	8	3	3	8	3	4	3
359	359	7	4	0	9	9	8	8	9	9	9
360	360	7	4	1	9	4	8	8	5	4	3
361	361	7	4	0	8	2	3	8	2	3	2
362	362	7	4	1	8	2	2	8	2	3	1
363	363	7	4	0	8	3	3	8	2	3	3
364	364	7	4	1	3	4	8	8	4	4	4
365	365	7	4	0	*	3	*	*	4	3	3
366	366	7	4	0	8	3	3	8	3	4	3
367	367	7	4	1	8	2	2	8	2	2	1
368	368	7	4	1	1	3	8	8	3	4	3
369	369	7	4	0	9	9	8	8	9	9	9
370	370	7	4	0	8	2	3	8	2	2	3
371	371	7	4	1	8	2	4	8	2	3	1
372	372	7	4	0	1	4	8	8	6	4	2
373	373	7	4	1	4	4	8	8	4	4	4
374	374	5	4	0	3	2	3	8	2	2	2
375	375	5	4	1	8	3	2	8	3	4	3
376	376	5	4	0	*	3	*	*	3	2	3
377	377	5	4	1	*	4	*	*	4	4	4
378	378	5	4	0	9	5	8	8	6	4	4
379	379	5	4	0	8	3	2	8	3	2	3
380	380	5	4	0	8	3	6	8	4	3	3
381	381	5	4	0	9	9	8	8	9	9	9
382	382	5	4	0	8	3	9	8	3	3	3
383	383	5	4	0	8	4	5	8	5	4	3
384	384	5	4	0	9	3	5	8	2	3	3
Row	Pupil No.	Year	SchNo.	Sex	M_T	Eng	French	German	EngR	EngW	EngSpk
385	385	5	4	1	1	3	8	8	2	3	4
386	386	5	4	1	9	4	8	8	5	4	4
387	387	5	4	1	8	4	4	8	4	4	3
388	388	5	4	1	8	4	4	8	5	3	3
389	389	5	4	1	8	2	2	8	1	1	3
390	390	5	4	1	3	3	4	8	3	4	3
391	391	5	4	1	4	3	8	8	3	4	3
392	392	5	4	0	2	4	8	8	4	4	4
393	393	5	4	1	*	2	*	*	2	2	2
394	394	5	4	1	1	3	8	8	2	3	3

395	395	5	4	1	*	2	*	*	2	3	2
396	396	5	4	0	8	3	2	8	3	3	2
397	397	5	4	1	8	3	8	5	3	4	3
398	398	5	4	0	8	3	4	8	2	3	3
399	399	5	4	0	8	3	5	8	3	4	3
400	400	5	4	1	*	4	*	*	5	3	3
401	401	5	4	0	*	4	*	*	5	4	3
402	402	5	4	1	*	2	*	*	2	2	2
403	403	5	4	1	1	3	8	8	2	3	3
404	404	5	4	0	2	5	8	8	5	5	5
405	405	5	4	1	*	4	*	*	4	5	4
406	406	5	4	1	2	3	8	8	2	4	2
407	407	5	4	0	1	4	8	8	4	4	4
408	408	5	4	0	8	4	6	8	4	4	5
409	409	5	4	0	8	4	4	8	5	5	3
410	410	5	4	0	'2	4	8	8	4	4	3
411	411	5	4	0	8	2	5	8	2	3	2
412	412	5	4	1	Z	3	8	4	4	3	2
413	413	5	4	1	2	4	8	8	4	4	3
414	414	5	4	1	*	4	*	*	4	4	4
415	415	5	4	0	8	3	3	4	4	3	3
416	416	5	4	0	4	4	8	8	4	4	3
417	417	5	4	1	8	2	3	8	3	2	2
418	418	5	4	0	8	4	5	8	4	4	3
419	419	5	4	1	*	3	*	*	3	2	2
420	420	5	4	0	8	4	5	8	4	4	5
421	421	5	4	1	8	5	9	8	5	6	4
422	422	S	4	1	3	5	8	8	5	4	5
423	423	5	4	1	8	3	4	8	3	4	3
424	424	5	4	1	8	4	9	8	5	4	4
425	425	5	4	1	8	3	5	8	3	4	3
426	426	5	4	0	8	4	5	8	4	3	4
427	427	5	4	0	*	3	*	*	3	4	3
428	428	5	4	1	4	2	8	8	2	3	2
429	429	5	4	1	8	3	2	8	3	3	2
430	430	5	4	0	1	3	8	8	3	3	3
431	431	5	4	0	9	9	8	8	9	9	9
432	432	5	4	0	8	5	6	8	6	5	5
433	433	5	4	0	8	2	3	8	1	2	2
434	434	5	4	0	8	4	3	8	3	4	4
435	435	5	4	0	5	3	8	8	2	3	3
436	436	5	4	1	8	4	4	8	4	4	4
437	437	5	4	0	3	4	8	8	5	5	3
438	438	5	4	1	8	4	5	8	4	4	4
439	439	5	4	0	*	3	*	*	3	3	3
Row	Pupil No.	Year	SchNo.	Sex	M_T	Eng	French	German	EngR	EngW	EngSpk
440	440	5	4	0	8	2	3	8	2	3	2
441	441	5	4	0	8	2	2	8	2	2	3
442	442	5	4	0	8	4	3	8	4	3	4
443	443	5	4	0	8	2	4	8	2	2	3
444	444	5	4	0	8	3	5	8	3	2	3
445	445	5	4	1	4	3	4	8	3	3	2
446	446	5	4	1	3	2	4	8	1	2	2
447	447	5	4	0	2	5	8	8	4	5	5
448	448	5	4	0	6	5	8	8	5	5	5
449	449	5	4	1	2	3	4	8	3	4	3
450	450	5	4	0	8	2	2	8	1	3	2
451	451	5	4	1	8	9	9	8	9	9	9

452	452	5	4	0	5	5	8	8	5	6	5
453	453	5	4	1	1	3	8	8	3	3	3
454	454	5	4	0	8	2	8	5	2	2	1
455	455	5	4	1	8	3	3	8	2	3	3
456	456	5	4	1	1	5	8	8	5	5	5
457	457	5	4	1	4	4	5	8	6	4	3
458	458	5	4	1	*	3	*	*	4	3	3
459	459	5	4	1	*	3	*	*	3	3	3
460	460	5	4	1	1	4	6	8	5	4	4
461	461	5	4	1	6	9	8	8	9	9	9
462	462	5	4	1	2	2	8	8	2	3	2
463	463	5	4	0	9	9	8	8	9	9	9
464	464	5	4	0	3	3	8	8	3	3	3
465	465	5	4	1	9	9	8	8	9	9	9
466	466	5	4	1	1	4	8	8	3	4	4
467	467	5	4	0	*	4	*	*	5	4	4
468	468	5	4	0	3	9	8	8	9	9	9
469	469	5	4	1	1	4	8	8	5	4	4
470	470	5	4	1	3	4	'8	8	3	4	4
471	471	5	4	0	9	3	8	8	3	3	4
472	472	5	4	0	8	3	4	8	2	4	2
473	473	5	4	0	8	2	4	8	2	2	2
474	474	5	4	1	8	3	4	8	3	3	2
475	475	5	4	0	4	6	8	2	6	6	5
476	476	5	4	0	1	4	8	8	4	4	4

Appendix 5: Questionnaire for S4 Bilingual Pupils

1. What Asian language(s) do your Parents speak at home?

Bengali
 Chinese
 Hindi
 Punjabi
 Urdu
 Others; please specify _____

2. How good are **YOU** with the Asian language of your Parents?

a. Do not understand or speak
 b. Understand but cannot speak
 c. Speak but cannot read or write
 d. Can speak and read a little
 e. Can speak read and write

If you have ticked boxes a or b, go to question 8.

3. How well do you speak this language?

A few words
 A few sentences
 Reasonably well
 Fluently

4. Where did you learn to speak this language?

Home
 School
 Asian country

5. How often do you speak this language with your Parents?

Never
 Sometimes
 When prompted
 Most of the time
 All the time

6. How often do you speak this language with your brothers & sisters?

Never
 Sometimes
 When prompted
 Most of the time
 All the time

7. What language(s) do you speak with friends from the same Asian background?

Mother Tongue only
 Mostly mother tongue
 Both mother tongue and English
 Mostly English
 English only

8. Do you think that Asian languages should be taught in:

Early Primary
 Primary 6/7
 Secondary 1&2
 Upper Secondary
 Outside of school

9. Do(/did) you attend any evening/weekend classes to learn more about an Asian language?

Yes No

10. If you have answered 'Yes' to question 9, when and where?

11. Please state your country of birth: _____

12. Sex: M F

Thank you for your help

Appendix 6: Results of the response of 206 bilingual pupils

Pupil	School	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12
		1to6	1to5	1to4	1to3	1to5	1to5	1to5	1to5	0or1	0or1	0or1	1or2
1	1	4,5,6	5	3	1	4	2	4	3,4,5	0	0	1	2
2	1	4,5	4	3	1	4	3	4	2	0	0	1	2
3	1	4,5	3	2	1	2	2	3	1	0	0	1	1
4	1	4,5	5	4	3	5	5	3	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	4,5	4	4	1	5	2	3	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	5	4	3	1	5	1	3	2	0	0	1	2
7	1	4	5	4	1	4	2	3	2	0	0	1	2
8	1	4	3	3	1	3	1	4	2	0	0	1	2
9	1	5	3	3	3	4	4	4	2	0	0	0	1
10	1	4	5	3	2	1	4	2	2	0	0	1	2
11	1	5,6	5	2	1,2	3	3	4	3	0	0	1	2
12	1	5,6	5	3	1	4	4	4	3	0	0	1	2
13	1	4	4	4	1	5	3	4	2	0	0	1	1
14	1	4,5	4	3	1	4	3	3	3	1	9	1	1
15	1	4,5	3	3	1	2	2	4	2	0	0	1	1
16	1	4,5	4	3	3	3	1	5	3	0	0	1	2
17	2	3,5,7	5	4	1,2	5	5	4	2	0	0	0	2
18	2	4,5	4	4	1,2	5	4	3	2	0	0	0	2
19	2	5	4	3	1	4	1	5	3	1	1	1	2
20	2	4,5	5	4	1	4	5	3	4	0	0	1	1
21	2	4,5	5	4	1,2	5	4	4	3	0	0	1	2
22	2	4,5	5	3	1,2	4	3	4	2	0	0	0	1
23	2	4,5	5	4	1,2	5	5	3	3	0	0	0	2
24	2	4	4	4	1	4	2	3	2	0	0	0	1
25	2	4	5	4	1	4	1	4	5	1	1	1	2
26	2	4	4	4	1	4	2	4	1	1	1	1	2
27	2	4,5	3	4	1	2	2	5	3	0	0	1	1
28	2	4,5	4	4	1	5	2,3	4	2,3,4	1	0	1	1
29	2	4,5	5	3	1	4	5	9	5	1	1	1	1
30	2	2,6	4	4	1,2,3	5	9	3	9	1	1	1	2
31	2	2	3	3	1	5	2	4	2	0	0	1	2
32	2	2,6	5	4	1,3	5	5	4	9	1	1	1	2
33	3	4,5	5	4	3	4	5	3	4	0	0	1	2
34	3	4,5	5	4	3	4	5	3	4	0	0	0	2
35	3	4,5,6	3	4	1	5	4	5	4	1	1	0	1
36	3	4,5	4	4	1	4	4	5	4	0	0	0	1
37	3	5	4	3	1	3	2	5	1	0	0	1	2
38	3	4	3	3	1	2	1	4	2	0	0	1	2
39	3	6	5	4	3	5	5	5	1	0	0	0	2
40	3	5	5	4	1	5	4	4	9	0	0	0	1
41	3	4	4	3	4	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	2
42	3	1	4	4	1	5	4	3	3	1	1	1	1
43	4	1	5	3	1	4	2	4	3,4	0	0	1	2
44	4	1	4	3	1,2	5	4	3	1	0	0	0	2
45	4	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	2
46	4	1	5	4	1	5	4	3	1	0	0	1	1
47	4	1	5	3	1	5	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
48	4	1	4	3	1	5	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
49	4	1	4	3	1	4	4	4	3,5	1	1	0	2
50	4	1	4	3	1	4	2	3	3	1	1	1	1

<u>Pupil</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Q1</u> 1 to 6	<u>Q2</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q3</u> 1 to 4	<u>Q4</u> 1 to 3	<u>Q5</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q6</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q7</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q8</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q9</u> 0 or 1	<u>Q10</u> 0 or 1	<u>Q11</u> 0 or 1	<u>Q12</u> 1 or 2
51	4	1	2						2	0	0	0	1
52	4	1	5	3	3	5	5	3	1	0	0	0	2
53	4	1	5	3	1	5	4	3	1	0	0	0	1
54	4	1	3	3	1	4	2	4	3	0	0	0	1
55	4	1	5	4	1,3	5	5	3	2	0	0	0	2
56	4	1	4	4	3	5	2	4	1	0	0	1	1
57	4	1	2	3	3	4	4	3	1	0	0	0	1
58	4	1	5	4	1	5	4	3	1	0	0	0	1
59	4	1	4	4	1	5	4	3	1	0	0	0	1
60	4	1	4	3	1	3	2	4	1	0	0	0	1
61	4	1	5	3	1	4	2	4	3	0	0	1	1
62	4	1	5	3	1	4	2	4	2,5	1	1	1	1
63	4	1	5	3	1,3	5	4	3	2	0	0	0	1
64	4	1	5	4	1	5	5	2	2	0	0	0	2
65	4	1	4	4	1	5	5	3	4	0	0	0	1
66	4	1	4	3	1	5	4	4	4	1	1	1	2
67	4	1	5	4	1	5	5	3	1	0	0	1	2
68	4	1	5	4	1	5	5	3	1	0	0	0	2
69	4	1	4	3	1,2,3	5	2	3	2	0	0	0	2
70	4	1	3	3	1	4	2	4	3	0	0	0	2
71	4	1	3	3	1	4	2	4	3	0	0	0	2
72	4	1	5	3	1		4	3	3	0	0	1	2
73	4	1	3	3	1	4	4	1	3	0	0	1	2
74	4	1	5	3	1	4	2	4	1	0	0	1	1
75	4	1	5	3	1	4	2	3	1	0	0	1	1
76	4	1	5	4	1	5	3	3	2	0	0	0	2
77	4	1	5	4	1,2	5	5	3	2	9	9	1	2
78	4	1	5	4	1	5	4	3	1,2,3	0	0	1	1
79	4	1	5	4	1	5	4,5	4	1,2,3	0	9	9	1
80	4	1	2	4	2	1	3	3	2	0	0	0	2
81	4	1	3	4	1	5	4	3	5	0	0	1	1
82	4	1	5	3	1	4	3	4	3	0	0	1	2
83	4	1	5	4	1	5	5	3	2	0	0	1	2
84	4	1	5	4	1,2	4	3,5	4	1,2,3	0	0	1	2
85	4	1	4	4	3	5	3	3	3	0	0	0	1
86	4	1	3	3	1,3	4	4	4	3	0	0	0	2
87	4	1	5	4	1	5	4	3	1	0	0	1	2
88	4	1	5	4	1	4	4	3	1	0	0	1	2
89	4	1	3	3	1	4	3	3	3	0	0	9	2
90	4	1	5	4	1	5	4	3	2	0	0	0	1
91	4	1	3	4	1	5	5	3	5	1	1	0	1
92	4	1	4	4	3	5	5	3	3	1	1	0	1
93	4	1	4	4	3	5	4	3	5	0	0	1	1
94	4	1	5	3	1	2	1	4	3	0	0	0	1
95	4	1	5	3	1	5	5	4	3	1	0	0	2
96	4	1	5	3	1	5	5	4	3	1	1	1	2
97	4	1	4	3	1	4	4	4	2	0	0	1	1
98	4	1	4	3	1	4	4	4	2	0	0	1	1
99	4	1	4	3	1	5	4	4	2	0	0	1	1
100	4	1	5	4	3	5	5	4	1	1	1	0	1
101	4	6	4	4	1	5	1	5	1	0	0	1	2
102	4	1	4	3	1	5	5	3	5	0	0	0	2

<u>Pupil</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Q1</u> 1 to 6	<u>Q2</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q3</u> 1 to 4	<u>Q4</u> 1 to 3	<u>Q5</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q6</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q7</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q8</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q9</u> 0 or 1	<u>Q10</u> 0 or 1	<u>Q11</u> 0 or 1	<u>Q12</u> 1 or 2
103	4	1	5	4	1	5	5	4	5	0	0	1	1
104	4	1	4	3	3	4	2	3	9	0	0	0	1
105	4	1	3	3	1	4	1	3	1,2,3	0	0	1	1
106	4	1	4	3	1	5	4	5	3	0	0	1	2
107	4	1	3	3	1	4	4	3	1	0	0	1	2
108	4	1	5	3	3	4	5	3	1	0	0	1	2
109	4	1	3	4	1	5	2	3	1	0	0	1	2
110	4	1	4	3	1	4	1	3	1	1	1	0	2
111	5	4,5	5	3	1,2	4	3	3	1	0	0	1	1
112	5	4,5	5	4	1,2,3	5	3	3	1	0	0	1	2
113	5	4,5	5	4	1,3	5	2	1,3	3,4,5	1	1	1	2
114	5	4,5	4	3	3	3	2	3	3	1	1	1	2
115	5	4,5,6	4	3	3	3	1	3	3	1	1	1	2
116	5	5	4	4	1	5	1	4	4	1	1	9	2
117	5	4	5	3	1	3	2	4	5	1	1	1	1
118	5	4,5	5	3	1	3	2	4	5	1	1	1	2
119	5	5	5	4	2	4	2	5	5	1	1	1	1
120	5	6	2	9	9	9	9	9	2	1	1	1	2
121	5	6	2	9	9	9	9	9	2	1	1	1	1
122	5	4	4	2	2	1	1	5	5	1	1	1	1
123	5	4,5	5	3	1	4	4	5	3	1	1	1	1
124	5	4,5	4	3	1,2,3	4	2	4	1	1	1	1	1
125	5	5	5	3	1	5	5	5	3	1	1	1	2
126	5	4,5	5	3	1	9	3	4	1	1	1	1	1
127	5	4	5	4	1	4	2	3	1	0	0	1	2
128	5	4,5	5	4	1	9	4	4	5	1	1	1	1
129	5	5	2	9	9	9	9	9	4	1	1	1	2
130	5	4,5	5	3	1	3	3	5	4	1	1	1	1
131	5	4,5	5	3	1	4	4	4	5	1	1	1	2
132	5	5	5	4	1	5	5	3	1	1	1	0	2
133	5	4	3	3	1	5	5	3	1	1	1	0	2
134	5	6	2	9	9	9	9	9	5	0	0	0	1
135	5	4	5	9	1	5	5	3	1	0	0	0	2
136	5	5	5	4	1	5	5	3	1	1	1	0	2
137	5	6	2	9		9	9	9	9	0	0	0	2
138	6	5	4	9	9	9	1	5	1,2,3	1	1	1	2
139	6	5	2	1	9	9	9	9	6	1	1	1	1
140	6	4,5	5	3	1,2	3,4	4,5	3	3	1	1	1	2
141	6	4,5	5	3	1,2	4	4	3	3	1	1	1	2
142	6	5	3	3	1	4	4	3	1	1	1	0	2
143	6	5	5	4	3	5	4	5	3,4	1	1	0	1
144	6	4	3	4	1	4	3	4	3,4	1	1	1	1
145	6	5	3	4	1	5	4	2	2	1	1	1	2
146	6	5	5	4	1	5	2	4	3	1	1	1	2
147	6	5	5	4	1	5	4	2	1	1	1	1	2
148	6	4,5	3	3	3	4	4	3	2	1	1	1	2
149	6	4,5	4	3	1	4	3	3	2	1	1	1	1
150	6	4,5	3,5	2,5	1,2	1,4	1,2	3	2	1	1	1	2
151	6	4	3	3	1,2	3	3	4	6	1	1	9	2
152	6	4	4	4	1	4	2	4	1	1	1	1	2
153	6	5	4	4	1	5	3	3	1	1	1	1	2
154	6	4,5	4	4	1	4	1	4	4	1	1	1	2

<u>Pupil</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Q1</u> 1 to 6	<u>Q2</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q3</u> 1 to 4	<u>Q4</u> 1 to 3	<u>Q5</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q6</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q7</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q8</u> 1 to 5	<u>Q9</u> 0 or 1	<u>Q10</u> 0 or 1	<u>Q11</u> 0 or 1	<u>Q12</u> 1 or 2
155	6	5	5	4	1	4	4	3	1	1	1	1	2
156	6	4,5	4	3	1	5	2	4	1	1	1	1	2
157	6	4	4	4	1	4	2	5	1	1	1	1	2
158	6	4,5	5	4	1	4	2	3	1	1	1	1	2
159	6	4,5	5	4	1	4	3	3	2	1	1	1	2
160	6	4	4	3	1	4	2	4	5	1	1	1	2
161	6	4,5	5	4	1	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	2
162	6	4	3	4	1	5	5	2	1	0	0	9	2
163	6	4	3	3	1	4	2	5	3	1	1	1	2
164	6	4	3	3	1	4	2	3	3	1	1	1	2
165	6	4,5	4	4	1	4	4	3	3	1	1	1	1
166	6	5	4	4	9	5	4	4	1	1	1	1	2
167	7	5	3	9	1	2	2	4	3	0	0	1	2
168	7	5	3	1	1	2	2	5	3	0	0	1	2
169	7	4	5	2,3	1	5	4	4	4	0	0	1	2
170	7	7	3	4	1	4	2	3	2	1	1	1	2
171	7	5	4	3	1	4	1	5	1	0	0	1	2
172	7	4	5	4	1	5	5	3	4	0	0	1	2
173	7	4	4	4	3	5	4	4	5	0	0	0	2
174	7	4,5	5	3	1	4	4	3	3	0	0	1	2
175	7	5	4	3	1,2	4	3	3	2,3	0	0	1	2
176	7	4	5	4	1	5	3	3	2	0	0	0	1
177	7	5	4	3,4	1	4	4	3	1	0	0	1	2
178	7	4	4	4	1	4	1	3	1	0	0	1	9
179	7	4,5	5	3	1,2	4	3	3	2	0	0	1	2
180	7	4	3	4	1	5	4	4	1	0	0	1	2
181	7	4	2	2	2	1	1	5	3	0	0	1	2
182	7	4	9	3	3	1	9	2	2	0	0	9	1
183	7	4	3	4	1	4	2	4	3	0	0	1	2
184	7	4	3	3	1	5	2	5	1	0	0	1	2
185	7	4	3	3	3	5	1	5	1	0	0	1	2
186	7	4	4	3	1	4	2	4	2	0	0	1	2
187	7	4,5	2	9	9	9	9	9	2	0	0	1	2
188	7	4	3	3	1	5	1	3	2	0	0	1	1
189	7	5	5	3	1	3	3	3	2	0	0	1	1
190	7	5	5	4	3	5	4	4	1	0	0	1	1
191	7	4	3	3	3	2	1	4	2	0	0	1	1
192	7	5	4	3	1,2	2	1	5	2	0	0	1	2
193	7	4	3	4	1	4	1	5	2	0	0	1	2
194	7	5	5	4	1	5	1	3	1	0	0	0	1
195	7	5	5	4	1	5	5	3	1	0	0	1	1
196	7	5	4	2	1	3	3	3	1	0	0	1	1
197	7	4	3	3	1	2	1	5	5	1	1	1	2
198	7	4,5	4	3	1	4	1	5	5	1	1	1	2
199	7	4,5	4	3	1	4	1	5	5	1	1	1	2
200	7	4,5	4	3	1,2	2	1	4	5	1	1	1	2
201	7	4	3	9	1	5	5	5	4	1	1	1	2
202	7	5	5	3	1	3	2	5	4	1	1	1	2
203	7	4,5	5	3	1	4	2	4	2	1	1	1	2
204	7	4	5	4	1	5	5	3	2	1	1	1	2
205	7	4,5	5	3	1	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	2
206	7	5	5	4	1	5	4	4	4	1	1	1	2

MOTHER TONGUE TEACHING IN SCHOOLS IN SCOTLAND

Issues of Policy, Implementation and Curriculum Development

Appendix 7: A Questionnaire for the Councils

Name of Local Council

Education Department Representative

Thank you for your co-operation.
Please return the completed form to:
Ruby Sarkar
c/o Professor Eric Wilkinson
Department of Education
University of Glasgow
G12 8QQ

Questionnaire

Section 1: Policies and Policy Statements

1. Does your Council have any Policy and/or Policy statement on the provision for ethnic minorities or multicultural education?

	Yes	In preparation	No
Policy			
Policy statement			

If 'yes' please indicate the year when the Policy was initiated

If 'no', please go to Question 3.

2. What prompted your Council to formulate such a Policy?

- To maintain mother tongue bilingualism
- To improve communication between child and parent
- To sustain cultural ties with parents' roots
- In response to demands from the community involved
- To improve learning of English
- Other reasons (please specify)

3. What are the reasons for not having a Policy?

- No demand from the community involved
- Ethnic communities widely dispersed
- Not enough members present in the area
- Other reasons (please specify)

4. Does your Council have any specific Policy on the teaching of ethnic minority languages?

Yes In preparation No

If 'yes', what are the overall aims of such a Policy?

To provide ethnic minority children access to mother tongue courses

To use children's language diversity as a rich resource for supporting the development of their linguistic skills

To encourage bilingual pupils to retain their bilingualism in order to understand their roots

To promote equal opportunities in terms of languages

Other reasons (please specify)

Section IIA: Form of Implementation

Teaching mother tongue in mainstream schools during school hours

5. Do schools run by your Council hold classes in mother tongue?

Yes No

If 'no', please go to Question 14.

6. If 'yes', which mother tongue classes are held in mainstream schools during school hours?

Arabic	<input type="checkbox"/>	Bengali	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cantonese	<input type="checkbox"/>	Mandarin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hindi	<input type="checkbox"/>	Punjabi	<input type="checkbox"/>
Urdu	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Others (please specify)			

7. How many schools run by your Council currently offer mother tongue classes?

8. Which department is responsible for mother tongue classes?

Modern languages	<input type="checkbox"/>
ESL	<input type="checkbox"/>
Multicultural studies	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other department (please specify):	

9. At which level are these languages offered to ethnic minority pupils?

Lower primary classes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Upper primary classes	<input type="checkbox"/>
First year secondary classes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Third year secondary classes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others (please specify):	

10. How many teachers are employed in your Council to teach mother tongue in mainstream classes?

Full time Part time None

11. How are these teachers' salaries financed?

EC fund	<input type="text"/>
Local Education Authority	<input type="text"/>
Foreign Embassies	<input type="text"/>
Others (please specify):	

12. To what level are mother tongue lessons taught?

Standard grade	<input type="text"/>	A level	<input type="text"/>
GCSE level	<input type="text"/>	Higher grade	<input type="text"/>
Scotvec modules	<input type="text"/>		<input type="text"/>

13. Were additional funding to be available for this purpose, what initiative would your Council propose?

Increase the number of languages covered	<input type="text"/>
Develop mother tongue bilingualism in primary sector	<input type="text"/>
Minority languages will be in the curriculum, available to both indigenous and minority pupils	<input type="text"/>
Additional work towards promotion and retention of cultural awareness and identity	<input type="text"/>
No expansion of present facilities are needed	<input type="text"/>
Others (please specify)	<input type="text"/>

Section IIB: Form of Implementation

Assisting voluntary (community) classes with teaching of mother tongue

14. Are there any voluntary classes in your Council which you assist?

Yes Number None

If 'none', please go to Question 21.

15. What languages are taught in these classes?

Arabic	<input type="text"/>	Bengali	<input type="text"/>
Cantonese	<input type="text"/>	Mandarin	<input type="text"/>
Hindi	<input type="text"/>	Punjabi	<input type="text"/>
Urdu	<input type="text"/>		
Others (please specify)			

16. What are the timing and frequency of these classes?

Weekends	<input type="text"/>
After school hours	<input type="text"/>
Other frequency – please give details	<input type="text"/>
Any comment?	

17. What kind of accommodation is provided for these voluntary classes?

Free accommodation	<input type="text"/>
Subsidised accommodation	<input type="text"/>
Paid accommodation	<input type="text"/>
Communities make their own arrangements	<input type="text"/>

18. Are the premises/accommodation/facilities used by the voluntary classes compatible with mainstream language classes?

Yes No Don't know

Any other comment?

19. What is the origin of initiatives for these classes?

Ethnic minorities involved

The foreign embassies

Local education authorities

Others (please specify)

20. What other arrangements are there to encourage or facilitate these voluntary classes?

Assisting with printing cost

Occasional grant

Providing better teaching material

Improving teacher quality

Others (please specify)

Section IIIA: Curriculum Development

21. Has your Council taken any initiative in developing teaching materials for mother tongue teaching for ethnic minority pupils?

Yes Under consideration No

If 'yes', please state languages:

22. What are the levels of these developments?

Beginners	<input type="checkbox"/>
Standard grade	<input type="checkbox"/>
Higher	<input type="checkbox"/>
Scotvec module	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others (please specify)	

23. What were the reasons for development of mother tongue materials?

To teach minority languages as modern languages in main stream schools	<input type="checkbox"/>
To use as a medium for teaching ESL	<input type="checkbox"/>
As an aid to the transition from home to school	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others (please specify)	

24. Has any research been undertaken or completed in your Council in the area of mother tongue teaching/bilingualism?

Yes Under consideration No

If 'yes', please state the area of research:

Section IIIB: Teacher Training

25. Are there any provisions for ethnic minority graduates to train as community language teachers in your Council?

Yes Under consideration No

If 'yes', please state the languages involved:

26. Are there any provisions for in-service training in mother tongue teaching?

Yes Under consideration No

27. Is your Council providing any initial training in mother tongue teaching?

Yes Under consideration No

If 'yes', please state the languages involved:

28. Is your Council providing any training in bilingual education?

Yes Under consideration No

If 'yes', please specify the nature of these training:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

Appendix 8: Collation of Council Responses to Questionnaire

Ques. No.	Responding Council										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1	Yes 1988	Yes 1992	Yes 1990	No	Yes 1992	Yes 1975	Yes 1992	Yes 1994	Yes 1995	Yes 1991	Yes 1990
2	1,2,3 4,5,6	6	6		6	1,4		5,6	1,2,3 4,5	6	4
3				1,2		*					
4A	No	Yes	In prep	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
4B		4	1,2,3 4, 5*			1,2,3 4, 5*			1,2,3 4	2	
5	No	No	Yes	No		Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
6			2,6								
7			5			44 (G)		1 (G)			
8			1,2,4			4		4			
9			4,5			1,2,3 4, 5		1,2			
10			2			1		1			
11			2			2		2			
12			1,2,4 5,6,7			1,4 5,6,7		7			
13			3,4			4	4				
14	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No		No	No
15	2		2,3,4 5,7		2	8	4		4		
16	1		1		1	3	1				
17	3		1,4		1	1	1		2		
18			Yes /No*		Yes	Yes	*		Yes		
19	1,3		1,3		3	1,3	1		1,3		
20	2		1,2,3 4,5			3,4,5	2		1,2		

Collation of Council Responses to Questionnaires (contd.)

Ques. No.	Responding Council										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

21	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
21A	Cant		Urdu Chin			Gael			Urdu Punj Jap Chin		

Cant = Cantonese, Chin = Chinese, Gael = Gaelic, Punj = Punjabi, Jap = Japanese

22	Scot vec		Begi nner s			B,S, H, Scot vec			Begi nner s		
23	4		2			1,2,3			2,3		
24	no	no	yes	no		yes		no		no	
24A			racia l equa lity ⁹			man y areas					no
25	no	no	yes	no	no		no	no	no	no	no
26	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	no		no	
27	no	no	yes	no		no	no	no		no	
28	no	no	yes	no		yes	no	yes	yes	yes	
28A			1(*)		2(*)		3(*)	4(*)			

1(*) integral part of bilingual support

2(*) in-service teaching bilingual pupils

3(*) awareness raising

4(*) teaching bilingual pupils & assisting their needs

Collation of Council Responses to Questionnaires (contd.)

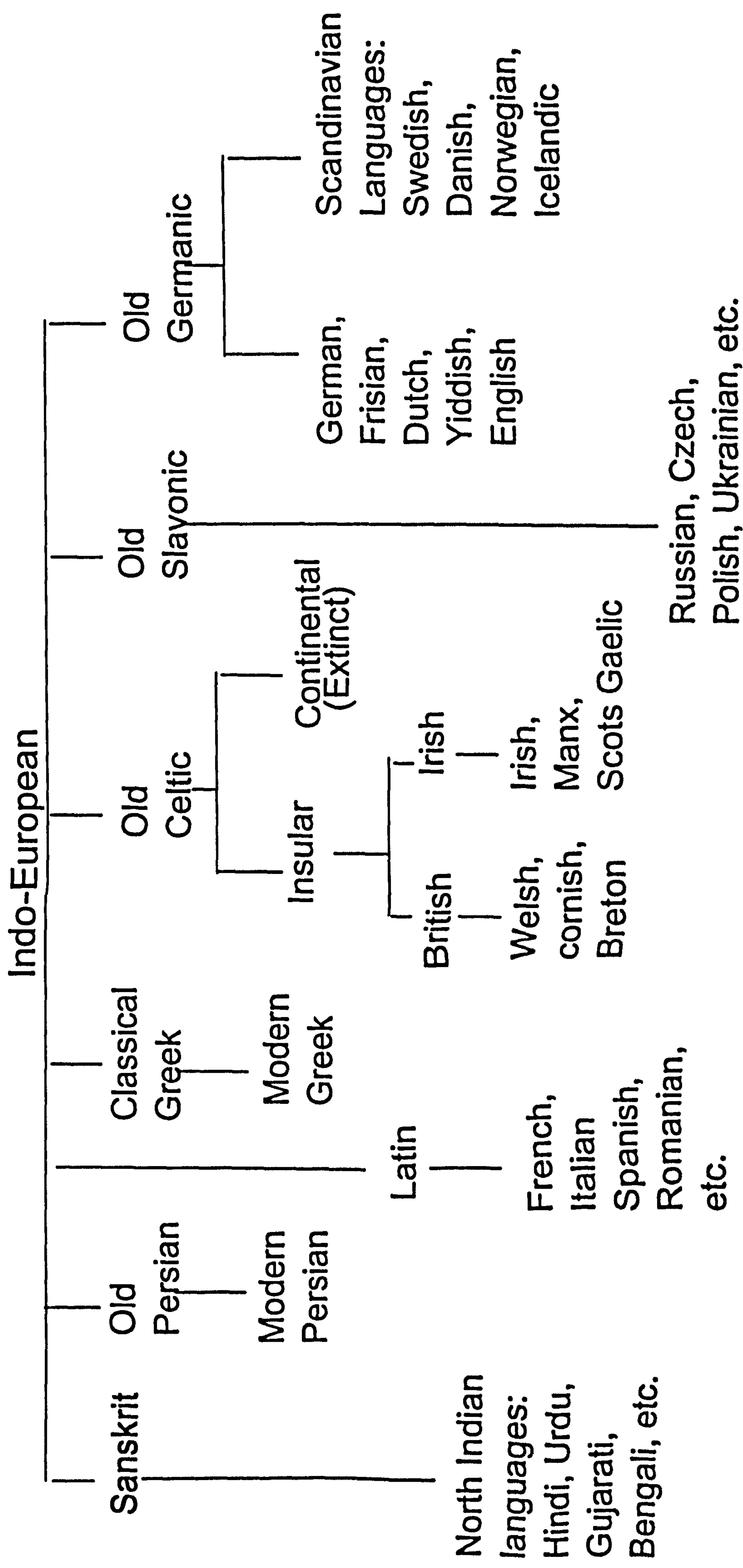
Ques. No.	Responding Council										
	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V

1	yes 1986	yes 1990		yes	yes 1989	no MC	In Prep	yes 1996	no	yes 1990	In Prep
2				1,2,3 4,5	1,4,5		2,3,4	5		1,2,3 4,5	1,3,5
3						*					
4A	no	no		yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
4B					1,2,3 4	4				1,2,3 ,4	1,4
5	no	no		no	yes	no	no	no		no	yes
6					Urdu						U,C, P
7					2						5
8					1 M.L						1 M.L
9					1,2,3 4						1,2,3
10					2						5*
11					2						LEA 2
12					2,4						1,2,4
13		2,3,4			2,3		2,3,4	4			1,2,3
14	yes	yes				yes	no	yes			25
15	4	5,8				2,4,7		2	4	2,4	1,2,3 ,4,5, 6
16	W.E. A.S.	W.E. A.S.				W.E. Urdu Ch. A.S. Punj		W.E.	A.S.	A.S.	W.E. A.S.

Collation of Council Responses to Questionnaires (contd.)

Ques. No.	Responding Council											
	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	
17	1	2				1		1	1	3	2,4	
18	yes	no				yes		no	yes	no	yes,	
19	1	1				1		1	1	1	1	
20	2	2			1,2,3,4	1,2,3,4,*	2,3		1	2,3,4	2,3,4	
21	no	no		yes	no	yes	U.C.	no	no	yes	yes	
21				Urdu Punj Chin Arab		Urdu Punj Chin				Urdu Chin	Urdu Stan. Grad	
U.C.=Under consideration, W.E.= Week End Classes, A.S.=After School Classes. *=Other Reasons, Chin = Chinese, Punj = Punjabi, M.L.=Modern Languages Dept.												
22				1		1,2,4,5	2,4			1,4,5	2	
23				1,2		1	1			1*,2,3	1	
24		no		yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	yes	U.C	
25						yes	no	no	no	no	yes	
26	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes	
27	no	no		no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	
27A						Urdu Punj Cant					B.V. R.	
28	no		yes	yes	no	yes	U.C.	no	no	no	no	
28A			B.P. in SEN, B.P.. in MS. S	In Col. E.D.							May emer ge after BVR	
B.V.R.=Best Value Review, M.ED.=ESL Teacher doing M.Ed CERES=Centre for Education and Racial Equality in Scotland; B.P.=Bilingual Pupils;SEN=Special Educational Needs;MS.S.=Mainstream Schools;In.Col.=In Colaboration;A.R.-As Requested;M.T.=Mother Tongue;*= weekend classes												

Appendix 9: The Main Branches of the Indo-European Language Family



Appendix 10: Samples of South Asian scripts commonly used in Scotland

English	Islamabad	Delhi	Dacca	Peking
Panjabi (Gurmukhi)	ਪਿਸ਼ਲਮਾਬਦ	ਦਿਲੀ	ਡਾਕਾ	ਪੀਕਿੰਗ
Chinese	伊斯兰堡	新德里	達卡	北京
Bengali	ইসলামাবাদ	দিল্লী	ঢাকা	পিঙ্কিং
Hindi (Devanagari)	इस्लामाबाद	दिल्ली	ঢাকা	पिंकिंग
Urdu (Perso-Arabic)	اسلام آباد	دہلی	ڈھاکہ	پیکینگ

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