

Framing English as a second language education: a comparative study of policy provision in London and New York

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**FRAMING ENGLISH AS A SECOND
LANGUAGE EDUCATION:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLICY PROVISION
IN LONDON AND NEW YORK CITY**

Christina Julios

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Abstract

Against the background of a proliferation of large non-English-speaking ethnic linguistic communities in Britain and the United States, this thesis examines the provision of English as a Second Language (ESL) and bilingual education policies in London and New York City respectively.

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part I traces the transformation of English into an international linguistic phenomenon and the significance acquired by ESL and bilingual education policies. In particular, attention is focused on the educational challenges faced by English-speaking nations that are home to sizeable non-English-speaking communities. After this introductory overview, the interpretive theoretical framework, in which the thesis is based, is then presented. Drawing from the works of Yanow, Hajer and others, both ESL and bilingual education are understood as taking place within a multi-organisational context, where different players attribute different meanings to this policy.

Part II goes on to explore the contrasting ways in which ESL and bilingual education policies have been framed both in Britain and in the United States. While in the UK ESL tuition has evolved as a by-product of immigration and race-relations policies, in the USA bilingual education has however been construed as a linguistic right. Part III then introduces an empirical analysis of the provision of ESL and bilingual programmes in the context of London and New York City. This section specifically deals with the educational needs of two non-English-speaking groups: the Bangladeshi community in Tower Hamlets and the Hispanic community in Manhattan. Following from these players' language experiences, the fieldwork is used to identify three distinctive ESL/bilingual education discourse coalitions, namely the assimilationists, exclusivists and social integrationists. Based on different value-systems, each of these 'policy frames' represents their advocates' particular understanding of ESL and bilingual education policies. Having finally ascertained the impact of multiple meanings on the second language education policy process, the thesis concludes by advocating further interpretive research in the analysis of public policy.

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Glossary

AIMA	Australian Institute of Multi-cultural Affairs
ALLP	Australian Language and Literacy Policy
APU	Assessment of Performance Unit
ASA	American Sociological Association
BERA	British Educational Research Association
BGCC	Bethnal Green City Challenge Company
BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills
BLPES	British Library of Political and Economic Science
CEO	Centre for Equal Opportunity
CERI	Centre for Educational Research and Innovation
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
COGS	Cognitive Skills
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Aid
CRC	Community Relations Commission
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
CUNY	City University of New York
DEET	Australian Department of Employment, Education and Training
DES	Department for Education and Science
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
EAL	English as an Additional Language
EC	European Community
ELL	English Language Learners
ERA	Education Reform Act
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
ESW	English, Scottish and Welsh
ESWI	English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish
EU	European Union

GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEST	Grants for Education Support and Training
GNP	Gross National Product
ICCC	Israel Corporation of Community Centres
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IE	Institute of Education
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority
ILO	International Labour Office
INS	Immigration and Naturalisation Service
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IRR	Institute of Race Relations
JET	Jobs through English and Training
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LAB	Language Attitude Battery Test
LAP	Language Achievement Project
LARRIE	Local Authorities Race Relations Information Exchange
LDC	Less Developed Countries
LDR	Less Developed Regions
LEA	Local Education Authority
LEP	Limited English Proficient
LEPU	Local Economy Policy Unit at South Bank University
LES	Lower East Side of Manhattan
LOTE	Languages Other Than English
LRC	London Research Centre
LRT	London Reading Test
LSA	Linguistic Society of America
LULAC	League of United Latin American Citizens
MALDEF	Mexican American Legal Defence and Education Fund
MDC	More Developed Countries
MDR	More Developed Regions
MLA	Modern Languages Association

NABE	National Association for Bilingual Education
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCBE	National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education
NJ	New Jersey
NPL	National Policy on Languages
NY	New York
NYC	New York City
NYCBOE	New York City Board of Education
NYCDCP	New York City Department of City Planning
OCR	Office of Civil Rights
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
ONS	Office for National Statistics
OPCS	Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PCA	Police Complaints Authority
PEP	Political and Economic Planning
PR	Puerto Rico
PRLDEF	Puerto Rican Legal Defence and Education Fund
PSI	Policy Studies Institute
QMUL	Queen Mary University of London
QMW	Queen Mary and Westfield College
RRB	Race Relations Board
S11	Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966
SAT	Scholastic Attitude Test
SDNY	Southern District of New York
SEN	Special Education Needs
SES	Socio-economic Status
SLE	Second Language Education
SOPs	Standard Operational Procedures
SPHS	Seward Park High School

SRA	Social Research Association
SSA	Standard Spending Assessment
TESOL	Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
TH	Tower Hamlets
THC	Tower Hamlets College
THECS	Tower Hamlets Directorate of Education and Community Services
ULL	University of London Library
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNPF	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
U.S.C.	United States Congress
US DfE	United States Department for Education
VI	Virgin Islands
WB	World Bank

Part I: Historical and Theoretical Background

Chapter 1: Introduction

This introductory section outlines the main issues addressed in the thesis. As a starting point, it establishes the significance of ESL and bilingual education as a policy problem. In particular, the chapter focuses on the language experiences of Britain and the USA as leading English-speaking nations. It then moves on to explore the nature of citizenship and specifically the changing notions of British as well as North American national identities. Finally, the chapter draws to a close by summarising the contents of the thesis.

1.1 English as a Second Language (ESL) and Bilingual Education Policies

The choice of ESL and bilingual education policies as the subject of this thesis stems from the fact that teaching English as a second language is rapidly becoming one of the major public policy challenges facing English-speaking nations worldwide. The accelerated transformation of Britain and the USA, in particular, into multi-cultural and multilingual states has contributed to the increasing significance afforded to ESL education in these countries.¹

Demographic and linguistic estimates suggest that the English language is spoken by nearly a quarter of the world's population.² Whether completely fluent or merely competent, being native speakers or having acquired the necessary linguistic knowledge, between 1.2 billion and 1.5 billion people regularly communicate in English. Of the approximately 5,000 tongues spoken worldwide, no other language can match this growth. Even, Chinese, found in eight different spoken dialects, though unified by a common writing system, is known only to some 1.1 billion people. The present dominance of the English language is primarily the result of two factors. On the one hand, the expansionism of the British Empire towards the end of the nineteenth century

¹ N. Glazer, *We Are All Multiculturalists Now*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), 1997, p. 147.

² See *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1995*, (Paris: UNESCO), 1995; *Encyclopaedia Britannica Year Book 1996*, (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica), 1996; and B. R. Grimes (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 12th edn. (Dallas, Texas: The Summer Institute of Linguistics), 1992.

effectively put this language on the international map, bringing English into the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the Caribbean, South East Asia, the South Pacific and Colonial Africa.³ On the other hand, the emergence of the United States as the leading economic and political power of the twentieth century has further catapulted the English language into a global dimension. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of Communism consolidated the cultural predominance of the USA. Subsequent geopolitical developments, together with the unprecedented technological explosion of the US-led Internet, have ultimately cemented the now unchallenged supremacy of English as 'the' international language. With 70 percent of all English mother-tongue speakers worldwide (excluding Creole varieties) living on US territory, North Americans are undoubtedly afforded a controlling power over the way the English language is universally developed.⁴

Against this background, the large presence of ethnic linguistic minorities in English-speaking countries such as Britain and the United States presents these societies with the challenge of providing ESL and bilingual education policies. Policy-makers are faced with the problem of designing and implementing second language programmes, which adequately meet the educational needs of their sizeable non-English-speaking school populations. The particular cases of Britain and the United States, the subject of this study, illustrate this reality. The period between the 1960s and 1990s has seen both of these countries experiencing unprecedented mass influxes of non-English-speaking immigrants into their territories. While substantial numbers of natives from New Commonwealth countries have entered the United Kingdom, it has been waves of Asians, Central and South Americans who have set foot in North America. These population movements have resulted in the development of large enclaves of ethnic linguistic minorities in certain urban and metropolitan areas. In Britain, London has played host to the biggest concentration of Sylheti-speaking Bangladeshis in the United Kingdom. Likewise, New York City has become home to the largest Spanish-speaking Hispanic community of Puerto Rican origin in US mainland. Lack of English proficiency coupled with an array of socio-economic factors such as poverty, illiteracy and racism, have given way to successive generations of ethnic minority children experiencing high rates of

³ The term 'Colonial Africa' refers to the following states: South Africa, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Gambia, Nigeria, Cameroon, Liberia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

⁴ D. Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1997, p. 53.

academic underachievement and school dropouts. On either side of the Atlantic, the rapid growth of these ethnic groups has seen policy-makers introducing bilingual programmes tailored to the educational needs of their respective linguistic communities.

1.2 Language and Identity

The exploration of British and US ESL and bilingual education policies respectively has drawn attention to an important related issue, namely the evolving notion of national identity and its relationship with language.⁵ While linguistic heritage is widely regarded as a feature of ethnicity and a central element of nationhood, the role played by language in shaping identity is a complex subject well outside the remit of this study.⁶ Within the context of the thesis, however, it is important to understand that the nature of citizenship and its correlation with language ultimately depends on the meanings attached to them. As Coleman and Salt have indicated, whether ethnic, national, monolingual or multilingual, the notion of identity is essentially defined as 'self-ascription' to a particular group.⁷ Perceptions are therefore a fundamental factor in determining how an individual views him/herself, how they in turn view others, and how others eventually look upon them. A Mexican-American child born and raised in the United States, for instance, may consider him/herself to be a US citizen; however it will hardly be regarded in the same fashion by members of the dominant white North American society. Similarly, a Bangladeshi child brought up in the East End of London may see him/herself as being wholly British; however it is unlikely that the rest of the indigenous white British population may regard him/her as being one of them. It therefore becomes necessary not only to explore the various existing interpretations of ethnic/national identity, but the socio-cultural and psychological reasons behind such classifications. Stephens reminds

⁵ C. Julios, 'Bilingualism and the New American Identity' in Anne Kershen (ed.), *A Question of Identity*, (Aldershot: Ashgate), 1998, pp. 271-293; C. Julios, 'Bilingualism and the New British Identity', paper presented at the Political Studies Association's (PSA) 49th Annual Conference at the University of Keele in A. Dobson and J. Stanyer (eds.), *Contemporary Political Studies*, vol 1, (Nottingham: PSA), 1998, pp. 92-107; and A. Smith, *National Identity*, (London: Penguin Books), 1991.

⁶ See A. C. Zentella, *Growing Up Bilingual: Puerto Rican Children in New York City*, (New York: Blackwell Publishers), 1997; and J. M. Yinger, *Ethnicity: Source of Strength or Conflict?* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press), 1994.

⁷ D. Coleman and J. Salt (eds.), *Ethnicity in the Census 1991: Demographic Characteristics of the Ethnic Minority Populations*, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, vol. 1, (London: HMSO), 1996, p. 9.

us that although language is in itself 'neutral', the many ways in which it may be deployed carry social as well as political implications.⁸

Interviews with key ESL and bilingual education policy actors carried out in the course of the thesis exemplify these points. In an interview with the author, Angelo Falcon, President of the Institute of Puerto Rican Policy in New York City, indicated that 'negative images' in the media, 'stereotypical' and 'pejorative representations' of Hispanics, as well as 'lack of positive role models' have combined to shape the low self-image characteristic of many US Latinos.⁹ In another interview, Ana Celia Zentella, Director of Black and Puerto Rican Studies at City University of New York, likewise argued that the 'racial' manner in which the dominant English-speaking US Anglo-Saxon society defines linguistic ethnic minorities determine the way in which these groups come to see themselves. She recalls the case of a US-born Puerto Rican girl who, at the age of eight, identified herself as being 'American'. Ten years later, her experience of rejection by mainstream US society, which defined her as 'not American', had resulted in this youngster associating herself with a 'Puerto Rican identity'.¹⁰ Ethnic linguistic communities, on the other hand, may also use language in a discriminatory fashion to label those they consider to be outsiders. Ironically, this often include members of their own minority communities deemed to have become culturally and linguistically assimilated into the dominant UK/US English-speaking societies. The experience of David, a 17 year old US-born Dominican, is a case in point. He told the author how 'if somebody is born here and goes to Santo Domingo, they say he is a Dominican. Because his parents are Hispanics, Dominicans, but he was born here in New York'.¹¹

Tensions created by the inherently multi-ethnic nature both of British and American societies pose fundamental challenges to these second generation immigrants, who must affirm their unique dual identity within an English-speaking environment. For young members of minority groups, such struggles begin earlier in life. Consider, for instance,

⁸ T. M. Stephens, 'The Language of Ethnicity and Self-identity in American Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, (London: Routledge), summer 1989, p. 138.

⁹ Interview with Angelo Falcon, President, Institute of Puerto Rican Policy, New York, 9th October 1997. The original interview, conducted in Spanish, has been translated into English by the author.

¹⁰ Interview with Ana Celia Zentella, Director, Black and Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, CUNY (City University of New York), New York, 9th October 1997.

¹¹ Interview with Daniel Davis, 17 year-old bilingual student, 10th Grade Spanish Bilingual Education Programme, Seward Park High School, New York, 15th October 1997. The original interview, conducted in Spanish, has been translated into English by the author.

the Hispanic child who discovers that the language of his/her parents is neither understood nor appreciated by his/her fellow classmates; or the Bangladeshi youngster who is constantly bombarded by mainstream television, advertising and mass media with the message that all successful, powerful or beautiful people are white. From these children's perspectives, becoming adults in a society that devalues their minority status increasingly makes them question who they are and who they would like to be.¹² As a result, second generation UK/US-born immigrants display inherently contradictory attitudes towards language and identity. On the one hand, few seem happy to see their mother tongues disappear, because they consider them an important part of their cultural heritage. On the other hand, achieving English language proficiency is paramount to them, for most of these individuals aspire to succeed in their adopted English-dominant countries. As time passes, the gap between their cultural expectations and the realisation of such wants inevitably widens. Eventually, hardly any of these individuals will realistically be able to hand down their native language skills to their offspring. By being brought up in a bicultural and bilingual environment, second generation UK/US-born immigrants are torn apart between simultaneous but incompatible desires, realities and drives.

As the transformation of Britain and the USA into multicultural and multilingual nations gathers pace, traditional notions of citizenship are becoming obsolete. In the words of Pedro Pedraza, Director of 'El Centro' at CUNY, we are witnessing the emergence of an altogether new notion of identity, a so-called 'transnational identity'.¹³ This idea surpasses ethnic features such as phenotype, language or religion conventionally associated with self-ascription to a particular group. A transnational identity, in contrast, is based on a very personal belief about one's character, a unique individual self-image. Pedro Pedraza illustrated his assertion with the case of the Puerto Rican community in Hawaii. Established at the turn of the century, this group firmly considers itself to be Puerto Rican. They have however maintained an existence entirely detached from Puerto Rico. In their present form, Puerto Rican-Hawaiians neither speak Spanish nor consume Puerto Rican goods, and their customs and habits are not those of mainland Puerto Ricans. Puerto Rican-Hawaiians' social networks do not resemble those of their

¹² See Zentella, *Growing Up Bilingual*.

¹³ Interview with Pedro Pedraza, Director, Centre for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, CUNY, New York, 10th October 1997. The original interview, conducted in Spanish, has been translated into English by the author.

forebears either, for they have intermarried with Hawaiians, Filipinos and Japanese. Even the music they listen to cannot strictly be described as Latino. Pedro Pedraza therefore asked ‘how can these people claim to be Puerto Ricans?’ ‘how can they maintain a Puerto Rican ideal?’, and more importantly ‘what does it mean for them?’¹⁴

New York City’s Seward Park High School provides another example of transnational citizenship in the shape of Yoko, a 17 year old Chinese-born student who spent the first 7 years of her life in China, after which she moved to Mexico for a further 6 years. At the time of writing, she resided in Manhattan and considered herself to be ‘American’.¹⁵ Both the Puerto Rican-Hawaiians’ and Yoko’s identities are clearly neither defined by their ethnic origin, nor the languages they speak, nor their cultural practices nor their relationships with their respective dominant majority groups. These individuals’ self-images are simply the external manifestations of personalised views of themselves. Within this context, the question of citizenship can ultimately be said to relate to a state of mind mainly determined by abstract as opposed to material considerations. In other words, it does not matter that Puerto Rican-Hawaiians do not look, speak or behave like Puerto Ricans, they *feel* Puerto Ricans, and for that reason they *are* Puerto Ricans.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis comprises three parts, each dealing with different aspects of ESL and bilingual education policies. The first part sets up the analytical and methodological framework of the study. Chapter 1 provides an introductory overview of the problem of ESL and bilingual education, as well as the related issue of national identity. Chapter 2 follows with an insight into the phenomenon of English language globalisation, and the different instructional models adopted by various English-speaking nations. Chapter 3 explores the thesis’ theoretical and methodological basis. In particular, it dwells on the so-called interpretive approach to policy analysis and the notion of discourse coalition, understood as a group of actors who share a social construct.

¹⁴ Interview with Pedro Pedraza, 10th October 1997; see also Watson-Gegeo, K. A., ‘Language and Evaluation in Hawaii: Sociopolitical and Economic Implications of Hawaii Creole English’ in M. Morgan (ed.), *Languages and the Social Construction of Identity in Creole Situations*, (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Centre for Afro-American Studies), 1994, pp. 101-120.

¹⁵ Interview with Yoko Shimizu, 17 year-old bilingual student, 12th Grade Chinese Cantonese Bilingual Education Programme, Seward Park High School, New York, 23rd October 1997.

The second part of the study analyses the process of ESL and bilingual education policy-making in Britain and the United States. Chapter 4 traces the development of ESL education in the UK, and finds short-term *ad hoc* governmental responses to the country's increasing linguistic diversity. Chapter 5 then follows the evolution of bilingual education in the USA and the different way in which this policy has been framed there. While external events and racial tensions have mainly shaped British ESL education programmes, it is the judiciary that emerges as the driving force behind US bilingual policy. For community-based court rulings have come to form the basis of language legislation in the USA.

The third part of the thesis examines the delivery of ESL and bilingual programmes in the context both of London and New York City. Chapter 6 deals with the schooling of Bangladeshi pupils in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. Chapter 7, in turn, examines the teaching of Hispanic students in the New York City Borough of Manhattan. Finally, Chapter 8 contrasts and compares the language experiences of both of these communities. By identifying different understandings of ESL and bilingual education, the thesis ultimately shows the emergence of three distinctive discourse coalitions, namely the assimilationists, exclusivists and social integrationists.

1.4 About the Author

Since the thesis uses interpretive theory as well as qualitative methods, it seems appropriate for the author to position herself within such an analytical framework. This section therefore introduces the author and explores where she is 'coming from'.

Born in Madrid, Spain, Christina came to the United Kingdom over 15 years ago. What started as a working holiday, turned out to be an amazing journey of self-discovery that would see her learning the English language, migrating to the country and ultimately becoming a British citizen. It is her personal circumstances that afford Christina a unique insight into the issues addressed by the thesis as well as an understanding of the subjects of her study. On the one hand, Christina's background has made her particularly aware of

the existence of a multiplicity of meanings and interpretations within any given reality. Her experience of migration, not only heightened her appreciation of how she perceived others, but also of how others in turn viewed her. Before coming to Britain, Christina considered herself to be a monolingual, mono-cultural Spanish citizen. She was very much a part of a close-knit and rather homogeneous middle-class suburban community, where she and her peers mutually considered each other to be one of 'us'. The world as Christina had known it came to an abrupt end, when she first came to Britain. As she stepped off her plane, she was immediately labelled a non-English speaking foreigner, an alien from a different country, one of 'the others'. Although she was the same person who a few hours earlier had left Madrid, the manner in which she was now being perceived had fundamentally changed. Both British and Spanish people had dissimilar understandings of Christina and ultimately attributed different meanings to her persona. As a result, they approached her, related to her and dealt with her in highly contrasting ways.

On the other hand, as a first-generation immigrant, Christina not only possesses inside knowledge of the dynamics of migration, but she can also connect with her field subjects at a deeper emotional level than would otherwise be possible. Like them, she travelled to a new country, learned new customs, mastered a new tongue, met new people and integrated herself into a new society. Like them, she encountered prejudice and intolerance, but also generosity and kindness. Like them, she sought new opportunities in her host nation, which her country of origin could not afford her. Like them, she forged new friendships and social networks, and even found herself the most wonderful British partner. Like them, she discovered cultural differences and contrasting social etiquette. Like them, she was exposed to a whole new gastronomy that would both surprise and delight her. Like them, she became acculturated, consuming British goods, reading the British press and listening to British music. Like them, she learnt a great deal about herself, having transformed and enhanced her life in fundamental and unexpected ways. Christina knows her subjects well, for their stories, struggles and aspirations are also hers.

Chapter 2: ESL and Bilingual Education in a Global Context

This chapter traces the progressive transformation of the English language into an international linguistic phenomenon. Two historical events are considered in particular, namely the expansionism of the British Empire from its inception until the nineteenth century, and the rise of the USA to the position of world's superpower during the twentieth century. The chapter then turns its attention to the increasing presence of non-English-speaking communities in Britain as well as in the USA, and the significance that ESL and bilingual education policies have acquired in both of these countries. Finally, it provides an insight into various contrasting second language education settings elsewhere including bilingual education in Wales, immersion programmes in Canada and ESL schooling in Australia.

2.1 Colonialism, Post-colonialism and the Spread of English

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603), the number of English speakers in the world is thought to have been between five and seven million. At the beginning of Queen Elizabeth II's tenure, over three centuries later, this amount had increased almost fifty-fold. By 1952, 250 million people were estimated to speak English as a mother tongue and a further 100 million or so had learned it as a foreign language.¹⁶ The 1980s witnessed the continuation of this trend. Throughout this period, the number of native English speakers reached over 300 million, while the amount of people who spoke English as a foreign language numbered well over one billion.¹⁷ The English-speaking countries of Britain, the United States (with 70 percent of all English mother tongue speakers worldwide), Canada, Australia and New Zealand can easily account for the bulk of the indigenous English-speaking population. In contrast, the spread and influence of English in non-English speaking countries can only be understood by analysing wider socio-economic and political factors that have catapulted the English language onto a

¹⁶ D. Graddol, D. Leith and J. Swann (eds.), *English: History, Diversity and Change*, The Open University, (London: Routledge), 1996, p. 29.

global dimension. Within this context, the role played both by Britain as the original Mother Country of English, and the USA as the world's current English-speaking leading nation are particularly significant. As Crystal has indicated, 'why a language becomes a global language has little to do with the number of people who speak it. It has much more to do with who those speakers are'.¹⁸

The magnitude of the English language's global expansion is reflected in its prominent position among the world's most spoken languages.¹⁹ Table 1, which shows a breakdown of the 10 major world languages, puts English at the top of the list, far ahead of its nearest rival: Chinese. Unlike the latter, mostly spoken by a particular group within a vast yet limited territory, English is the most widely spoken language on Earth. With peoples from such diverse areas as South America, Africa, Europe and India sharing in the daily use of this ubiquitous linguistic code.

Table 1 Number of Speakers of the 10 major World Languages (1995)

Language	Language Family	Speaker in Millions
English	Indo-European	1,400
Chinese	Sino-Tibetan	1,000
Hindi	Indo-European	700
Spanish	Indo-European	280
Russian	Indo-European	270
French	Indo-European	220
Arabic	Afro-Asiatic	175
Malaya	Austronesian	160
Portuguese	Indo-European	160
Bengali	Indo-European	150

Note: the figures shown here are generally upper estimates and include speakers for whom the language is not the mother tongue. Source: John Edwards, *Multilingualism*, (London: Penguin Books), 1995, p. 32.

British Colonialism

The historical process by which English has become the world's most prominent language can be traced back to Britain's imperial times. In the first instance, the spread

¹⁷ Graddol *et al.* (eds.), *English: History*, p. 29.

¹⁸ Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, p. 5.

¹⁹ Katzner, K., *The Languages of the World*, (London: Routledge), 1992.

of the English language within the British Isles was a direct consequence of a colonial process that would culminate in the formation of the United Kingdom.²⁰ Following the conquest of England in 1066, the Norman monarchs incorporated the various existing Celtic territories by awarding land to their knights in return for subduing the indigenous population. It is in this manner that English came to be widely used in Ireland, Scotland and Wales, where previously Celtic languages had been spoken at length. As colonies developed and became of greater strategic importance to England, the English government took larger responsibility for their administration. The Celtic territories were the first to experience 'political incorporation' in this way.²¹ By 1536, the English nation included Wales within its territory. In 1707, Scotland joined the so-called Great Britain, with Ireland being finally incorporated, in 1800, as part of the United Kingdom. Throughout the nineteenth century these territories constituted the original Mother Country and many British nationals from Ireland, Scotland and Wales actively contributed to the subsequent establishment of a British Empire abroad. Being subjects of the British monarchy, the original colonists were placed under the political and economic control of the Mother Country. With English now firmly established as 'the language of the state', these British settlers went on to deploy it as a powerful tool of acculturation.²²

Beyond the British Isles, colonies were first established at the end of the sixteenth century. With the process of overseas colonisation lasting more than 300 years and affecting four continents, it is very difficult to make generalisations about its nature. Graddol has nevertheless indicated that many of the foreign colonies where English emerged as the main language shared a couple of common traits. Firstly, they were populated by English-speaking settlers; and secondly, they had become politically and culturally incorporated into the wider British imperial state.²³ The combined political implications of such factors help to explain the accelerated spread of the English language overseas. The establishment of English-speaking colonies in North America at the beginning of the seventeenth century illustrates this process. Here, large scale

²⁰ Although the process of British colonialism greatly contributed to the spread of English, colonial policies did not always put an emphasis on the need to learn and use the English language. See J. Brutt-Griffler, *World English – A Study of its Development*, (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters), 2002.

²¹ Graddol, *et al.* (eds.), *English: History*, p. 182.

²² Graddol, *et al.* (eds.), *English: History*, p. 183.

²³ Graddol, *et al.* (eds.), *English: History*, p. 182.

immigration of English-speakers and other European settlers rapidly displaced the existing indigenous population. The ensuing socio-economic, political and linguistic dominance of the former groups gave way to a dominant Anglo-Saxon cultural model whose collective *lingua franca* was English.

Graddol has argued that one defining characteristic of the English language, which has allowed it to spread quickly and to co-exist with other tongues, is its innate 'hybridity and permeability'.²⁴ As a language, English is constantly evolving, and in this evolutionary process its contact with other tongues has been an important driving force for change. Throughout its remarkable history, the English language has always borrowed freely: firstly, from Celtic and Latin, later from Scandinavian and Norman French, and subsequently from the various languages spoken in the many British colonies. This remarkable ability to absorb and incorporate different linguistic influences undoubtedly contributed to the rapid spread of English during Britain's colonisation period. As Graddol has indicated, 'when a language is imposed on a community as part of a colonial process, speakers tend to incorporate many linguistic features from their first language when speaking the new, imposed one'.²⁵ Certainly, one of the most striking linguistic consequences of colonisation has been the creation of new, sometimes radically divergent forms of English. Most of these English language hybrids have remained local languages of relative low social status, such as English Creole, an amalgamation of English, Portuguese and Spanish developed during the slave trade between Africa and the Caribbean, which has survived with very limited use. In West Africa, for instance, such commercial activities led to the formation of English Pidgin, a simplified makeshift language mostly used in Sierra Leone.²⁶

The colonial process brought English in contact with a variety of different indigenous tongues, but it significantly did so within particular relations of power. Any account of the linguistic consequences of colonialism must also relate to the pattern of social, economic and political inequalities, which privileged the English language and those who spoke it. While the colonial conditions of language contact played an important role in

²⁴ D. Graddol, *The Future of English?* (London: The British Council), 1997, p. 6.

²⁵ Graddol, *et al.* (eds.), *English: History*, p. 185.

²⁶ See R. G. Le Page and A. Tabouret-Keller, *Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1985; and L. Todd, *Modern Englishes: Pidgins and Creoles*, (Oxford: Blackwell), 1984.

shaping the new varieties of English that emerged, the influence of indigenous local languages on English was, for the most part, negligible. For European settlers largely displaced the pre-colonial populations from their conquered territories. In North America, for example, colonisation saw the linguistic and cultural heritage of the various existing Native American peoples being virtually wiped out. As a result, these indigenous tongues had a minimum impact on the English language. In the same way as there is a lack of Celtic influence in Old English, Native Americans' languages made no significant impression on US English. Throughout the Empire, European colonists similarly limited their use of indigenous tongues to borrowing words relating to phenomena new to them such as local cultural practices, animal names and geographical features. It was therefore rare for significant phonological or grammatical features of pre-colonial languages to be adopted into English. Machan and Scott have explained this limited influence of pre-colonial tongues on English by explaining that any given process of colonisation inevitably results in the language of a conquered people having little effect on that of the conquerors.²⁷

Post-colonialism

From the late eighteenth century onwards, the emergence of different forms of nationalistic movements within the British dominions signalled the beginning of the inevitable period of de-colonisation. Ironically, the linguistic outcome of this process would see English expand further afield.²⁸ Overseas nationalistic reactions against British domination began in North America in 1776. Other offshore colonies followed in quick succession. The British government granted a form of self-government to Canada in 1867. Dominion status was similarly conferred to Australia in 1901, to New Zealand in 1907 and to South Africa in 1910. Finally in 1931, the totality of former British colonies became linked to Britain under its monarchy in the so-called Commonwealth of Independent States. While the nationalistic uprisings that gave birth to these countries were aimed at freeing the subordinate territories from British colonial rule, the language in which such revolutions were articulated was English. As Graddol has pointed out,

²⁷ See T. W. Machan and C. T. Scott (eds.), *English in its Social Contexts: Essays in Historical Sociolinguistics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1992.

²⁸ Le Page, R. B., *The National Language Question: Linguistic Problems of Newly Independent States*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1964.

most of the nationalistic movements in British colonies, which subsequently led to independence, were instigated by English-speaking colonised peoples.²⁹ In the United States, for instance, political independence led to the creation of a republican ideal based on the notion of 'We, the People' as an English-speaking collective. Similarly, the English language has retained some kind of official status in most of the newly created independent states, particular in post-colonial India as well as within emerging African nations. In Ghana for example, English has remained the main official language in which affairs of state, education and commerce are carried out. Use of native languages, on the other hand, is limited to regional and tribal settings. In Nigeria, English is likewise the sole official language for the many linguistic communities making up the nation. English is also the official language of Gambia, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In other post-colonial countries, English has become a co-official language together with one or more additional native tongues. English is, for instance, a co-official language with French in Canada and Cameroon; with Spanish in Puerto Rico; with Swahili in Tanzania; with Cantonese in Hong Kong; and with Malay, Mandarin Chinese and Tamil in Singapore. The most complex linguistic situation regarding English is to be found in India, where this tongue performs several overlapping roles. Firstly, English is an associate official language with Hindi. In addition, it is regarded as a national language like Bengali, Hindi and Gujarati. Finally, English is also an official language of eight Union Territories including the Andaman and Nicora Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Delhi, Lakshwadi, Mizoram and Pondicherry.³⁰

The USA and Globalisation of the English Language

The end of the Cold War and the subsequent collapse of Communism saw the consolidation of the United States as the undisputed international leading nation. As the new millennium dawns, a combination of US political and economic might together with a worldwide technological revolution have transformed English into a global medium of mass communication.³¹ Not only world diplomacy and politics are now conducted in English, but also business, media, advertising, sports and entertainment broadcasting, and

²⁹ Graddol, *et al.*, *English: History*, p. 182.

³⁰ R. Hartmann, *The English Language in Europe*, European Studies Series, (Oxford: Intellect), 1996, p. 15.

³¹ T. Arthur, 'English in the World and in Europe' in Reinhard Hartmann (ed.), *The English Language in Europe*, (Oxford: Intellect), 1996, pp. 3-15.

even popular music are dominated by the English language. In 1996, for instance, the *Union of International Associations' Yearbook* listed 12,500 international organisations worldwide. A random sample of 500 of these showed that 85 percent (424) made official use of English - far more than any other language -. French was the only other language to show up strongly, with 49 percent (245) of such agencies using it officially. Thirty other languages also attracted occasional official status, but only Arabic, Spanish and German achieved over 10 percent recognition.³² Similarly, in 1994, data compiled in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* indicated that about a third of the world's newspapers were being published in those countries where the English language has an official status, and it is reasonable to assume that the majority of these would have been written in English. Similarly, the *Book of Lists* has reported that the top five selling papers in the world are printed in English, these include *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal* and two British papers *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*. Of particular importance are those English-written newspapers and magazines intended for a global readership such as the *International Herald Tribune*, *US Weekly*, *International Guardian*, *Time*, *Newsweek* and *The Economist*. It would also seem that about a quarter of the world's periodicals, literary and technical reviews, scholarly journals, comics and pornographic material, among others, are published in English-dominant countries.³³

With an average of two-thirds of a modern newspaper, especially in the United States, being devoted to advertising, the dominance of English language in this area has an enormous global impact. By 1972, for example, only three of the world's top ten publicity agencies were not US-owned (two were in Japan and one in Britain). Not surprisingly, English features as the official language of international advertising bodies such as the European Association of Advertising Agencies. English has also become the language of the film industry. It is estimated that 85 percent of the world's entertainment market is controlled by the United States, with Hollywood films dominating box offices in most countries.³⁴ Despite the growth of motion pictures worldwide, English-speaking movies still largely dominate the medium, with Hollywood increasingly coming to rely on a small number of annual productions aimed at huge audiences such as *Gladiator*, and the *Harry Potter* and *Lord of the Rings* series. It is unusual to find a blockbuster movie

³² Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, pp. 79-80.

³³ Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, p. 85.

³⁴ Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, p. 91.

produced in a language other than English. According to the *British Film Industry's Film and Television Handbook*, 80 percent of all feature films given a theatrical release in 1996 were performed in English. The Oscar system itself has always been English language oriented, featuring only one category for 'Best Foreign Film'. There is a strong English-language presence in most other film festivals too. One half of all the 'Best Film' awards ever given at the Cannes Film Festival, for example, has been granted to English-speaking productions.³⁵ The pop music world has also felt the international power of the English language. The 1990 edition of *The Penguin Encyclopaedia of Popular Music*, which includes 557 pop groups, indicates that 549 (99 percent) of them work entirely or predominantly in English; and of the 1,219 solo vocalists featured, 1,156 (95 percent) of them perform in English. The mother tongue of the artists appears to be altogether irrelevant. Consider for instance, the Swedish group ABBA, whose entire international career, with over twenty hit records in the 1970s and 1980s was performed in English.

Perhaps the most direct evidence of globalisation of the English language has been its almost automatic transformation into the Internet's *lingua franca*. From the outset an English-speaking US-led creation, the World Wide Web has become a universal tool for accessing knowledge and exchanging information. A truly multilingual Internet remains impracticable, for servers and clients must be able to intelligently communicate with each other, whatever the data source. Most browsers are still unable to handle multilingual data presentation including writing systems such as Arabic and Chinese. If the pitfalls of a technological Babel are to be avoided, the English language remains the only viable alternative. Here, the unparalleled domination of the international software market by US giant Microsoft seems to indicate the establishment of a growing trend, namely indiscriminate use of the English language. Significantly, Microsoft refused to translate its *Windows 95* software package into Icelandic, alleging a 'limited market' for such service.³⁶ While the director of the Icelandic Language Institute, Eric Kristinsson, protested that Microsoft 'are doing nothing less than destroying what has been built up here for ages', the fact remains that every school child in Iceland is taught the English language. Microsoft consequently saw no point in translating *Windows 95* into Icelandic

³⁵ Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, p. 91.

³⁶ M. Walsh, 'Microsoft set to wreck Language of Vikings', *The Guardian*, 1st July 1998, p.15.

when the Standard English version could be sold instead.³⁷ Specter, in a *New York Times* article entitled: 'World, Wide, Web: Three English Words', has encapsulated the seemingly unchallenged domination of the so-called information superhighway by the English language. Specter thus suggests that 'if you want to take full advantage of the Internet, there is only one way to do it: learn English, which has more than ever become America's greatest and most efficient export'.³⁸

While the powerful influence of the USA and the US-led Internet has contributed to the transformation of English into a global linguistic phenomenon, there is a further factor that will ensure the continuation of this trend in the foreseeable future: world migration. Under the headlines 'Close the Gap between Rich and Poor', *The Guardian* reminds us of a existing growing gulf in wealth among nations, leading to global disparities between developed and developing countries.³⁹ A recent UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) report on human development similarly indicates that there is a clear divide between the world's industrial nations and their developing counterparts. The UNDP's *The Human Report* ranks the countries of the world according to a human development index measuring life expectancy, education and real income, rather than GNP (Gross National Product). Accordingly, the United States, Canada and Japan feature among the world's most developed nations, with Britain in sixteenth place behind Finland and Australia. At the other end of the spectrum there are numerous states located in the Indian Subcontinent, South East Asian and African regions.⁴⁰ The UNDP report clearly points to a growing divide between the world's richest and poorest countries, with the wealth of the world's 358 billionaires exceeding the combine annual incomes of countries which are home to nearly half of the Earth's population.⁴¹ The linguistic consequences of these growing inequalities in wealth between prosperous Western societies and so-called Third World countries are two-fold. On the one hand, progressively larger numbers of people from developing countries would be drawn to affluent English-speaking nations searching for better living standards. On the other hand, the growing imbalance between rich and poor nations would increase the power of the former to

³⁷ Walsh, 'Microsoft set to wreck', p. 15. It must be noted that Microsoft has translated its *Windows 95* program into at least 30 different languages, including Slovenian and Catalan. A combination of commercial and technical reasons could thus be assumed to lie behind Microsoft's decision on Icelandic.

³⁸ M. Specter, 'World, Wide, Web: Three English Words', *The New York Times*, April 1996.

³⁹ See *The Guardian*, 16th July 1996.

⁴⁰ See UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), *The Human Report 1996*, (New York: UN), 1996.

⁴¹ See UNDP, *The Human Report 1996*.

influence culturally and linguistically the latter. The combination of these factors will ultimately contribute to further the process of English language globalisation. Hartman has already mapped out the actual extent of this language's international reach, by dividing the Globe into three categories, namely English Native Language Territories (totalling 36 nations), English as a Second Language Territories (51 nations) and English as a Foreign Language Territories (121 nations).⁴² The number of world territories using English approximates, at 228, the totality of countries on Earth.

During the nineteenth century, English became the language of an international British Empire. In the twentieth century, decolonisation together with the emergence of the USA as a political and technological superpower has seen the English tongue catapulted onto a universal dimension. Against this background, the development of ethnic linguistic minorities in Britain and the United States presents these English-speaking societies with a major policy challenge: providing ESL and bilingual programmes that meet the educational needs of their non-English-speaking communities.

2.2 Britain's and North America's Ethnic Linguistic Minorities

According to the *Collins Concise Dictionary*, a 'minority' is a 'group that is different racially, politically, etc., from a larger group of which it is a part'.⁴³ Ethnic linguistic minorities can thus be described as sections of a given population, which share a distinctive phenotypic, cultural and linguistic heritage. Here, a distinction must be made between a native minority and an immigrant community. Unlike the latter, the former group inhabits a national territory that has been associated with its members for a long time, often many centuries. That territory has now been placed under the jurisdiction of a nation-state whose hegemonic indigenous majority determines its socio-cultural outlook. Such is the situation, among others, of the Basques in Spain, the Bretons and Corsicans in France, the Native Americans in the USA and the Aborigines in Australia.⁴⁴ Although these groups raise many important public policy issues, it is not within the scope of this thesis to explore them. Instead, our attention will turn to those ethnic immigrant

⁴² Hartman, *The English Language*, p. 15.

⁴³ *Collins Concise English Dictionary*, 3rd edn., (Glasgow: Harper Collins Publishers), 1995, p. 848.

⁴⁴ It must be noted that the broad distinction between native and immigrant minority is somewhat arbitrary, with instances such as the Gypsy community being difficult to classify.

communities formed as a result of population movements, in particular, non-English-speaking settlements in Britain and the USA.

With regard to Britain, the *Census 1991* shows that three million people (5.5 percent of the population) are identified as being members of an ethnic group other than white, with about half of them originating either in India, Pakistan or Bangladesh.⁴⁵ In contrast to the average English-speaking white Anglo-Saxon British citizen, new South Asian arrivals bring with them a host of different linguistic and cultural traditions including the Hindi, Urdu and Bengali languages as well as Islamic and Hindu religions. Immigrants from Bangladesh are of particular significance, for they comprise the largest ethnic linguistic group in Britain. The majority of the 300,000 Bangladeshis living in Britain have migrated from the Great Sylhet Region of Bangladesh, with up to 95 percent of them having originated there.⁴⁶ The Greater Sylhet Region comprises an extremely deprived area in the north east of Bangladesh, where Sylheti - a surviving oral dialect of Bengali - is the spoken tongue. While Bengali speakers worldwide account for the sixth largest linguistic group on Earth (with some 220 million speakers), the bulk of Sylheti speakers is largely confined to the Great Sylhet Region.⁴⁷ The Bangladeshi community in Britain is not only the largest ethnic linguistic group in the country, but is also the largest collective of Sylheti speakers outside Bangladesh. Because of their particular socio-linguistic circumstances, Bangladeshi newcomers in Britain usually arrive with both a lack of English language proficiency as well as with high levels of illiteracy and poverty.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the situation presents striking similarities. In the fall of 1993 the *US Bureau of Census* reported that by the year 2010, Central and South Americans would eclipse African-Americans as the nation's largest minority group.⁴⁸ By the year 2050, the Bureau predicted that the US population would have increased by 52 percent to 392 million people of whom one half would be minorities and the other half whites of European descent. The latter group would decrease proportionally from 76 percent in 1993, to 68 percent in 2010 and to 53 percent in 2050. In contrast, the Census

⁴⁵ See OPCS (Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys), *Census 1991*, (London: HMSO), 1991.

⁴⁶ H. M. Husain, 'Raising Our Educational Standards and Performance Levels', paper presented at the Greater Sylhet Development and Welfare Council Conference 1996, London, 1996, p. 67.

⁴⁷ Husain, 'Raising Our Educational Standards', p. 67.

⁴⁸ See US Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1995: The National Data Book, and Country and City Data Book 1994, A Statistical Abstract Supplement*, (Washington DC: US Bureau of Census), 1995.

estimated that by 2050, Hispanics would account for 23 percent of the population; African-Americans for 16 percent; Asian-Americans for 10 percent; and American Indians for 1 percent.⁴⁹ In other words, the Latino community is soon to become the largest ethnic minority group in US mainland. This projected demographic shift has already occurred in some urban areas, notably Los Angeles and Miami. In other metropolitan areas such as New York, Chicago, Houston and San Diego the transformation is well underway.⁵⁰ In addition, nearly 40 percent of all new immigrants to the United States speak the same language: Spanish. Although the original European immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century were more numerous than the non-European ones, they were scattered across a wide range of linguistic and national groups, such as Polish, German, Italian and Greek. For these European newcomers the only viable *lingua franca* was English. In contrast, immigrants from a dozen different Latino nations speak Spanish, which is the official language of Spain, Mexico and most states of Central and South America with the exception of Portuguese-speaking Brazil. With regard to their cultural heritage, these Spanish speakers of Central and South American origin carry with them all the traits of a strong Catholic tradition. Massey has indicated that, although Hispanic immigrants living in the United States tend to shift to English within a generation, the prospect of linguistic fragmentation in the country is progressively turning into a reality.⁵¹

There is a further key demographic factor to be considered in the cases of both Britain and the United States, namely the new immigrants are not only more concentrated linguistically and culturally, but they are also more clustered geographically.⁵² With regard to the United Kingdom, most South Asian immigrants in Britain have developed ethnic communities in large industrial cities such as Birmingham, Leeds and Bradford. In the case of London, data from the *Census 1991* reveal that within the East End area, three in five of the residents are either Asian or black, compared with only one in twenty of the population nationally.⁵³ In the London borough of Tower Hamlets alone, 62 percent of

⁴⁹ See US Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1995*.

⁵⁰ See R. F. Farnen (ed.), *Nationalism, Ethnicity and Identity: Cross National and Comparative Perspectives*, (New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers), 1994.

⁵¹ D. S. Massey, 'The New Immigration and Ethnicity in the United States', *Population and Development Review*, vol. 21, no. 3, September 1995, p. 631.

⁵² See Cohen, R. (ed.), *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1995; and Castles, S. and M. J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press), 1993.

⁵³ See *Census 1991*, 'Report for Great Britain', 1991.

the school population have a home language other than English, and Sylheti speakers account for 86 percent of all mother tongue users.⁵⁴

As far as the USA is concerned, by 1910, the five most important immigrant-receiving states (i.e. New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts and New Jersey) took 54 percent of the total immigrant flow; whereas the most important urban destinations (i.e. New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland and Boston) received 36 percent of all immigrants.⁵⁵ By 1990, however, the five most important immigration-receiving states (i.e. California, New York, Texas, Illinois and Florida) absorbed 78 percent of the total immigrant population; while the five most important urban areas (i.e. Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Anaheim-Santa Ana and Houston) received nearly half of all entering immigrants. Significantly, the metropolitan areas now receiving these immigrants (i.e. New York, Chicago and Los Angeles) have also become the most important centres of communication and mass media in the country. This effectively guarantees that immigration to the USA has become a visible presence not only in these metropolitan areas, but across the whole of US mainland.⁵⁶

Mass migration presents major public policy challenges to any given society. Notwithstanding the economic benefits derived from cheap imported labour, large population movements frequently place a burden upon the host society's available resources; they may also test statutory social, education and immigration policies, and often provoke expressions of xenophobia among native inhabitants. The growth of large non-English-speaking settlements in Britain and the USA has been mostly underlined by deep-seated fears both in the British and US psyche that the prevailing *status quo* is being threatened. As minority enclaves have continued to grow, the increasing presence of different ethnicities, tongues and traditions in mainstream society has raised the spectrum of cultural and linguistic fragmentation. Widespread bilingual (English and Bengali) street signs in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, for instance, or the wealth of Spanish-speaking newspapers, television and radio programmes operating in New York City illustrate this reality. The situation is especially acute in the United States, where

⁵⁴ Husain, 'Raising Our Educational Standards', p.66.

⁵⁵ See US Bureau of Census, *Census 1913*, (Washington, DC: US Bureau of Census), 1913.

⁵⁶ See US Bureau of Census, *US INS (Immigration and Naturalisation Service) 1991*, (Washington, DC: US Bureau of Census), 1991.

large communities of Spanish speakers continue to emerge in many urban areas, arguably lowering the socio-economic costs of not speaking English, while raising the benefits of communicating in Spanish. Latino newcomers may be less likely to learn English now than their European counterparts were at the turn of the twentieth century. The emergence of new ethnic linguistic enclaves also reduces the incentives and opportunities to learn other North American cultural and behavioural traits. Contingency theorists have already predicted, particularly in the case of the USA, what it looks like an inevitable outcome in the shape of a two-way assimilation with Euro-Americans learning Spanish and consuming Latin cultural products as well as Hispanics learning English and consuming Anglo-American products.⁵⁷ Against this background, the economic benefits and prospects for social mobility would accrue to those able to speak both languages and operate within these two traditions. Whether the presence of sizeable ethnic communities in Britain and the USA might result in linguistic and cultural fragmentation is ultimately a matter of speculation. The following sections will show how such suppositions do not necessarily correspond with the reality of multiculturalism.

There is no doubt however that the continuous growth of non-English-speaking communities in Britain and the USA has had a profound impact in one specific area of public policy, namely the field of education. Mass influxes of non-English-speaking students in British and US schools have not only altered the composition of the school population, they have also transformed teaching practices. In particular, the large presence of Southeast Asians in Britain and Hispanics in North America has led to the development of ESL and bilingual programmes designed to deal with these pupils' educational needs. While the evolution of Britain's and North America's ESL and bilingual education policies will be explored in chapters 4 and 5 respectively, the following section provides an insight into other language policy settings worldwide. Looking at the language experiences of various English-speaking regions will place the British and US cases into a wider context, as well as illustrating the scale of the second language education policy challenge.

⁵⁷ Massey, 'The New Immigration', pp. 631-652; and R. Cohen, *Frontiers of Identity: the British and Others*, (London: Longman), 1994.

2.3 Other Second Language Education Policy Settings

From the outset the task of defining what ESL and bilingual education policies amount to appears problematic. Beardsmore, for instance, has generally defined a bilingual education programme as 'one where two (or more) languages serve as the medium of education'.⁵⁸ In contrast, Pakir, specifically referring to the Singaporean language experience, understands bilingualism 'not as proficiency in any two languages, but as proficiency in English and in one other official language'.⁵⁹ Patricia Parisi, US Department for Education's Regional Representative, on the other hand, explains US bilingual education policy as one, which aims 'to get children to learn English as quickly as possible'.⁶⁰ Perceptions of ESL and bilingual programmes therefore vary greatly between different societies, according to their demographic composition, historic circumstances and socio-political characteristics. Against this background, the present section explores three different English-speaking settings in which second language education programmes are taught, namely Wales, Canada and Australia.

Bilingual Education in Wales

The existence of bilingual education programmes in Wales represents an exception within an otherwise English monolingual education system.⁶¹ In the Catalonian tradition, Wales is a country's region where the dominant/minority linguist *status quo* has been reversed.⁶² Here, Welsh, as opposed to English, has become the dominant language. As in the case of Spain's Catalonian region, language policy in Wales has been shaped by a strong cultural and nationalistic ethos. The Welsh tongue has come to be identified with the long historical struggle that has seen it reclaim its place next to the English language.

⁵⁸ H. B. Beardsmore, 'An Overview of European Models of Bilingual Education' in R. Khoo, U. Kreher, and R. Wong (eds.), *Towards Global Multilingualism: European Models and Asian Realities*, (Clevendon, PA: Multilingual Matters Ltd.), 1994, pp. 1-12.

⁵⁹ A. Pakir, 'Making Bilingualism Work: Developments in Bilingual Education' in Khoo, *et al.* (eds.), *Towards Global Multilingualism*, pp. 13-27.

⁶⁰ Interview with Patricia Parisi, Regional Representative of the Secretary of State for Education, United States Department for Education (US DfE), Region II: NJ, NY, PR and VI, New York, 8th October 1997.

⁶¹ M. Stubbs, 'Educational Language Planning in England and Wales: Multicultural Rhetoric and Assimilationist Assumptions' in O. Garcia and C. Baker (eds.), *Policy and Practice in Bilingual Education: Extending the Foundations*, (Clevendon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 1995, pp. 25-39.

⁶² For an insight into Catalonia's language experience see J. M. Artigal, 'Multiways Towards Multilingualism: the Catalan Immersion Programme Experience' in T. Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Multilingualism for All*, European Studies on Multilingualism, vol. 4, (Denmark: Swets and Zeitlinger), 1995, pp. 169-181.

This 'gentle revolution' which has witnessed the steady growth of bilingual schools in Wales has slowly unfolded during the past four decades.⁶³

Although, Celtic tongues are still spoken both in Ireland and Scotland, their overall social impact has been negligible, unlike that of Welsh in Wales. Edwards has indicated that the attitude of speakers of Celtic languages towards their native tongues varies according to the tongue in question.⁶⁴ Most speakers of Welsh, for instance, regard their linguistic heritage as an important issue which deeply affects their cultural, educational, religious and social activities. Feeling for the Welsh language certainly appears to be more powerful than any political sentiment regarding nationalism. In contrast, the Gaelic language of Ireland can be said to have become more of a symbol of its political independence than a core element within the nation's broader socio-cultural context. Likewise in Scotland, despite a surge of interest in Scottish nationalism as a political force, the ancient tongue has arguably never been a significant factor in the Scottish psyche.⁶⁵ It remains to be seen whether the recent formation of a devolved Scottish Assembly will inject a new life into the region's indigenous language. The national *Census 1991* indicates that while there are over 500,000 Welsh-speakers in Wales, there are fewer than 100,000 speakers of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland.⁶⁶ Similarly, the use and maintenance of Irish Gaelic continues to be limited to a small number of schools in Northern Ireland. In addition, the long-term political instability of this region makes predictions about the future status of Irish Gaelic particularly difficult.⁶⁷ Against this background, it is therefore appropriate to explore the language experience of Wales.

The origins of bilingual provision in Wales can be traced back to the beginning of the twentieth century, when Welsh had no official status. In common with the Catalan example, schools began responding more or less informally to the linguistic and political demands of local communities by setting up classes to teach Welsh and sometimes to

⁶³ C. Baker, 'Bilingual Education in Wales' in C. Baker and O. Garcia (eds.), *Policy and Practice in Bilingual Education: Extending the Foundations*, (Clevendon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 1995, pp. 152-164.

⁶⁴ C. G. Edwards, 'Education and Welsh Language Planning' in Khoo, *et al.* (eds.), *Towards Global Multilingualism*, pp. 61-77.

⁶⁵ Edwards, 'Education and Welsh Language Planning', pp. 61-77.

⁶⁶ See OPCS, *Census 1991*. With regard to the Welsh language, the *Welsh Social Survey 1992: Preliminary Results* shows similar results, with 21.5 percent of the population of Wales being identified as Welsh-speakers. See Welsh Office, *Welsh Social Survey 1992: Preliminary Results*, (London: Government Statistical Service), July 1993, p. 1.

⁶⁷ See *The Guardian* 16th, 17th and 18th February 2000.

teach through the medium of Welsh.⁶⁸ This unofficial method of teaching continued unabated in Wales amid progressive availability of educational funds from the Welsh Office. In 1965, a committee of inquiry under the chairmanship of Sir David Hughes Parry produced a report on the *Legal Status of the Welsh Language* which recommended the introduction of the principle of 'Equal Validity'.⁶⁹ Equal Validity broadly meant raising the legal status of Welsh to the same level enjoyed by the English language. The report therefore recommended that:

The Principle of Equal Validity should be adopted as the basic principle governing the future use of Welsh in the administration of justice and the conduct of public administration.⁷⁰

By the mid-1980s, a large number of officially designated Welsh-medium primary and secondary schools were already operating throughout Wales. When the *Education Reform Act 1988* (ERA) was finally passed, it provided for the Welsh language to become compulsory in Wales for pupils aged 5-16. The National Curriculum consequently included the following subjects for Wales: Key Stages 1 and 2: English (except at Key Stage 1 in Welsh-speaking classes), Welsh, Mathematics, Science, Technology (Design and Technology, and Information Technology), History, Geography, Art, Music and Physical Education. Key Stage 3: as at Key Stages 1 and 2 plus a Modern Foreign Language. Finally, Key Stage 4: English, Welsh (except in non-Welsh-speaking schools), Mathematics, Sciences and Physical Education.⁷¹

In addition to the Welsh language requirement, the National Curriculum for Wales emphasised the need for pupils to be given opportunities to develop and apply their knowledge and understanding of the cultural, economic, environmental, historical and linguistic characteristics of Wales.⁷² Before the enactment of the ERA, county and local authorities in Wales had been wholly responsible for their individual language policies. This led to variations in the quality and scope of education programmes, and consequently raised doubts about the provision of language programmes in Wales.

⁶⁸ J. Bourne, 'The Grown-ups know Best: Language Policy-Making in Britain in the 1990s' in W. Egginton and H. Wren, *Language Policy: Dominant English, Pluralist Challenges*, (Philadelphia: John Benjamin's Publishing Company), 1997, pp. 49-65.

⁶⁹ Welsh Office, *Legal Status of the Welsh Language: Report of the Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir David Hughes Parry, 1963-1965*, (London: HMSO), October 1965, para. 172, p. 39.

⁷⁰ Welsh Office, *Legal Status of the Welsh Language*, para. 3, p. 58.

⁷¹ See DfEE Welsh Office, *The National Curriculum*, (London: HMSO), 1995.

Baker has long voiced his concern about whether Welsh language policy had become 'long-term, systematic, planned and co-ordinated enough to ensure that language education in Wales can play its part in the survival of the language'.⁷³ Edwards has similarly argued for a stronger emphasis on Welsh learning in the classroom. As he explains, pupils are readily exposed to a vast range of experiences in the English language outside school, especially through mass media and daily contact with their English-speaking peers. Welsh students' competence in English is thus 'expected to develop naturally'.⁷⁴ Rawkins has gone as far as to say that when dealing with language learning in Wales, often 'piecemeal measures in response to short-term political pressures are preferred to a long range co-ordination of policy'.⁷⁵

Since the introduction of the ERA, however, the National Curriculum has provided a centralised language policy strategy, considerably strengthening the position of Welsh in schools. Subsequent education practices have seen designated bilingual schools delivering lessons in Welsh, while English has come to be taught as a content subject. The process of linguistic redemption in Wales culminated with the promulgation of the *Welsh Language Act 1993*. This important piece of legislation established the *Bwrdd yr Iaith Cymraeg* or Welsh Language Board, which would seek to protect and nurture the use of Welsh. In its opening statement the Act clearly declared its purpose:

An Act to establish a Board having the function of promoting and facilitating the use of the Welsh language, to provide for the preparation by public bodies of schemes giving effect to the principle that in the conduct of public business and the administration of justice in Wales the English and Welsh languages should be treated on a basis of equality, to make further provision relating to the Welsh language, to repeal certain spent enactment relating to Wales, and for connected purposes.⁷⁶

Not only did the Act decree the official use of Welsh for matters of government and the administration of justice, it placed a duty on all public bodies to design Welsh language strategies accordingly. By giving effect to the original principle of Equal Validity, the

⁷² See DfEE Welsh Office, *The National Curriculum*.

⁷³ C. Baker, *Aspects of Bilingualism in Wales*, (Clevedon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 1985, p. 64.

⁷⁴ *Welsh Language Act 1993* quoted in Edwards, 'Education and Welsh Language Planning', pp. 61-77.

⁷⁵ P. M. Rawkins, *The Implementation of Language Policy in the Schools of Wales*, (Strathclyde: University of Strathclyde Centre for the Study of Public Policy), 1979, p. 101

⁷⁶ *Public General Acts and Measures, The Welsh Language Act 1993*, (London: HMSO), 1993, chapter 38, p. 1.

Welsh Language Act 1993 ultimately provided for the establishment of a *de facto* bilingual Wales.

Canada's Immersion Programmes

Canada has developed a so-called language immersion model that allows English-speaking Canadians to achieve some proficiency in French.⁷⁷ By producing bilingual speakers, Canadian immersion programmes ultimately aim to integrate both majority and minority languages.⁷⁸ Immersion schooling consists of a home-school language switch, whereby English-speaking students are engaged with the French language early on. French is not only taught as a subject matter, it is also used as a medium for learning core subjects such as History, Maths or Sciences.⁷⁹ Native English-speaking Canadian children thus learn how to speak, read and write in French while attending mainstream school. As pupils progress through the Canadian school system, French eventually becomes the classroom language. There are three main variants of immersion programmes (i.e. early, middle and late), which can be distinguished by the starting age. Early immersion takes place during the earliest years of schooling in kindergarten or Grades 1 or 2.⁸⁰ Middle immersion instruction starts around Grades 4 or 5, with students being taught through the French language between 50 to 100 percent of the time. Late immersion teaching generally starts around Grades 6 or 7, with students receiving intense tuition in French (usually a minimum of 80 percent of the time) for about one or two years. Once the pupils reach High School, the exposure to French is progressively reduced.⁸¹ While Canadian students may become reasonably proficient in French, their linguistic prowess in this language is second to their English language skills. Skutnabb-Kangas has pointed out that the linguistic expectations of immersion programmes for eventual fluency in French 'in no way match up to native speakers' norms'.⁸² Cummins suggests that the reason behind this lays in the superior status enjoyed by English in

⁷⁷ Beardsmore, H. B. and J. Kohls, 'Designing Bilingual Education: Aspects of Immersion and European School Models', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1985, pp. 1-15.

⁷⁸ Caldas, Stephen J. and Susanne Caron-Caldas, 'Language Immersion and Cultural Identity: Conflicting Influences and Values', *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1999, pp. 42-58.

⁷⁹ See Johnson, R. K. and M. Swain (eds.), *Immersion Education: International Perspectives*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1997.

⁸⁰ See Lapkin, S. (ed.), *French Second Language Education in Canada: Empirical Studies*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1998.

⁸¹ J. Cummins, 'The European Schools Model in Relation to French Immersion Programmes in Canada' in Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Multilingualism for All*, pp. 159-168.

⁸² Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Multilingualism for All*, p. 24.

relation to the French language.⁸³ Throughout Elementary School, English certainly remains the major language of instruction, whereas French is frequently not introduced until Grade 4. The absence of native French-speaking peers constitutes a further limiting factor on the level of expressive French attained by Canadian students in immersion programmes.

There is a final element challenging the efficiency of immersion schooling, namely immigration. Canadian immersion programmes have traditionally catered for a relatively homogenous school population mainly consisting of English-speaking white indigenous students. As changes in Canada's demographic composition gather pace, language education practices will have to adapt to respond to the country's increasing cultural and linguistic diversity. According to Genesee, ESL students already account for about 70 percent of Toronto's school population alone.⁸⁴ Within this context, the applicability of immersion programmes for non-English-speaking children has been called into question. For the latter neither enjoys a similar socio-linguistic status nor have the same educational needs than the majority of the English-speaking Canadian school population.⁸⁵ Notwithstanding, Canadian immersion programmes are widely regarded as successful strategies of multilingual education through which students acquire functional competence in French, while being able to become academically accomplished in their native English language.⁸⁶

ESL Education in Australia

Australia is probably unique in the degree to which, in principle, the country's language policy has officially embraced the minority languages of its many ethnic communities.⁸⁷ The *National Policy on Language 1987*, also known as the *Lo Bianco Report* after its main architect, constitutes the inaugural cornerstone of language education provision in

⁸³ Cummins, 'The European Schools Model', pp. 159-168.

⁸⁴ F. Genesee, 'The Canadian Second Language Immersion Programme' in O. Garcia and C. Baker (eds.), *Policy and Practice in Bilingual Education: Extending the Foundations*, (Clevendon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 1995, pp. 118-138.

⁸⁵ J. Cummins and M. Danesi, *Heritage Languages: The Development and Denial of Canada's Linguistic Resources*, (Toronto: Garamond), 1990.

⁸⁶ Genesee, 'The Canadian Second Language', pp. 118-138.

⁸⁷ Clyne, M. 'Australia's National Policy on Language and its Implications', *Journal of Educational Policy*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1988, pp. 237-280; and Herriman, M. 'Language Policy in Australia' in M. Herriman and Barbary Brunaby (eds.), *Language Policy in English-Dominant Countries: Six Case Studies*, (Clevendon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 1996, pp. 35-61.

Australia. This early piece of legislation was driven by a pluralist ideology concerned as much with ethnic identity and language rights as with ESL teaching and access to education. Overall, the *Lo Bianco Report* comprised four basic educational goals: firstly, availability of English and English literacy for all; secondly, support for Aboriginal languages; thirdly, adequate provision of modern foreign languages tuition; and fourthly, equality of access to language education services.⁸⁸ As Gibbons has put it, the *Lo Bianco Report* put 'multilingualism alongside multiculturalism as a national ethos'.⁸⁹

In contrast, the subsequent *National Language and Literacy Policy 1991* envisaged a somewhat narrower language education policy, which focused on the learning and teaching of English. Rather than the broad social goals which had concerned its predecessor, the *National Language and Literacy Policy* emphasised the need to provide English language education and training. While allowing for the learning of tongues other than English, Australian language policy clearly conferred a prominent status to English. The 1990 White Paper *Australian Language and Literacy Policy* stated that:

All Australian residents should develop and maintain a level of spoken and written English which is appropriate for a range of contexts, with the support of education and training programmes addressing their diverse learning needs. The learning of languages other than English must be substantially expanded and improved to enhance educational outcomes and communication both within the Australian and international community. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages should be maintained and developed where they are still transmitted. Other languages should be assisted in an appropriate way, for example, through recording. These activities should only occur where the speakers so desire and in consultation with their community, for the benefit of the descendants of their speakers and for the nation's heritage. Language services provided through interpreting and translating, print and electronic media and libraries should be expanded and improved.⁹⁰

In spite of the seemingly pluralistic ethos of this document, evidence suggests that the reality of multiculturalism in Australia has overwhelmingly favoured English language programmes.⁹¹ A look at language education funding practices illustrates this point. During 1994, for example, the Australian government funding for language programmes

⁸⁸ See J. Lo Bianco, *National Policy on Languages*, Commonwealth Department for Education, (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service), 1987; also see Lo Bianco, J., 'ESL: is it Migrant Literacy? Is it History?' *Australian Language Matters*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1998, pp. 1-7.

⁸⁹ J. Gibbons, 'Multilingualism for Australians' in Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Multilingualism for All*, pp. 103-112.

⁹⁰ DEET (Australian Department for Employment, Education and Training), *The Australian Language: Australia's Language and Literacy Policy Companion*, (Canberra: AGPS), 1991, p. xiii.

was distributed as follows: Adult ESL (AU\$120.35 million), Children's ESL (AU\$117.76 million), Adult English Literacy (AU\$52.63 million), Aboriginal Literacy and Language (AU\$8.25 million), Advisory Councils and Research (AU\$6.44 million), Adult LOTE (Languages Other Than English - i.e. Modern Foreign Languages -) (AU\$5.35 million) and Children's English Literacy (AU\$5.1 million).⁹² The dominance of ESL and English literacy programmes here appears fairly obvious. As Gibbons has indicated, in Australia, 'the funding for maintenance of minority languages in mainstream education continues to be negligible, and for second language education in minority languages almost non-existence'.⁹³ Herriman has gone as far as to say that Australian language policy amounts to a 'short-term rationale for the funding of particular programmes, a situation that seems to leave policy to the whim of political parties, ephemeral issues and sudden changes. It also creates a precedent for future political overriding of an area that ideally should be part of a national consensus'.⁹⁴

As in the British and North American cases, there are practical considerations impinging on the development of a consistent and long-term language strategy in Australia. The most significant factor is the existence of an English-based school curriculum, which allows for national standardised examinations to be conducted in English. As a result, Australia's ESL education has long been conceived as a necessary transitional stage towards achieving fluency in English. In 1980, for instance, the Australian Institute of Multi-cultural Affairs produced a *Review of Multi-cultural and Migrant Education in Australia* in which lack of English proficiency was seen as 'the major barrier to effective participation in Australian society'.⁹⁵ As Gibbons has indicated, it is perhaps the overwhelming socio-economic, political and cultural strength of the English language that ultimately hinders the realisation of a *de facto* pluralistic language policy in Australia.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Astill, B. R. and J. P. Keeves, 'Assimilation, Absorption or Separatism in a Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Population', *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1999, pp. 1-12; also see McKay, P., *The Literacy Benchmarks and ESL*, (Canberra: Australian Council of TESOL Associations), 1998.

⁹² Herriman, 'Language Policy in Australia', p.59.

⁹³ Gibbons, 'Multilingualism for Australians', pp. 103-112.

⁹⁴ Herriman, 'Language Policy in Australia', p. 55; also see U. Ozolins, *The Politics of Language in Australia*, (New York: Cambridge University Press), 1993.

⁹⁵ AIMA (Australian Institute of Multi-cultural Affairs), *Review of Multi-cultural and Migrant Education*, (Melbourne: AIMA), 1980, p. 13.

⁹⁶ Gibbons, 'Multilingualism for Australians', pp. 103-112.

The language experiences of Wales, Canada and Australia have illustrated different environments in which second language education takes place. While an analysis of these territories' language policies is beyond the scope of the thesis, they have afforded an international dimension to the British and North American cases. As the world's cultural and linguistic diversity increases, both the significance of ESL and bilingual policies as well as the challenges they pose to host societies will certainly continue to intensify.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has provided an insight into the role of English as an international linguistic phenomenon. In tracing the origins of English language globalisation, two factors have been identified: firstly, the expansionism of the British Empire during the colonial period; and secondly, the transformation of the United States into a political and technological superpower in the twentieth century. On the one hand, Britain's colonial experience saw the use of English spread both within the British Isles and subsequently abroad. While English was the Empire's *lingua franca*, its widespread use brought it into contact with other local tongues. One consequence of such linguistic encounters saw the development of different hybrid varieties of English emerged during the slave trade. Spread of the English language continued to gain pace with the establishment of offshore colonies in the United States during the seventeenth century. Here, indigenous populations were swiftly replaced by the much powerful English-speaking newcomers. The ideal of 'We, The People' as an English-speaking entity was therefore created. As the colonial period came to an end, de-colonisation gave way to the emergence of nationalistic movements among the previous dominions. English language was to play an essential role in these uprisings. Although the campaigns for independence were aimed at freeing the territories from their colonial masters, English became the language in which such revolutions were fought. In the aftermath of the Empire, English had acquired official status in most of the newly created states. The final phase of English language expansion has taken place during the twentieth century, with the rise of the United States to the position of world's leading superpower. The undisputed influence of this English-speaking nation in socio-economic, cultural and technological terms has not only extended the use of English further afield, it has catapulted this language onto a global dimension. In particular, the

universal appeal of the US-led Internet has greatly accelerated this seemingly relentless process.

Against this background, the development of large ethnic linguistic communities in English-speaking countries, such as Britain and the United States, has highlighted the need to deal with these peoples' particular educational needs. ESL and bilingual education policies have consequently been developed as a response to increasing diversity. However, as the linguistic experiences of Wales, Canada and Australia have illustrated, the realisation of a pluralist ideal in English dominated societies does not necessarily correspond with the reality of multiculturalism.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter explores the theoretical and methodological tools employed in the thesis. As a starting point, it provides a critical review of the literature on ESL and bilingual education policies. The chapter then moves on to examine the thesis' interpretative approach to the analysis of second language education. The works of Yanow, Hajer, Fisher and Forrester, among others, are used to unravel the notion of discourse coalition, which is understood as a group of actors who share a social construct. This is followed by an insight into the context-specific nature of ESL and bilingual education policies, featuring a number of environmental factors that influence the development of ESL and bilingual programmes. The chapter finally concludes by describing the use of case-studies comprising interviews, participant observation and surveys as an adequate empirical method to support the thesis' theoretical framework.

3.1 A Mono-dimensional View of ESL and Bilingual Education Policies

Most of the existing literature in the field of ESL and bilingual education policies - specifically with regard to the UK and the USA - has been broadly concerned with three key areas: firstly ESL and bilingual education legislation; secondly, multicultural schooling; and thirdly, the phenomenon of English language globalisation. In the first instance, scholarly interest has been focused on officially sanctioned language laws and the provision they make for ESL and bilingual programmes and services. The work both of Baker and Crawford on the language experiences of Britain and the USA respectively is of particular relevance. On the one hand, Baker has studied the evolution of ESL education policy in Britain and has dealt as much with institutional as with curricular aspects of language policy.⁹⁷ Within the UK, he has drawn attention to the unique bilingual education experience of Wales, examining the progressive growth of Welsh medium schools as well as the unprecedented governmental and public support this

⁹⁷ See C. Baker, *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, (Clevendon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 2001; also see C. Baker and S. P. Jones (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, (Clevendon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 1998.

language has come to enjoy in Wales. He has ultimately argued that the promotion of bilingual tuition in Wales amounts to both a cultural as well as an economic investment for the region.⁹⁸ Crawford, on the other hand, has documented extensively the development of bilingual laws in the United States.⁹⁹ He has considered the evolution of bilingual legislation within the context of a progressively diverse and multilingual North American nation. In particular, Crawford has highlighted the socio-political and legal efforts of large linguistic ethnic minorities, such as the Spanish-speaking Hispanic community, against encroachments from the dominant English-speaking US society. He has provided a comprehensive account of the nationwide debate between the Official English movement, which advocates monolingual English education across the USA, and the English Plus campaign, which supports the maintenance of bilingual programmes.¹⁰⁰ His own views in favour of linguistic minorities' entitlement to bilingual education services have contributed to further the debate over both bilingual education as well as the need to legitimise English as the USA's official language.¹⁰¹

As far as the issue of multicultural schooling is concerned, an extensive body of research already exists, including countless typologies of bilingual education programmes in English-speaking as well as non-English-speaking countries.¹⁰² Among the many scholarly works published, Cummins' research on second language education classroom practices can be said to have had a significant impact on the field as a whole.¹⁰³ He has specifically focused on the Canadian immersion model and has advocated the promotion

⁹⁸ See Baker, *Aspects of Bilingualism in Wales*.

⁹⁹ See J. Crawford, *Hold Your Tongue: Bilingualism and the Politics of 'English Only'*, (Teading, MA: Adison-Wesley), 1992; and McGroarty, M., 'Language Policy in the USA: National Values, Local Loyalties, Pragmatic Pressures' in W. Egginton and H. Wren (eds.), *Language Policy: Dominant English, Pluralists Challenges*, (Canberra: John Benjamins Publishing Company/Language Australia), 1997, pp. 67-90.

¹⁰⁰ See J. Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties: A Source Book on the Official English Controversy*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), 1992; and Dicker, S. J., 'Official English and Bilingual Education: the Controversy over Language Pluralism in US Society' in J. K. Hall and W. G. Egginton (eds.), *The Sociopolitics of English Language Teaching*, (Clevendon: Multilingual Matters), 2000, pp. 45-66.

¹⁰¹ See J. Crawford, *At War with Diversity: US Language Policy in an Age of Anxiety*, (Clevendon, PA: Multilingual Matters Ltd.), 2000.

¹⁰² For a review of the literature on multicultural education practices, see T. Skutnabb-Kangas, *Bilingualism or not: the Education of Minorities*, (Clevendon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 1984; and August, D., K. Hakuta and Board on Children, Youth and Families (U.S.). Committee on Developing a Research Agenda on the Education of Limited-English-Proficient and Bilingual Students, *Educating Language-minority Children: A Research Agenda*, (Washington, D. C.: National Academy Press), 1998; and Bourne, J., *Moving into the Mainstream: LEA Provision for Bilingual Pupils*, (Windsor: NFER-Nelson), 1989.

¹⁰³ See J. Cummins, *Bilingualism in Education: Aspects of Theory, Research and Practice*, (London: Longman), 1986; and C. Baker and N. Hornberger (eds.), *An Introductory Reader to the Writings of Jim Cummins*, (Clevendon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 2001; and Leung, C., 'English as an Additional Language: Distinctive Language Focus or Diffused Curriculum Concerns?' *Language and Education*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2001, pp. 33-55; and Mohan, B. C. Leung and C. Davison (eds.), *English as a Second Language in the Mainstream: Teaching, Learning and Identity*, (London: Longman), 2001.

of bilingualism and bilingual instruction. Cummins believes in the cognitive benefits of access to two linguistic systems and has long supported the development of literacy both in minority as well as majority languages.¹⁰⁴ In addition to dealing with pedagogic and instructional considerations, Cummins has addressed socio-political and psychological factors affecting bilingual children's academic performance. Within the context of westernised industrial societies, he has analysed the way in which power relationships between dominant and minority groups affect the patterns of teacher-pupil interaction in the classroom.¹⁰⁵ Skutnabb-Kangas has similarly dealt with the challenges that an increasingly multilingual school population presents to British educationalists.¹⁰⁶ While Glazer has analysed the impact that multiculturalism is having on the North American education system.¹⁰⁷ Finally, against a background of ever more diverse societies, both Banton and Troyna have addressed the disadvantage experienced by linguistic ethnic minorities when accessing education. Banton has identified a number of sociological and historical factors characterising ESL students' schooling experience including inner-city deprivation, racial prejudice and social exclusion.¹⁰⁸ Troyna instead has looked at the role played by state institutions in sustaining and legitimising the disadvantage experienced by ESL pupils. He has argued that far from reducing racial inequality, multicultural education systems actually generate, maintain and reproduce it.¹⁰⁹

With regard to the phenomenon of English language globalisation there is a growing amount of scholarly material which not only looks at the origins and nature of this contemporary trend, but most significantly at its long-term linguistic consequences. Two pieces of research are especially relevant. On the one hand, Graddol, Leith and Swann

¹⁰⁴ See Cummins, *Negotiating Identities: Education for Empowerment in a Diverse Society*, (Ontario, CA: California Association of Bilingual Education), 1996.

¹⁰⁵ See Cummins, *Language, Power and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire*, (Clevedon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 2000.

¹⁰⁶ See Skutnabb-Kangas (ed.), *Multilingualism for All*; and Skutnabb-Kangas, *Bilingualism or not*.

¹⁰⁷ See Glazer, *We are All Multiculturalists Now*; and N. Glazer, *The New Migration: A Challenge to American Society*, (San Diego, CA: San Diego State University Press), 1988.

¹⁰⁸ See M. Banton, *Racial Theories*, 2nd edn., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1998; M. Banton, *Ethnic and Racial Consciousness*, 2nd edn., (Harlow: Longman), 1997; and M. Banton, *Racial Minorities*, (London: Collins), 1972; and Gillborn, D. and H. S. Mirza, *Educational Inequality: Mapping Race, Class and Gender – A synthesis of Research Evidence*, (London: OFSTED), 2000; and ALG (Association of Local Government), 'Additional Educational Needs: The Impact of Ethnic Group and English as an Additional Language', Ref: EFSG-20, A Paper by the ALG Education Funding Strategy Group, 2001 at:

<http://www.alg.gov.uk/attachments/284/additional_educational_needs.pdf> (checked on 7th February 2003).

¹⁰⁹ See B. Troyna and V. Edwards, *The Educational Needs of a Multiracial Society*, Occasional Papers in Ethnic Relations Series, no. 9, (Coventry: University of Warwick Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations), 1993; B. Troyna and B. Carrington, *Education, Racism and Reform*, (London: Routledge) 1990; and B. Troyna (ed.), *Racial Inequality in Education*, (London: Tavistock Publications), 1987.



have traced the evolution of the English language from its inception to the present day. They have not only chronicled modifications in the grammatical and phonetic structures of English, they have also considered socio-cultural changes in the wider environment in which the English language is used. Above all, their account of the development of English has emphasised the adaptability of this language and its continuing expansion through different emerging English-tongue varieties.¹¹⁰ Crystal, on the other hand, has provided an insight into the contemporary intensification of English language globalisation. He has considered the influence that English now exerts in every area of the international economic, social, cultural, political and academic life. Crystal has moreover suggested that the establishment of a virtual English-speaking world community through the US-led Internet has contributed both to consolidate and perpetuate this process.¹¹¹

Whether dealing with the minutiae of ESL and bilingual laws, the practicalities of second language tuition or the worldwide expansion of the English language, the literature on second language education policy has overwhelmingly focused on objective assumptions and quantifiable facts. Scholars have scrutinised the many existing Bilingual Education Acts, with their statutes and regulations; they have analysed the school curriculum; they have explored numerous typologies of ESL and bilingual teaching strategies; they have investigated the institutions and organisations involved in the provision of ESL and bilingual programmes; they have studied the linguistic ethnic communities at the receiving end of the language education policy process; and they have considered the future of ESL and bilingual education. Notwithstanding some recognition of the value-systems informing ESL and bilingual policies, by and large the literature on second language education can be said not to have adequately addressed the deeper ideological forces that give shape to this policy.¹¹² For scholars have focused on the tangible realities of ESL and bilingual education programmes as opposed to considering the meanings behind such policies. While attention has been directed to ESL and bilingual legislation,

¹¹⁰ See Graddol *et al.* (eds.), *English: History*; and Graddol, *The Future of English?*

¹¹¹ See Crystal, *English as a Global Language*.

¹¹² See Cummins, Jim, *Language, Power and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire*, (Clevedon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 2000; and Lo Bianco, J., 'ESL: is it Migrant Literacy? Is it History?' *Australian Language Matters*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1998, pp. 1-7; and Leung, C., 'English as an Additional Language: Distinctive Language Focus or Diffused Curriculum Concerns?' *Language and Education*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2001, pp. 33-55; and Williams, A., *Finding and Showing the Way: Teaching ESL in the Late 1990s*, (Canberra: Australian Council of TESOL Associations), 1998.

the question of ‘what do ESL and bilingual education policies actually mean to policy-makers?’ has gone unanswered. While emphasis has been put on various language teaching and didactic techniques, the question of ‘how do teachers understand ESL and bilingual education?’ has been overlooked. While the composition of the ESL school population has been analysed, the question of ‘how do ESL students value both the English language as well as their mother tongues?’ has not been addressed. While the phenomenon of English language globalisation has been explored, the question of ‘how do non-English-speaking immigrants feel about ESL and bilingual tuition?’ has not been considered. As a result, the study of second language education has neglected to take into account the different perceptions and understandings of this policy by those involved in it.

As human creations, our nations, laws, institutions and policies reflect the particular visions of the people who created them. In the words of Hajer ‘structures do not exist independently of human action, but they need to be operated by somebody. It is exactly the realm where action and structures come together which we need to understand’.¹¹³ If we are to fully appreciate these human constructions, we must also understand their architects’ motivations. Without an appreciation of the values advocated by The Founding Fathers, for instance, our grasp of the *US Constitution* would remain wanting. Without an understanding of the Suffragette Movement’s aims, our perception of a woman’s right to vote would similarly be incomplete. Within the context of ESL and bilingual education policies, factual realities are certainly as relevant as abstract ideas. Hence, without knowledge of the egalitarian impulse behind the Chinese community-based *Lau vs. Nichols* case, we would be unable to rightly appreciate the significance of the *US Bilingual Education Act of 1974*. Without an awareness of the values espoused by the Official English campaign, we could not fully make sense of California’s *Proposition 227* either.

While acknowledging the actualities of second language policy, this thesis ultimately aims to explore the meanings behind them. It is to this end that the thesis draws upon an interpretative approach to policy analysis.

¹¹³ M. A. Hajer, *City Politics: Hegemonic Project and Discourse*, (Aldershot: Avebury), 1989, p. 14.

3.2 An Interpretive Approach to Second Language Policy Analysis

Positivism vs. Naturalism

Within the context of social sciences, the process of conducting research has traditionally been divided into two major paradigms: positivism and naturalism. The former has been referred to as ‘systematic, ‘scientific’ or ‘quantitative’; while the latter has come to be known as ‘ethnographic’, ‘interpretive’ or ‘qualitative’.¹¹⁴ While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to go into any detail about them, it suffices to say that these approaches share a concern with the difference between the physical and natural world as subject of knowledge, on the one hand; and humans and social institutions on the other.¹¹⁵ The crucial question that divides the positivist and naturalist perspectives is therefore whether the methodology of the physical sciences can be applied to the study of social phenomena.¹¹⁶ Interpretive methods are based on the assumption that the social world we live in is characterised by the existence of multiple interpretations, and in this world there are not ‘brute data’ whose meaning is beyond dispute.¹¹⁷ Yanow has argued that ‘dispassionate, rigorous science is possible, - but not neutral, objective science stipulated by traditional analytical methods (as represented by the scientific method) -. As living requires sense making, and sense making entails interpretations, so too does policy analysis’.¹¹⁸ Advocates of the interpretive approach believe that it is not possible for an analyst studying a social phenomenon to remain completely detached from its values and meanings as well as his/her own feelings towards them. Hofmann has pointed out that, researchers studying social phenomena play as much the role of actor as that of observer; for they do not stand outside the political community, but are an integral part of it.¹¹⁹ Yanow has furthermore indicated that ‘knowledge is acquired through interpretation, which necessarily is ‘subjective’: it reflects the education, experience and training, as well as the individual, familial and communal background of the ‘subject’ making the analysis. Not only analysts, but all actors in a policy situation (as with other aspects of

¹¹⁴ R. Kumar, *Research Methodology*, (London: Sage) 1999, p. 12.

¹¹⁵ D. Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean? Interpreting Policy and Organisational Actions*, (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press), 1996, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Kumar, *Research Methodology*, p. 12.

¹¹⁷ D. Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, Qualitative Research Methods Series, vol. 47, (London: Sage Publications), 2000, p. 5.

¹¹⁸ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, p. 5.

¹¹⁹ J. Hofmann, ‘Implicit Theories in Policy Discourse: An Inquiry into the Interpretations of Reality in German Technology Policy’, *Policy Sciences*, vol. 28, 1995, p. 143.

the social world) interpret issue data as they seek to make sense of the policy'.¹²⁰ The interpretive approach hence stands in stark contrast with the traditional positivist-informed perspective, which is based on the assumption that it is not only necessary, but actually possible to make objective, value-free assessments of a policy from a point external to it.¹²¹

The literature on social research methodology and its theoretical underpinnings is vast.¹²² To revise this literature in search for an intellectual foundation for the present study would serve no useful purpose. Instead, close attention will be given to that body of literature that specifically deals with the interpretation of public policy, namely interpretive policy analysis.

Interpretive Policy Analysis

In contrast to the assumptions which have largely characterised the literature on ESL and bilingual education policies, the interpretive approach to policy analysis shifts the focus to the human ability to articulate meaning. Fisher and Forrester have described the interpretive approach as one in which the different ways in which players understand reality (i.e. ESL and bilingual education policies) involve them making assumptions about 'causality and responsibility, about legitimacy and authority, and about interests, needs, values, preferences and obligations'.¹²³ The reason behind this shift from objective to subjective parameters lies in interpretive analysts' belief in the human quality of policies. The interpretive paradigm is built on the premise that the meanings and implications of a given policy are not self-evident and easily inferred from its text. On the contrary, they are hidden assumptions based on the beliefs of situational policy players operating within a particular context and at a specific point in time. As Yanow has put it, 'policies and their analysis are a human activity' and as such they 'yield an interpretation of their subject matter rather than an exact replica of it'.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, p. 6.

¹²¹ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, p. 5.

¹²² See Phillips, Dereck. L., *Knowledge from What? Theories and Methods in Social Research*, (Chicago: Rand McNally), 1971; Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.), *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications), 1998; and Bernard, H. Russell, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications), 2000.

¹²³ F. Fisher and J. Forrester (eds.), *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, (London: UCL Press), 1993, p. 1.

¹²⁴ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 3.

Interpretive scholars have therefore discovered a wealth of different meanings and interpretations underlying public policies, whenever they have studied social phenomena. Yanow, for instance, has explored urban regeneration policy in Israel. She describes the case of the Israeli Corporation of Community Centres (ICCC) Ltd. as a series of stories, explanations and tales about the way in which this policy has come to have particular meanings for diverse audiences.¹²⁵ Yanow's study not only shows the various ways in which urban regeneration policy meanings are communicated through organisational actions; it also identifies how different policy actors actually understand those messages. By showing the contrast between intended meanings and interpreted meanings, Yanow depicts the policy process as an arena for the creation, expression and communication of meaning. It is precisely this 'human capacity for making and communicating meaning' that it is central to her particular interpretive analysis of urban policy.¹²⁶ For the inherently ambiguous language in which the policy is articulated ultimately makes it possible for multiple interpretations of the same phenomenon to emerge. Hofmann, on the other hand, has conducted an interpretive analysis of technology policy in Germany.¹²⁷ Her qualitative empirical research, comprising interviews with different players involved in the area of technology, shows that the Federal government's support for technology transfer in Germany is based on a number of specific assumptions and axioms which are shared by neither technology companies nor academic researchers in the field. Hofmann certainly discovers an array of different interpretations of what 'technology' means by the various actors partaking in this policy. Accordingly, the Federal government, private firms and businesses, as well as the scholarly and scientific communities all understand technology policy in very different ways. Hofmann thus suggests that 'interpretations of reality are an important, sometimes even decisive, dimension of the policy process.'¹²⁸ A final example of interpretive policy analysis is provided by Hajer's study of environmental policy in Britain.¹²⁹ He has studied the British government's response to the pollution problem of acid rain through the 1980s. Hajer examined the argumentative structure of written and oral statements made by the

¹²⁵ See Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?*

¹²⁶ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 5.

¹²⁷ J. Hofmann, 'Implicit Theories in Policy Discourse: An Inquiry into the Interpretations of Reality in German Technology Policy', *Policy Sciences*, vol. 28, 1995, pp. 127-148.

¹²⁸ Hofmann, 'Implicit Theories in Policy Discourse', p. 127.

¹²⁹ M. Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions and the Institutionalisation of Practice: the Case of Acid Rain in Britain' in Frank Fisher and John Forrester (eds.), *The Argumentative Turn*, pp. 43-76.

various policy actors concerned with this phenomenon. He found that two distinctive interpretations of the problem of acid rain had competed to dominate the realm of British pollution politics, namely the traditional pragmatist perspective and the ecomodernist approach. Each of these ideological positions was based on different beliefs, value-systems and perceptions regarding the environmental issue of acid rain. Hajer's study not only highlights the organisational practices used to convey a particular environmental message, but it provides an insight into the essential role played by language in political life. As he explains, 'in the narrative of acid rain, dead trees are given a specific meaning. They are no longer an incident; they signify a structural problem: the fact that rain is no longer natural, that it kills life instead of nourishing it. The concept of acid rain is part of a discourse that relates environmental change to something bigger, such as the crisis of industrial society'.¹³⁰ On the whole, these examples of interpretive policy analysis illustrate the nature of this methodological perspective as one which focuses on the meanings of policies, on the values, feelings and beliefs which they express, and on the processes by which those meanings are communicated to and read by various audiences.¹³¹

Policy Frames

Central to the interpretive approach is the concept of discourse coalition. Hajer has described a discourse coalition basically as 'a group of actors who share a social construct'.¹³² Yanow similarly explains that 'interpretive communities arise around a shared point of view relative to a policy issue'.¹³³ Rein and Schön have furthermore used the term policy discourse to refer to 'the interactions of individuals, interest groups, social movements and institutions through which problematic situations are converted to policy problems, agendas are set, decisions are made and actions are taken'.¹³⁴ A policy frame is therefore understood as a perspective from which an ill-defined social issue can be ideologically structured and acted upon. In the case of environmental policy in Britain, for instance, advocates of the traditional pragmatist and ecomodernist perspectives each

¹³⁰ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', p. 44.

¹³¹ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 9.

¹³² Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', p. 45.

¹³³ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, p. 37.

¹³⁴ M. Rein and D. Schön 'Reframing Policy Discourse' in Fisher and Forrester (eds.), *The Argumentative Turn*, p. 145.

built an entirely different value-system around the issue of acid rain. This process of framing policy problems is a highly significant element of the policy process; for the various discourse coalitions formed around a specific issue will compete to impose their interpretations of reality on others. This is what Hajer has referred to as 'discourse structuration' and 'discourse institutionalisation'.¹³⁵ Discourse structuration occurs when a discourse starts to dominate the way in which a society conceptualises the world. If a discourse is successful - that is to say, if many people use it to conceptualise the world - it will materialise into an institution, sometimes as organisational practices, sometimes as traditional ways of reasoning; and thus discourse institutionalisation occurs.¹³⁶ In the case of the German government's support for technology transfer, for example, Hofmann found that the government's assumptions on technology had become so well established and were so familiar 'that scarcely anyone is now aware of their being suppositions...More or less clearly, these assumptions are found in every government policy statement concerning technology transfer'.¹³⁷

In order to unveil the multiplicity of meanings and ideologies underlying policies, interpretive analysts not only identify the different groups of actors or policy players which articulate them, but also the symbolic means through which those meanings are communicated. Yanow has suggested three main steps for 'mapping issue architecture'.¹³⁸ The first step is to identify the various existing interpretive communities relevant to a policy issue - whether government officials, practitioners, groups of academic and professional experts in given field and the public - and their different understandings of that issue. The next step is to recognize each community's particular symbolic artifacts. These are significant carriers of meaning through which individual groups express values, feelings and beliefs; symbolic artifacts broadly include language, objects and acts.¹³⁹ As Yanow has put it: 'human meanings, values, beliefs and feelings are embodied in and transmitted through artifacts of human creation, such as language, dress, patterns of actions and interactions, written texts, sculpture'.¹⁴⁰ As social conventions, such symbolic devices serve to set those who share their meanings apart

¹³⁵ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', p. 46.

¹³⁶ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', p. 46.

¹³⁷ Hofmann, 'Implicit Theories in Policy Discourse', p. 131.

¹³⁸ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 236.

¹³⁹ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, p. 20; and Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 236.

¹⁴⁰ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 8.

form other people or groups who do not share them; at the same time that they unite those who do.¹⁴¹ The final stage in the policy framing process is to identify the communities' discourses: how they talk and act with respect to the policy issue in hand. Yanow has indicated that, this final step allows the interpretive analyst to 'say something about the meanings - values, beliefs, feelings - that are important to each policy-relevant community'.¹⁴² By identifying the various messages carried by specific artifacts, however, interpretive analysts may find that these artifacts express different and possibly incompatible meanings for different groups. On the whole, Yanow's suggested steps to conducting interpretive analysis can be said to provide the researcher with a useful strategy to unravel the hidden meanings behind policies. Although, conceptually, her three steps appear to progress in orderly succession; in practice, the different stages of interpretive analysis overlap, often taking place at the same time, and with the researcher frequently having to weave back and forth between them.¹⁴³

The Assimilationists, Exclusivists and Social Integrationists Discourse Coalitions

Rein and Schön remind us that framing policy problems is a process that involves 'selecting, organising, interpreting and making sense of complex reality to provide guiding posts for knowing, analysing, persuading and acting'.¹⁴⁴ Basic to our understanding of this process are the stories or narratives that participants are disposed to tell about policy situations. Hajer has specifically referred to a discourse coalition as the 'ensemble of a set of storylines, the actors that utter these storylines and the practices that conform to these storylines, all organised around a discourse'.¹⁴⁵ Storylines are the medium through which policy actors articulate not only their individual views of reality, but also alternative social arrangements.¹⁴⁶ In exploring different storylines and the values they embody, attention must be paid to the intrinsically ambiguous and symbolic language used to communicate them. Hajer's example of environmental policy in Britain has certainly demonstrated the essential role played by language in policy framing. As Yanow ultimately points out, 'frames are often expressed through language'.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 9.

¹⁴² Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, p. 20.

¹⁴³ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, p. 20.

¹⁴⁴ Rein and Schön, 'Reframing Policy Discourses', p. 146.

¹⁴⁵ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', p. 47.

¹⁴⁶ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', p. 47.

¹⁴⁷ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, p. 12.

It is within this context that the thesis has identified three main second language policy discourse coalitions each conveying a different storyline. Drawing from policy actors' individual accounts of ESL and bilingual education, the thesis unveils the presence of the so-called assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist policy frames both in London and New York City. Each of these discourse coalitions interprets the problem of ESL education in a different way, reflecting their advocates' distinctive beliefs, ideologies and value-systems. The contrasting storylines of the assimilationists, exclusivists and social integrationists are highlighted as follows:

The Assimilationists

The assimilationists value the dominant English language and the Anglo-Saxon culture above minorities' tongues and ethnic heritage. They accordingly advocate the teaching of English in the classroom, for they consider this language to be both an essential academic tool as well as a defining feature of both British and North American identities. The assimilationists ultimately expect ESL and bilingual students to become acculturated into their adopted UK and US nations respectively.

- ***The Laisser-faire:*** within the assimilationist discourse, there is a variant approach known as *laisser-faire*, which is characterised by a taken-for-granted attitude towards the dominant English language and British and North American cultures, and a disregard of any other minority cultural and linguistic heritage. Up until the early twentieth century, the presence of a *laisser-faire* discourse both in the UK and the USA led their educational systems to neglect the scholastic needs of non-English speaking students.

The Exclusivists

The exclusivists, on the other hand, value minority tongues and ethnic heritage over the dominant English-speaking Anglo-Saxon culture. They accordingly encourage mother tongue teaching in the classroom as opposed to English, for they view the mastering of heritage languages both as a worthy scholarly pursuit as well as a fundamental part of ethnic minority's children's identity. The exclusivists also promote the maintenance of ethnic traditions in the classroom and strongly resist encroachments from the predominant

Anglo-Saxon culture. Overall, the exclusivists expect ESL and bilingual pupils to wholly preserve their ethnic and linguistic outlook. It must be noted that whenever growing ethnic minorities appear to pose a challenge to the cultural and linguistic supremacy of the dominant majority group, the latter is likely to display 'exclusivist tendencies. In such cases, role-reversal tends to occur, with the dominant group acting as if it were the minority cohort. The majority group may therefore deploy an exclusivist survival strategy involving the preservation of its English language and Anglo-Saxon traditions.

The Social Integrationists

The social integrationists, in contrast, value the dominant English language and the Anglo-Saxon tradition as much as minority tongues and ethnic heritage. Advocates of this discourse coalition consider proficiency in majority as well as minority languages to be an academic asset. While acknowledging the stronger position enjoyed by the English language, the social integrationists support the teaching of both English as well as mother tongues in the classroom. They furthermore understand ESL and bilingual students as having a dual identity that comprises both majority as well as minority cultural heritage. Ultimately, the social integrationists expect ESL and bilingual pupils to adopt Anglo-Saxon values while at the same time retaining their ethnic traditions.

Hajer has indicated that the ideas, concepts and categories that constitute a discourse can vary in character. They can be normative or analytical convictions, they can be based on historical references or they can reflect myths about nature.¹⁴⁸ The framing of a given policy problem by a discourse coalition therefore not only reflects its advocates' vision of the world, it profoundly shape their perceptions of reality. The three discourses identified in this thesis are characterised by their members' distinctive ideologies and value-systems. The defining characteristics of the assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist policy frames stem from the different emphasis their advocates place on the relationship between the dominant English language with its Anglo-Saxon tradition, and ethnic minority tongues with their cultural heritage. In other words, the contrasting ways in which ESL and bilingual education is perceived as a policy problem depend on the specific narratives in which different actors articulate it. In the final analysis, the interpretive approach to second language education would have us understand this policy

¹⁴⁸ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', p. 45.

as a process in which different actors, from various backgrounds, form specific discourse coalitions around specific story lines.¹⁴⁹

3.3 Second Language Education as a Context-specific Policy

Hajer has argued that ‘social constructs do not float in the world; they can be tied to specific institutions and actors’.¹⁵⁰ Second language education must accordingly be conceived as a context-specific policy, where different meanings are created at many different levels and in many different settings. The research undertaken for this thesis suggests that the various existing interpretations of a given language education policy have to be understood in relation to the elaborate socio-economic environment in which that policy occurs. In other words, depending on the characteristics of the regions where ESL and bilingual policies take place, they will be framed in a variety of ways. Factors such as geographical location, composition of the school population, languages spoken, the nature of existing ethnic minority groups, the allocation of available resources and the prevailing political climate will certainly impact upon policy actors’ understandings of second language education. While the actual number of such social variables is endless, this study has identified five main elements, which feature both in the London and New York City cases. These so-called ‘language dimensions’ comprise demographic, socio-economic, organisational, cultural and political aspects of the settings in which ESL and bilingual policies exist. Whether in London or New York City, second language education policy is therefore shaped by these contextual factors. The following sections provide an insight into their nature as well as impact on the language policy process.

1) Demographic Dimension:

Migration is an inherent part of ESL and bilingual policies, for it is population movements that create the need for such educational provision in the first place. Language-based policies are entirely aimed at linguistic ethnic communities, with the aforementioned Bangladeshi and Hispanic cohorts providing clear examples. The nature, socio-economic status and political influence of different minority groups will influence the development of ESL and bilingual policies that target them. Within the context of the

¹⁴⁹ Hajer, ‘Discourse Coalitions’, p. 47.

¹⁵⁰ Hajer, ‘Discourse Coalitions’, p. 46.

predominantly white Anglo-Saxon English-speaking British and US societies, second language education policy can be understood as a way of managing both immigration and race relations.

2) Socio-economic Dimension:

Language has invariably been related to the economics of the dominant culture. In any given host society, knowledge of the official tongue has provided immigrants with the key to accessing the country's services, whether they be education, health, housing or the labour market. Knowledge of the officially sanctioned language has also afforded newcomers the possibility of eventually acquiring social mobility. In the case of London and New York City, the ubiquitous English language plays such an enabling role. Ignorance of the latter becomes detrimental to those unable or unwilling to master it. For it prevents them from fully participating in the country's everyday life, while leaving them vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Non-English-speaking immigrants, both here and in the USA, have been disproportionately disadvantaged as a result of their lack of English language skills. Their failure to communicate with the dominant English population has seen them becoming marginalised in ethnic linguistic ghettos, where their mother tongue and cultural heritage is predominant. Enclaves such as Banglatown in London or *El Barrio* in Manhattan provide a case in point. Against this background, developing English language proficiently can be broadly perceived as a socio-economic strategy, where the maintenance of a minority tongue appears inevitably tied up with the economics of the dominant culture.

3) Organisational Dimension:

The provision of ESL and bilingual programmes takes place in a complex environment in which a multiplicity of agencies and players are involved. There are numerous public, private, voluntary and community organisations as well as individuals contributing to the development of ESL and bilingual education programmes. They largely include government departments, local education authorities, businesses and non-profit agencies, schools, public/private partnerships and community groups. Within varying degrees, all of these players exert influence upon the language policy process. For any given ESL or bilingual education policy, there may be monolingual government officials drawing up English language proficiency targets for non-English-speaking pupils; ethnic minority

leaders advocating the maintenance of their linguistic and religious heritage in the classroom; and schools striving to increase their ethnic minority intake in order to secure financial backing for their ESL and/or bilingual programmes. From this perspective, second language education can be seen to take place in a complex multi-organisational setting where all those involved have an impact on the policy process.

4) **Cultural Dimension:**

Language is invariably linked with culture. Every tongue belongs to a given cultural heritage and as such it expresses a unique identity. In principle, all of the world's languages can be said to have an equal share in humanity's linguistic legacy. In practice, however, the relative worth of a tongue is determined by the socio-economic status of its speakers. The cultural value of the English and Sylheti languages is undeniable; however, when spoken in Britain, the former becomes a priceless asset, while the latter is lowered to a secondary plane. Whenever languages enter in contact, they inevitably develop hierarchical relationships. In the context of migration both to Britain and the USA, such linguistic categories translate into English becoming the dominant language while Bengali and Spanish remaining minority tongues respectively. By its own remedial nature ESL and bilingual programmes reinforce this distinction. The English language is thus positioned at the top of the educational hierarchy, being rated as having the highest socio-economic and cultural value. In so far as second language education policy perpetuates the *status quo*, there is always the danger of an ethnic backlash from minority groups. Fearing for the survival of their linguistic heritage, immigrant communities may use their languages as cultural weapons. The 'lesser' minority tongues may consequently be deployed to reassert marginalised ethnic identities. The emphasis on mother tongue teaching by the elder inhabitants of Banglatown in the East End of London illustrates this reality. Within the context of ESL and bilingual education policies, language can therefore be understood as a cultural strategy.

5) **Political Dimension:**

Ideology is inherently linked to language; in the words of Yanow: 'all language is symbolic'.¹⁵¹ By its very nature, language expresses and embodies values, beliefs and opinions. Within the framework of second language education, such views belong to the

¹⁵¹ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 153.

different players involved in this policy. Whether central or local government bureaux, private or non-profit agencies, community-based groups, school teachers, parents or pupils, they all have different attitudes, perspectives and feelings regarding ESL and bilingual education policies. Just as language can be utilised as a cultural strategy, it can also be manipulated as a political tool. The language used by central government to promote the learning of English, or that deployed by schoolteachers advocating transitional bilingual programmes, or that used by community leaders endorsing mother tongue learning are all coloured by the particular ideologies of those who articulate them. Within the context of ESL and bilingual education policies, language can therefore be perceived as a political instrument.

The five language dimensions described above largely encapsulate the complexity of the environment in which second language education occurs. Demographic, socio-economic, organisational, cultural and political factors have to be considered when analysing this policy, for they determine to a large extent the shape it will take. Just as important, though, are the meanings that those involved in second language education attribute to it. Ultimately, different approaches to ESL and bilingual policies will result from values and beliefs specific to a particular group of actors, in a particular society, at a particular point in time.

3.4 Methodology

Section 3.2 indicated how, within the context of social research, the process of gathering and analysing data has broadly been divided into two major traditions: one was variously labelled as 'positivistic', 'natural-science based', 'hypothetico-deductive', 'quantitative' or even simply 'scientific'; while the other was referred to as 'interpretive', 'ethnographic' or 'qualitative'.¹⁵² Clarke has conceptualised this distinction as basically comprising two contrasting methodological approaches: 'the quantitative and the qualitative.'¹⁵³ The former employs research tools such as questionnaires, experiments and surveys, while the latter makes use of interviews and participant as well as non-

¹⁵² C. Robson, *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers*, (Oxford: Blackwell), 1994, p. 18.

¹⁵³ A. Clarke, 'Research and the Policy-making Process' in Gilbert (ed.), *Researching Social Life*, 2nd edn., (London: Sage Publications), 2001, p. 32.

participant observation. The interpretive approach to the analysis of second language education policy adopted for this thesis belongs in the latter tradition, and thus the research methods employed have been chosen accordingly. Contrary to the positivist tradition, the interpretive perspective maintains that social phenomena are distinctive from physical phenomena in such fundamental ways that they cannot be understood by applying scientific methods and methodologies from the physical sciences. As result, the interpretive researcher uses qualitative methodologies as a way of studying closely social interaction in its natural surroundings.¹⁵⁴ As Clarke has pointed out, this stands ‘in marked contrast to the quantitative approach where the rules of scientific method exhort the researcher to adopt a position of scientific detachment’.¹⁵⁵ Kirk and Miller have furthermore explained how qualitative research comprises ‘a particular tradition in social science that fundamentally depends on watching people in their own territory and interacting with them in their own language, on their own terms’.¹⁵⁶ Yanow similarly indicates that ‘interpretive policy analysis presupposes a commitment on the part of the researcher to work with the understanding of situational actors and to allow the relevant categories of analysis to emerge out of those interpretations’.¹⁵⁷ An interpretive methodology hence seeks to reveal a wealth of different meanings and interpretations regarding a given phenomenon. Because interpretive strategies rely on human meaning-making, which is of necessity responsive to the highly variable context of the research setting, the structure of these methods typically cannot be set out in as regularised a fashion as those of quantitative methodologies.¹⁵⁸ Yanow has argued that ‘even though interpretive methods emphasise the centrality of human interpretation and thus subjective meaning, they are nonetheless, methods: systematic, rigorous, methodical’.¹⁵⁹ Hofmann has certainly showed how interpretations of reality can be both empirically identified and assessed through the use of interpretive research methods.¹⁶⁰ In practice, interpretive methods can be said to be as formal as the more traditional quantitative ones, and conversely, traditional methods may entail as much human judgement and interpretation as do interpretive ones.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁴ Clarke, ‘Research and the Policy-making Process’, p. 33.

¹⁵⁵ Clarke, ‘Research and the Policy-making Process’, p. 33.

¹⁵⁶ J. Kirk and M. L. Miller, *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research*, Qualitative Research Methods Series, vol. 1, (London: Sage Publications), 1986, p. 9.

¹⁵⁷ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 44.

¹⁵⁸ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Analysis*, p. ix.

¹⁵⁹ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Analysis*, p. ix.

¹⁶⁰ Hofmann, ‘Implicit Theories in Policy Discourse’, pp. 127-148.

¹⁶¹ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Analysis*, pp. ix-x.

Taking the reality of multiple interpretations as a starting point, the thesis aims to develop an understanding of what and how does second language policy mean to different players? To this end, its methodology focuses not only on the various ESL and bilingual policy actors' personal accounts, perceptions and feelings, but also on the language used to articulate them. In the words of Yanow: 'interpretative research discovers a world in which humans give expression to their values, beliefs and feelings in multiple overlapping ways and through multiple overlapping artefacts'.¹⁶² Just as Yanow's study unveiled 'the existence of multiple and often conflicting understandings' of urban policy, this thesis reveals contrasting perceptions of second language education policy.¹⁶³ The following section describes the different empirical tools employed to map out London and New York City's emerging second language policy discourse coalitions.

Literary Review

In the first instance, a review of the literature on ESL and bilingual education policies was carried out to ascertain the state of the discipline. As Robson has indicated, looking at established knowledge provides both a starting point for the inquiry and a background resource for further research.¹⁶⁴ The author's detailed examination of published work on second language education proved to be a catalyst for the subsequent development of the thesis' structure. On the one hand, the literature review revealed the various educational and policy issues which scholars and practitioners have addressed the theoretical questions they have asked and the methodological strategies used to answer them. Most significantly however, it exposed the issues which had not been addressed, the questions that had not been asked and the methodological approaches which had not been employed.

In reviewing the literature on second language education policy, the author used a variety of written and electronic sources including books, official publications and printed materials from relevant organisations and agencies, journal articles, conference proceeding, newspapers and online websites. In addition, a number of specialised

¹⁶² Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 54.

¹⁶³ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 39.

¹⁶⁴ Robson, *Real World Research*, p. 23.

libraries and research centres as well as government departments were visited, including the following:

- **London:** the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), the Immigration and Nationality Directorate at the Home Office, the Education and Community Services at Tower Hamlets Council, the Institute of Education (IE), the British Library of Political and Economic Sciences (BLPES), the Policy Studies Institute (PSI), the London Research Centre (LRC), the University of London Library (ULL) at Senate House, Tower Hamlets Bancroft Library, the Local Authorities Race Relations Information Exchange (LARRIE), the European Research Centre Library, Queen Mary University of London Library, Kings College Library and the South Bank University Library.
- **New York City:** the Office of the Secretary of State for Education's Regional Representative in New York, the New York City Mayor's Office of Immigrant and Language Services, the New York City Board of Education, the New York City Office of High School Bilingual and ESL Programmes, the Resource Library at the New York City Office of Bilingual Education, Columbia University Library at Teachers' College, the Centre for Puerto Rican Studies at City University of New York (CUNY), the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy and the New York City Public Library.

Gathering of documentary material was carried out in a systematic way. The type of information sought was ultimately dependent on the evolving needs of the thesis as well as the unfolding of policy events both in London and New York City. The bibliographic section at the end of the thesis lists all the literary sources employed.

Interviews

Once the literary and documentary review had identified the main players involved in the provision of second language education policy, the author proceeded to conduct a number of tape-recorded live interviews with them. A major advantage of using interviews as an interpretive research tool is their adaptability. Robson has pointed out that 'face-to-face interviews offer the possibility of modifying one's line of enquiry, following up

interesting responses and investigating underlying motives in a way that postal or self-administered questionnaires cannot. Non-verbal cues may give messages which help in understanding the verbal response, possibly changing or even, in extreme cases, reversing its meaning'.¹⁶⁵ Interviews allow the interviewer a wide scope for exploring the interviewee's feelings, ideas and perceptions regarding a particular policy problem. As human actions however, interviews are inevitably vulnerable to bias. Kumar has defined an interview as 'any person-to-person interaction between two or more individuals with a specific purpose in mind'.¹⁶⁶ An interview is therefore a conversation between two people, not two machines. As a result, the responses given by the interviewee can be influenced by a variety of factors. Fielding and Thomas have identified a number of sources of bias including 'misdirected probing and prompting, ignoring the effects of interviewer's characteristics and behaviour, neglecting the cultural context in which the researcher is located and problems with question wording'.¹⁶⁷

The effects interviewers may have on the validity and reliability of data have long been a source of concern. Bell has pointed out how 'the same question put by two people, but with different emphasis and in different tone of voice, can produce very different responses'.¹⁶⁸ The interviewer therefore must be always alert to the fact that s/he can exert a significant personal influence on the outcome of an interview. While the very nature of interviewing makes it difficult to avoid this danger completely, awareness of the problem, constant vigilance and self-control can help to ameliorate bias. Robson specifically advises to 'listen more than you speak; put questions in a straightforward, clear and non-threatening way' and 'eliminate cues which lead interviewees to respond in a particular way'.¹⁶⁹ These have certainly been the guiding principles underlining the many interviews carried out in the course of the thesis. Since most of the interviews were tape-recorded, a practice that can unsettle some individuals, every effort was made to ask respondents objective and fair questions, which would ultimately allow for a relaxed and frank exchange of ideas. It is within this context that semi-structured interviews with

¹⁶⁵ Robson, *Real World Research*, p. 229.

¹⁶⁶ Kumar, *Research Methodology*, p. 109; see also H. Rubin and I. Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing*, (London: Sage), 1995.

¹⁶⁷ N. Fielding and H. Thomas, 'Qualitative Interviewing' in N. Gilbert (ed.), *Researching Social Life*, p. 139.

¹⁶⁸ J. Bell, *Doing Your Research Project: A Guide for First-time Researchers in Education and Social Sciences*, 2nd edn., (Buckingham: Open University Press), 1993, pp. 95-96. See also W. Foddy, *Constructing Questions for Interviews and Questionnaires*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1992.

¹⁶⁹ Robson, *Real World Research*, p. 232.

relevant second language policy actors were conducted, according to the following categories:

- 1) **Central Government Agencies:** central government officials and senior civil servants.
- 2) **Local Authority Agencies:** local authority officials and district councillors.
- 3) **Schools:** educationalists, schoolteachers as well as ESL and bilingual pupils.
- 4) **Community and Voluntary Groups:** representatives/members of Bengali and Hispanic community-based organisations.
- 5) **Private/Public Sector Partnerships:** representatives/members of public/private partnership-based organisations.

Drawing from the five groupings above, a total of 57 interviews were carried out (i.e. 30 in London and 27 in New York City). While Appendix 2 identifies the subjects of all the interviews, Table 2 shows a breakdown of the latter:

Table 2 Classification of Interviews conducted in London and New York City

	London	New York City	Total
Central Government Officials	8*	1	9
Local Government Officials	8	9	17
School Teachers and Educationalists	9	14*	23
Community and Voluntary Groups	4	2	6
Public/Private Partnerships	1	1	2
Total	30	27	57

*Note: among the eight London's Central Government Officials interviewed, three provided written answers; and the figure 14 for New York City's 'School Teachers and Educationalists' category includes four students who were also interviewed.

- **Location and Length:** all the interviews were conducted in the organisations where the interviewees were based either as employees or as students. Consequently, British and US Government departments, local authorities, schools, community and voluntary centres as well as research institutions were visited. While the majority of the interviews took place in quiet surroundings behind closed doors, the occasional sound of school bells and children's playful voices provided a colourful backdrop to some of the recordings. The length of the interviews varied according to the subjects' availability and their individual characters. Although the majority of the interviews averaged 25 minutes, the shortest lasted 15 minutes whilst the longest went on for just over 60 minutes. All interviewees were asked permission to be taped and for their identities to be revealed as part of the thesis's research. The resulting recordings from the interviews were transcribed.

- **Style and Content:** with regard to the style of the recordings, they invariably took the form of semi-structured interviews. This particular format not only allowed the author to ask specific prepared questions, but it afforded great flexibility to explore different issues emerging during the course of the interviews. In addition to the latter, a large number of informal conversations with school children, teachers and educationalists also took place.

As far as the contents of the interviews are concerned, they varied depending on the individual circumstances of the interviewees and the kind of information sought. The interviews had a dual purpose. On the one hand, they were aimed at identifying the specific role played by the various respondents within the second language policy process and the challenges they faced. There were therefore a number of questions relating to the functions of the various actors and agencies involved in the provision of ESL and bilingual education, the nature of second language programmes, as well as the difficulties inherent in ESL and bilingual classroom practice. On the other hand, the interviews focused on unveiling the respondents' feelings, perceptions and value systems regarding language, identity and second language education. To this end, interviewees were asked to define the language policy problem, to relate their personal experiences of second language tuition, to share the reasons behind their individual linguistic and identity choices, and to explain their approaches to ESL and bilingual education policies. On the

whole, the interviews provided a wealth of valuable information; they also proved to be enjoyable processes of human interaction. Without exception, respondents welcomed the opportunity to share their experiences as well as their particular interpretations of language, identity and second language education policy. Appendix 3 provides a summary of the semi-structured interview question schedule deployed.

Participant Observation

Although interviews provide the kind of data necessary to conduct an interpretive analysis, they only reveal how people perceive what happens to them, not what actually happens to them. Two ESL students attending the same lesson will often produce different accounts of their classroom experience. Within this context, direct observation of second language school practice affords the observer a vantage point and thus an opportunity to more objectively assess the actualities of ESL and bilingual tuition. Taking part in an ESL lesson not only puts the student's accounts into perspective, it moreover provides an insight into the dynamics of second language education programmes. As part of the thesis' investigations, participant observation both in ESL and bilingual classrooms took place. In a participant-as-observer capacity, the author attended ESL lessons both in Swanlea School and Tower Hamlets College in London, as well as bilingual lessons in Seward Park High School in New York City. In each occasion, the author was able to monitor, among others: the development of second language classes, students and teachers' behaviour, and the difficulties involved both in teaching ESL and bilingual lessons as well as learning through them. These observations certainly afforded the author a clearer understanding of the circumstances surrounding those partaking in second language education programmes than interviews alone would have provided.

Just as interviews are vulnerable to bias, there are a number of difficulties inherent in the use of participant observation as a research strategy.¹⁷⁰ Kumar has highlighted four such problems: firstly, 'when individuals or groups become aware that they are being observed, they may change their behaviour'; secondly, 'there is always the possibility of

¹⁷⁰ See D. L. Jorgensen, *Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies*, (London: Sage Publications), 1989; and N. K. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd edn., (London: Sage), 2000.

observer bias'; thirdly, 'the interpretations drawn from observations may vary from observer to observer'; and fourthly, 'there is the possibility of incomplete observation and/or recording, which varies with the method of recording'.¹⁷¹ In other words, both the validity and reliability of data collected through participant observation can become compromised. The reason behind this lies in the subjective nature of participant observation. In the same way as an interview involves interaction between two people, participant observation comprises a researcher being in close contact with the individuals under observation.¹⁷² As Kumar has put it, when conducting participant observation 'a researcher participates in the activities of the group being observed in the same manner as its members'.¹⁷³ As a result, the data produced employing such research method has to be ultimately understood as an interpretation of reality through the experiences of the observer. This in no way renders participant observation as an unsound research method. On the contrary, Robson has persuasively argued that 'when working with people, scientific aims can be followed by explaining the meaning of the experiences of the observed through the experiences of the observer. This arises from a perspective that the social world involves subjective meanings and experiences constructed by participants in social situations. The task of interpreting this can only be achieved through participation with those involved.'¹⁷⁴ It follows that in observing phenomena, the necessary basis of impartiality can be ultimately accomplished through 'a heightened sensitivity of the problem of subjectivity and the need for justification of one's claims'.¹⁷⁵ Such were the guidelines followed during observations of second language education lessons both in London and New York City's schools. On the whole, the author combined an awareness of the inherent risks of observational methods with an unobtrusive conduct throughout both ESL and bilingual classes. This strategy not only avoided any disruptions to the normal routine of lessons, it helped to ameliorate the pitfalls intrinsic in participant observation. Such an approach also facilitated access to individuals for the purpose of interviewing them, as the researcher had become a familiar and trusted figure.

¹⁷¹ Kumar, *Research Methodology*, p. 106; see also Rubin and Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing*.

¹⁷² See G. A. Fine and K. L. Sandstrom, *Knowing Children: Participant Observation with Minors*, (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications), 1988.

¹⁷³ Kumar, *Research Methodology*, p. 106.

¹⁷⁴ Robson, *Real World Research*, pp. 194-195.

¹⁷⁵ Robson, *Real World Research*, p. 195.

Surveys

In order to obtain a quantitative picture of London and New York City's ESL and bilingual students' views, the author carried out a number of surveys both in Tower Hamlets College and Seward Park High School. To allow students scope and flexibility in their responses, the surveys comprised a combination of one-word-answer questions as well as open queries calling for personal accounts and story telling. The surveys broadly explored the following issues: a) students' socio-economic background; b) their conflicting perceptions of the English language and mother tongues; c) their preferences in the use of such languages in everyday life; d) their perceived effectiveness of ESL and bilingual education provision; e) their future aspirations of life in the UK/USA; and f) their own self-images as British/US citizens. The data emerging from the surveys unveiled distinctive self-identification patterns among ethnic minority students. This information not only provided the study with a quantitative dimension, it ultimately contributed to build a clearer image of the different second language policy discourse coalitions identified in the course of the thesis.

As with other research methodologies, the use of surveys is not free from pitfalls. In particular, there are two important issues that must be considered when employing this research tool: the design and ethical implications of the study. On the one hand, a survey must be adequately designed, if it is to obtain valid information about the respondents' feelings and opinions.¹⁷⁶ To this end, it must comprise clear and unbiased questions. As Robson has indicated, 'if the questions are incomprehensible or ambiguous, the exercise is obviously a waste of time'.¹⁷⁷ Bell has similarly warned researchers against the use of ambiguous, imprecise, presuming, leading, hypothetical and offensive questions.¹⁷⁸ For such questions 'will provide only useless responses'.¹⁷⁹ Bulmer has furthermore pointed out that, when designing a questionnaire, the researcher must weigh the sensitivity of the topic and determine what questions would be appropriate to ask.¹⁸⁰ The validity of a survey will certainly be compromised if its design is faulty. A well-designed questionnaire must therefore be both suitable for the purpose of the research inquiry and

¹⁷⁶ See D. A. De Vaus, *Surveys in Social Research*, 3rd edn., (London: Unwin Hyman), 1996.

¹⁷⁷ Robson, *Real World Research*, p. 125.

¹⁷⁸ Bell, *Doing Your Research Project*, pp. 77-81.

¹⁷⁹ Bell, *Doing Your Research Project*, p. 80.

¹⁸⁰ M. Bulmer, 'The Ethics of Social Research' in N. Gilbert (ed.), *Researching Social Life*, p. 53.

likely to yield usable data. The thesis' surveys were designed in accordance with these sound principles. The layout of the questionnaires was kept neat and simple - as a concession to the youth of the respondents -, with clear instructions for their completion being provided. In addition, the author's presence during the administration of the questionnaires served to elucidate any issues that might have arisen. Care was furthermore taken over the order of the questions, with easy-to-answer queries coming first, and more complex and sensitive topics being left to be addressed later in the questionnaire. Overall, the questionnaires were completed by both British and US ESL and bilingual students with ease, eagerness and a great deal of interest.

With regard to the ethical implications of using surveys, Bulmer has highlighted several matters that must be taken into account, including 'what the respondent is told about the auspices and purpose of the study, what the conditions under which the addresses and names of respondents are used, how the data will be published, how anonymity of individual respondents will be preserved and how the confidentiality of the final dataset will be safeguarded'.¹⁸¹ The thesis' surveys not only included an explanation of the reasons behind them and the possible use of the data obtained, they guaranteed the respondents' anonymity by dispensing altogether with their personal details. Furthermore, second language students' parents' written consent was obtained prior to the completion of the questionnaires in the classrooms. Although observational methods' ethics are discussed in detail at the end of this chapter, it suffices to say that when handling the data resulting from a survey, the researcher must be always aware of his/her ethical responsibilities. Appendix 1 contains the particulars of the thesis' surveys.

Case-studies

Robson has described the case-study as 'a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence'.¹⁸² The great strength of case-studies as research methods lies in their multi-faceted nature which allows for the gathering both of quantitative as well as qualitative data. The multiplicity of empirical tools Robson refers to may therefore comprise surveys and experiments, but also interviewing and participant

¹⁸¹ Bulmer, 'The Ethics of Social Research', p. 53.

observation. Since the case-study examines a social phenomenon through the experience of an individual case, it ultimately provides an opportunity for the intensive analysis of many specific details often overlooked by other methods.¹⁸³ Case-studies render the researcher able to concentrate on a specific instance and to identify the various interactive processes at work, which may remain hidden in a large-scale survey.¹⁸⁴ Innes has explained that the main advantage of the case-study is that 'it allows for an 'in-depth' treatment of the subject, where a large amount of detail about the practices and processes being studied can be understood in relation to a particular social context'.¹⁸⁵ It is precisely this multiple method of evidence gathering that has yielded the kind of data necessary to map out London and New York City's emerging second language policy discourse coalitions.

While case-studies produce a wealth of data, there is always a concern about the representativeness of the particular case being studied, and thus whether the findings can be generalised to other similar cases.¹⁸⁶ Case-study methodologies are certainly common, but as Harrison points out 'although the basis for selection of cases is normally explicit, it is not always clear that they are representative of a wider population or of the conditions found in other places, and therefore allow for generalisations'.¹⁸⁷ In spite of generalisations being unlikely and cross-checking of information rather difficult, the case-study can nevertheless be regarded as a worthwhile research methodology capable of producing relevant data. Bassey has argued that 'an important criterion for judging the merit of a case-study is the extent to which the details are sufficient and appropriate for a teacher working in a similar situation to relate his decision-making to that described in the case study. The reliability of a case study is more important than its generalisability.'¹⁸⁸ Bell similarly explains how 'in a 100-hour project, generalisation is unlikely, but reliability may be entirely possible. Well-prepared, small-scale studies may inform, illuminate and provide a basis for policy decisions within the institution. As

¹⁸² Robson, *Real World Research*, p. 5.

¹⁸³ Kumar, *Research Methodology*, p. 99.

¹⁸⁴ Bell, *Doing your Research Project*, p. 8.

¹⁸⁵ M. Innes, 'Exemplar: Investigating the Investigators - Studying Detective Work' in Gilbert (ed.), *Researching Social Life*, p. 212.

¹⁸⁶ Innes, 'Exemplar: Investigating the Investigators', p. 212.

¹⁸⁷ T. Harrison, 'Urban Policy: addressing wicked Problems' in H. T. O. Davies, S. M. Nutley and P. C. Smith (eds.), *What Works? Evidence-based Policy and Practice in Public Services*, (Bristol: The Policy Press), 2001, p. 214.

¹⁸⁸ M. Bassey, 'Pedagogic Research: on the Relative Merits of Search for Generalisation and Study of Single Events', *Oxford Review of Education*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1981, p. 85.

such, they can be invaluable.¹⁸⁹ This widely accepted view is shared by Yin, who explains that case-studies are generally 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.¹⁹⁰ Use of the case-study as a preferred research tool not only takes place across academic disciplines, but it has certainly become a widespread practice among scholars; as Yin indicates:

Case-studies continue to be used extensively in social science research, including the traditional disciplines (psychology, sociology, political science, anthropology, history and economics), as well as practice-oriented fields such as urban planning, public administration, public policy, management science, social work and education. Moreover, case-studies are increasingly a common place even in evaluation research, supposedly the province of other methods such as surveys and quasi-experiments...Case-studies have therefore become a preferred method.¹⁹¹

The literature on social science research comprises countless examples of investigations based on case-studies, which have provided valuable insights into different phenomena.¹⁹² Among them, a small number of comparative case-studies specifically of London and New York City have been carried out.

Fainstein, for instance, has used London and New York City as a backdrop for her analysis of the real state market. In *The City Builders*, she examined the dynamics of urban redevelopment and the different strategies deployed in each city.¹⁹³ Fainstein not only succeeded in learning about both systems, she also suggested pathways to improve the economic regeneration of inner-city areas. Michie's comparative study of the London and New York's Stock Exchange provides another example of such case-study research.¹⁹⁴ Within the context of these two metropolises, the author examined the capital and money markets, the transformation of global communications, as well as the workings of the international monetary system. What emerges from Michie's study is a clear understanding of the contrasting nature and functions of the London and New York's Stock Exchange, as well as their different development over time. The analysis of

¹⁸⁹ Bell, *Doing Your Research Project*, p. 126.

¹⁹⁰ R. K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 2nd edn., (London: Sage Publications), 1994, p. 1.

¹⁹¹ Yin, *Case Study Research*, p. xiii.

¹⁹² See S. Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London*, (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1999; and W. R. Miller, *Cops and Bobbies: Police Authority in New York and London: 1830-1870*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), 1977.

¹⁹³ See S. Fainstein, *The City Builders: Property, Politics, and Planning in London and New York City*, (Oxford: Blackwell), 1994.

mental hospital admissions in New York City and London by Cooper and his colleagues provides a final illustration of comparative case-study social research based on these two cities.¹⁹⁵ In *Psychiatric Diagnosis in New York and London*, the authors compared admission rates for a variety of mental illness in North American as well as British psychiatric hospitals. They revealed the former featuring higher admission rates for schizophrenia and arteriosclerotic dementia, while the latter for manic-depressive illness. Having established persistent differences between the two cases, the authors then explored the socio-economic and cultural reasons behind such differentials. On the whole, whether analysing urban development, financial markets or mental illness, data generated through the use of case-studies has allowed these researchers to provide valuable insights into social phenomena. Against this background, the thesis' analysis of second language education policy in London and New York City provides a further addition to a modest list of comparative case-study-based research.

The reasons behind the thesis' choice of London and New York City as grounds for fieldwork observations lie on a unique combination of shared similarities and contrasts. On the one hand, London and New York City present striking parallels including the following:

- A common Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage and a dominant English-speaking socio-economic outlook.
- Highly fragmented inner-city areas inhabited by a multiplicity of peoples with different ethnic origins, nationalities, languages and backgrounds.
- Migration traditions characterised by mass influxes of non-English-speaking immigrants.
- The existence of large enclaves inhabited by linguistic communities, where their ethnic traditions and languages have become dominant.
- First generation immigrants having produced successive cohorts of second and third generation of British/American-born citizens respectively.

¹⁹⁴ See R. C. Michie, *The London and New York Stock Exchanges 1850-1914*, (London: Allen and Unwin), 1987.

¹⁹⁵ See J. E. Cooper, R. E. Kendell, B. J. Gurland, L. Sharpe, J. R. M. Copeland and R. Simon, *Psychiatric Diagnosis in New York and London: A Comparative Study of Mental Hospital Admissions*, (London: Oxford University Press), 1972.

- Ethnic linguistic minorities consistently experiencing racial disadvantage, socio-economic deprivation, high levels of poverty and unemployment, as well as academic underachievement and lack of English proficiency.
- The existence of ESL and bilingual education policy programmes.

On the other hand, there is a remarkable distinguishing feature that sets London and New York City apart, namely the diametrically opposed approaches to second language education that their respective largest ethnic linguistic minorities advocate. The Bangladeshi community in London and the Hispanic group in New York City share similar circumstances, including: a) their recent arrival into their host countries, b) the unprecedented large numbers which they command, c) their concentration on large ethnic linguistic enclaves in inner-city areas, d) their commonwealth citizen status, e) their non-European non-English speaking nature and f) the existence of ESL and bilingual programmes aimed at them. These ethnic groups' particular perceptions of second language education policy, however, differ greatly. In London, the Bangladeshi community mostly perceives ESL tuition as an acculturation strategy by the dominant Anglo-Saxon society.¹⁹⁶ They consequently champion mother tongue teaching in the classroom as well as the maintenance of Islamic traditions. In contrast, the Hispanic community in New York City views bilingual programmes as an entitlement to equal access to an English-speaking school curriculum. They consequently advocate the accelerated acquisition of the English language and actively pursue integration into the US society. This unique combination of comparable circumstances, yet conflicting responses to a shared policy problem, allows the thesis to contrast the different ways in which second language education has been framed in both cities. It is the contrasting meanings attributed to second language education policy by those involved in it that have ultimately accounted for the emergence of the assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist discourse coalitions.

Ethical Conduct

Finally, ethnical considerations must be taken into account when employing observational research methods.¹⁹⁷ Bulmer has described ethics as a matter of ‘principled sensitivity to the rights of others’.¹⁹⁸ He however points out that being ethical ‘limits the choices we can make in the pursuit of truth. Ethics say that while truth is good, respect for human dignity is better, even if, in the extreme case, the respect of human dignity leaves one ignorant of human nature’.¹⁹⁹ When observing people, ethical behaviour which protects their fundamental human rights, respects their privacy, prevents any harm being inflicted on them and safeguards the confidentiality of the data obtained is paramount. The Social Research Association reminds us that ‘the integrity and conduct of social research is dependent upon the cumulative behaviour of individual researchers and the consequences of their actions in society at large’.²⁰⁰ The British Educational Research Association similarly emphasises the obligation of researchers to conform to the ethical standards of the society in which they conduct their work.²⁰¹ As Robson has put it, participants in social studies should neither ‘be involved without their consent’, ‘be misled about the true nature of the study’, or ‘be faced by situations that cause stress or anxiety’.²⁰² Since research involving people inevitably presents the researcher with moral dilemmas that require value judgements, the best counsel for the social researcher is to always be ethically aware.²⁰³

Among the ethical principles guiding social research, the issue of informed consent is particularly relevant to conducting surveys, participant observation as well as interviews. Informed consent is generally taken to mean that those who are being researched have the right to know that they are being researched, and that in some sense they should have

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Martin MacManum, ESL Teacher, Swanlea School, London, 2nd February 1997.

¹⁹⁷ See T. L. Beauchamp, R. R. Faden, R. J. Wallance and L. Walters (eds.), *Ethical Issues in Social Science Research*, (Baltimore, MD: John’s Hopkins University Press), 1982; and Halpin, D. and B. Troyna (eds.), *Researching Education Policy: Ethical and Methodological Issues*, (London: Falmer Press), 1994.

¹⁹⁸ Bulmer, ‘The Ethics of Social Research’, p. 45; see also Callaham, D. and B. Jennings (eds.), *Ethics, the Social Sciences and Policy Analysis*, (Longman: Plenum), 1983.

¹⁹⁹ Bulmer, ‘The Ethics of Social Research’, p. 45.

²⁰⁰ Social Research Association (SRA), ‘SRA Ethical Guidelines 2002’, 2002, p. 4. at: <<http://www.the-sra.org.uk/index2.htm>> (checked 18th August 2002).

²⁰¹ British Educational Research Association (BERA), ‘Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research’, 1992 at <<http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications/guides.php>> (checked on 11th February 2003).

²⁰² Robson, *Real World Research*, p. 29.

²⁰³ Bulmer, ‘The Ethics of Social Research’, p. 56.

actively given their consent.²⁰⁴ Kumar has explained that informed consent certainly ‘implies that subjects are made aware of the type of information you want from them, why the information is being sought, what purpose it will be put to, how they are expected to participate in the study and how it will directly or indirectly affect them. It is important that the consent should also be voluntary and without pressure of any kind’.²⁰⁵ It follows that the subjects of observational activities, having been provided with comprehensive details of the nature, purpose and consequences of the research, may freely agree to take part or they may conversely decline to do so. Against this background, covert observation and specifically participant observation, which involves concealing the identity and intentions of the researcher, represents a clear violation of the principle of informed consent.²⁰⁶ With regard to the thesis’ fieldwork investigations both in London and New York City, they were carried out in accordance with accepted ethical norms. Whether conducting interviews, surveys or participant observation, the author was ethically self-conscious and took the necessary steps to safeguard the study’s subjects’ fundamental rights. During visits to schools, in particular, special care was taken when dealing with children. Second language pupils and teachers were therefore adequately informed of the nature of the research, the purpose of the author’s presence in the lessons and the eventual use of the data collected. The students’ consent and that of their parents’ were readily obtained. They not only freely agreed to participate in the fieldwork, but also to have their individual identities revealed as part of the thesis’ investigations. The author found that participants were not only willing to take part in the research, but genuinely interested in the issues examined and eager to put their points of view across.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has explored the theoretical and methodological tools employed in the thesis. As a starting point, it has revealed the literature on ESL and bilingual education policies as an extensive yet one-dimensional body of work overwhelmingly concerned with objective quantifiable parameters. Within the context of a long-established tradition of qualitative social science research, the chapter has then examined the thesis’

²⁰⁴ Bulmer, ‘The Ethics of Social Research’, p. 49.

²⁰⁵ Kumar, *Research Methodology*, p. 192.

²⁰⁶ See M. Blumer (ed.), *Social Research Ethics: an Examination of the Merits of Covert Participant Observation*, (London: Macmillan), 1982.

interpretive approach to second language education policy. Among others, the works of Yanow, Hajer, Fisher and Forrester have been used to unravel this ideological perspective as well as the notion of discourse coalition so central to it. Against this background, the second language policy discourse coalitions identified both in London and New York City have been mapped out. The assimilationists, exclusivists and social integrationists have been shown to comprise different groups of actors who share common understandings of language, identity and second language education. The chapter has moved on to consider both ESL and bilingual education as context-specific policies. In particular, it has recognized five environmental factors impacting on the development of second language programmes including demographic, socio-economic, organisational, cultural and political characteristics. In its concluding section, the chapter has finally addressed the thesis' choice of research methods. Although largely relying on qualitative research strategies, the thesis' case-studies comprise the use of multiple methodologies including interviews and participant observation as well as surveys. In order to be able to produce usable knowledge through the deployment of such empirical tools, the author has observed both accepted ethical conduct as well as sound investigative practices throughout.

Part II: The Framing of Second Language Education Policy

Chapter 4: ESL Education in Britain: A Race Related Events-driven Policy

This chapter analyses the changing way in which ESL education policy has been framed in Britain during the period from the colonial times to the present day. Using interpretive policy analysis, it examines the multiple overlapping meanings which have been attributed to this policy, as well as the symbolic language used to communicate them. Against a background of racial tensions, the chapter portrays the development of ESL education as having been dominated by three distinctive policy discourses. Firstly, up to the 1960s the prevalence of a *laissez-faire* discourse, which took as a given the preservation of the nation's English-speaking Anglo-Saxon heritage, resulted in ESL education policy being largely neglected. Secondly, during the 1970s and 1980s, amid racial unrest and urban disturbances a social integrationist discourse based on the notion of equality of access succeeded in altering public perceptions about ESL education policy. Thirdly, from the late 1990s onwards, a rise in the country's illegal immigrant and refugee intake coupled with perceived fears of cultural and linguistic fragmentation have led to the emergence of an English-biased assimilationist discourse which is slowly taking over the public political arena.

4.1 A Discourse of *Laissez-faire*: British Citizens and the Others

The development of ESL education policy in Britain has been inextricably linked to migration into the country. While immigrant settlements have long featured in British history, the educational needs of non-English-speaking ethnic communities largely went unnoticed. Not until the second half of the twentieth century did the British government develop some kind of policy on ESL education. The reason behind this neglect can be found in the predominance of a *laissez-faire* policy discourse whose main thrust had been a taken-for-granted attitude towards the dominant English language and Anglo-Saxon culture and a disregard of minority languages and cultures. Originating as far back as the colonial period, this *laissez-faire* discourse embodied the values of national institutions such as the Monarchy, the Church of England and Parliament. Within this context, a

distinctive notion of British identity as an English-speaking white Anglo-Saxon Protestant ideal became a defining feature of the *laissez-faire* ideology.²⁰⁷ The latter largely prevailed during the post-World War II years, when Britain's population was predominantly of white British stock, the legacy of the Empire very much alive, and the country's reconstruction effort well underway.²⁰⁸ Throughout this time, newcomers were expected to learn the English language and to embrace British Anglo-Saxon traditions. With an overall immigrant population of negligible proportions, the educational needs of non-English-speaking children were simply not addressed.

The Education Act 1944

The British government's first concerted attempt at raising Britain's school children's performance was the *Education Act 1944*²⁰⁹. The Butler Act (so-called after R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education) prescribed far-reaching changes in the organisation of the country's Primary, Secondary and Tertiary education. The focus of the Act was the overall re-structuring of a deficient education system operating both in England and Wales.²¹⁰ In its opening section, the Act provided for the creation of a Minister of Education who was to be responsible for attaining a standardised national education service, hence:

It shall be lawful for His Majesty to appoint a Minister (hereinafter referred to as 'The Minister'), whose duty it shall be to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area. The Minister shall for all purposes be a corporation sole under the name of the Minister of Education, and the department of which he is in charge shall be known as the Ministry of Education.²¹¹

Not until the passage of the *Education Act 1944* did central government assume full responsibility for universal free Primary and Secondary education up to the age of 15 (16 since 1971). The Act dealt in detail with matters comprising the organisation, structuring and regulation of the entire national educational system, including local and central

²⁰⁷ See Cohen, *Frontiers of Identity*.

²⁰⁸ General Register Office, *Census 1951*, (London: HMSO), 1951, table 32, Birthplaces and Nationalities of all Population, pp. 114-115.

²⁰⁹ See *Public General Acts and Measures, The Education Act 1944*, (London: HMSO), 1944.

²¹⁰ See Ikin, A., *The Education Act 1944*, (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd.), 1944.

government provision, availability of public funds, school management and inspections.

²¹² The *Education Act 1944* introduced a tripartite system of Secondary education based on grammar, modern and technical schools with selection by the 11+ examination. Fee-paying in secondary schools was abolished and the school leaving age was raised to 15.

²¹³ Butler pointed to the Act's overhauling of education in the area of local government, whereby 'the number of local education authorities was reduced from 315 to 146, which certainly made for more efficient administration'.²¹⁴ Dent has judged the *Education Act 1944* to be 'a very great Act, which makes possible as important and substantial an advance in public education as this country has ever known'.²¹⁵ Overall, the Act can be said to have addressed the need to bring education provision and its organisation in line with the needs of a mid-twentieth century British society.²¹⁶

In spite of its significance and scope, the *Education Act 1944* neither acknowledged nor made provision for the educational needs of non-English-speaking pupils. At the time, ESL education was simply considered a non-issue. Yanow has indicated that policies have to be understood with regard to 'the values, feelings and beliefs which they express'.²¹⁷ The *Education Act 1944* thus reflected a *laissez-faire* perception of British education, which simply catered for the academic needs of the indigenous English-speaking school population. Within this context, the Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain has recently denounced the government's long-established *laissez-faire* attitude to minority cultures, and thus its inadequate policy responses to the educational needs of ethnic communities.²¹⁸

²¹¹ *Public General Acts and Measures, The Education Act 1944*, chp. 31, part 1 (1), paras. 1 and 2, p. 224.

²¹² *Public General Acts and Measures, The Education Act 1944*, chp. 31, pp. 220-224.

²¹³ B. Coxall and L. Robins, *Contemporary British Politics*, 3rd edn., (London: Macmillan Press Ltd.), 1998, p. 23.

²¹⁴ R. A. Butler, *The Education Act of 1944 and After*, (London: Longman), 1966, p. 6.

²¹⁵ H. C. Dent, *The Education Act 1944: Provisions, Regulations, Circulars and Later Acts*, 5th edn., (London: University of London Press Ltd.), 1955, p. 3.

²¹⁶ K. Young and N. Rao, *Local Government since 1945*, (London: Blackwell), 1997, pp. 51-86.

²¹⁷ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 9.

²¹⁸ See The Runnymede Trust, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: The Parekh Report*, (London: Profile Books), 2000.

4.2 A Discourse of Social Integration: Ethnic Minorities' Educational Needs

In the post-war years, New Commonwealth immigration to Britain began to change the country's demographic landscape. West Indian immigration was the first to assume noticeable proportions followed by mass arrivals from India and Pakistan. On their coming into Britain, New Commonwealth immigrants found themselves disproportionately concentrated in the least skilled, least desirable and worst remunerated urban occupations where the demand for labour was at its highest. Immigrant settlements thus grew rapidly within declining, twilight inner-city areas whose native population was already on the move out. By 1961, approximately 80 percent of all West Indians and 59 percent of all Indians and Pakistanis in Britain were conurbation dwellers.²¹⁹ A combination of socio-economic deprivation, unemployment, lack of English language skills, academic underachievement and widespread racism placed these newcomers at considerable disadvantage in comparison with their white British counterparts. As the numbers of New Commonwealth immigrant swelled, their presence began to stretch available public resources. In particular, the enrolment of large numbers of non-English-speaking children in local schools required the latter to address these pupils' educational needs. By 1966, 7,700 immigrant pupils in maintained Primary and Secondary schools were described as having no knowledge of English, and 24,000 as having some English but needing further intensive teaching.²²⁰ The hitherto prevailing *laissez-faire* discourse was thus confronted with a growing problem, whose policy implications could no longer be simply ignored. As a result a shift in public perceptions regarding ESL education started to take place.

Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966

The government's first attempt to deal with the educational needs of linguistic ethnic minorities was *Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966*. This piece of legislation provided for additional resources to be allocated to local authorities 'with substantial

²¹⁹ C. Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy in Britain*, (Cambridge: Tavistock), 1977, pp. 129-130.

²²⁰ *Hansard, House of Commons, Official Report, Session 1966-67*, comprising period from 17th – 28th April 1967, (London: HMSO), 26th April 1967, 5th series, vol. 745, written answers to questions, Education and Science, Immigrant Pupils (English Language), cmnd. 307.

numbers of immigrants'.²²¹ An exchange in the House of Commons, during the spring of 1966, reflects how the issue of non-English-speaking immigrants was increasingly being perceived as a rising problem. Here, Brian Redhead, Minister of State for Education and Science, is being questioned by a member of the opposition on the matter:

Sir D. Renton asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what have so far been the effects upon the public education system of England of the need to educate large numbers of children of Commonwealth immigrants; what extra numbers of children have been involved during the past two years; and whether he will make a statement.

Mr. Redhead: The effects have been confined to the few areas much affected. Extra numbers have sometimes increased staffing difficulties, particularly in places short of teachers, and there have been some teaching problems particularly where the children know little or no English. The presence of classes with a large exotic element has sometimes altered the character of lessons, not always for the worse. Approximately 49,000 children of all ages under 16 were admitted from Commonwealth countries for settlement to the United Kingdom during the two years 1964 and 1965.

Sir D. Renton: Is the Hon. Gentleman aware that dependants are still coming in large numbers and going to live in places where classes are already full? What is the government to do about it?

Mr. Redhead: A careful watch is being kept on this. It is impossible to generalise, because, as the Right Hon. and learned gentleman will appreciate, the problem is that of only a small minority of schools in a limited number of areas.²²²

Against this background, Section 11 grant understood the arrival of large numbers of New Commonwealth immigrants as placing 'a burden' on certain local authorities affected by their presence. The original intention behind the grant was therefore for the government to financially 'compensate' such Local Education Authorities.²²³ Provision of Section 11 grant nevertheless signified an official recognition, albeit a reluctant one, of a growing problem which needed to be addressed, namely the educational needs of increasingly large numbers of non-English-speaking pupils in Britain's schools.

Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966, operating both in England and Wales, thus provided for the payment of such grants to local authorities and subsequently, by virtue of the *Education Reform Act 1988*, also to certain educational institutions (i.e. principally grant-maintained schools and further education colleges). Section 11 funds were

²²¹ See C. Brown, *Black and White Britain: the Third PSI Survey*, (London: Heineman Educational), 1984; and J. Eversley, 'Section 11: A Brief History' in P. Baker and J. Eversley (eds.), *Multilingual Capital*, (London: Battlebridge Publications), 2000, pp. 61-66.

²²² *Hansard, House of Commons, Official Report, Session 1966-67*, vol. 729, oral answers to questions, Education and Science, Commonwealth Immigrants, cmnds. 1638-1639.

²²³ S. Tomlinson, 'The Strange Case of Section 11', *Local government Review*, vol. 153, no. 41, 14th October 1989, pp. 803-806.

administered by paying local authorities a proportion (i.e. 75 percent) of the costs incurred in employing additional staff on projects designed to enable members of non-English-speaking ethnic minorities to overcome disadvantage. Overall, the grant was seen as a compensatory measure.²²⁴

When Section 11 was created the area of education alone accounted for over 90 percent of the total funding. The largest single use of the grant was to support the cost of employing additional teachers and classroom assistants to teach ESL programmes in schools.²²⁵ Figures for 1986/87, for instance, show that out of a Section 11 grant totalling £87.5 million to local authorities, education accounted for £70 million (79.5 percent) of the grant, while £3.0 million (3.5 percent) was spent on social services and around £14.5 million (17 percent) on other items.²²⁶ Educational provision included projects to raise academic achievement among school children by strengthening home/school liaisons, as well as the delivery of English language teaching in Further and Adult Education. Social services grant-funded projects, on the other hand, comprised the provision of interpreting and translation services, advice and training for adults, libraries and information services, as well as support in overcoming homelessness and racial harassment.²²⁷

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the progressive reformulation of ESL education policy in social integrationist terms was aided by the publication of a number of studies documenting the plight of non-English-speaking immigrant communities in Britain. Among them, the Policy and Economic Planning (PEP) Report of 1975 provided, for the first time, a nationally representative survey of the socio-economic conditions experienced by ethnic communities living in Britain.²²⁸ Its findings confirmed the existence of widespread racial discrimination in the country. One of the key conclusions of this report was identifying lack of English language proficiency as a major source of

²²⁴ Home Office, *A Scrutiny of Grants under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966: Final Report*, (London: HMSO), December 1988, p. 2.

²²⁵ The Home Office administers a wide range of grants under Section 11, but expenditure on education posts has predominated from the inception of the grants. In 1993/94, for instance, from a total Section 11 expenditure of £173 million, the education allocation was in the region of £154 million (89 percent). See OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education), *Educational Support for Minority Ethnic Communities: A Survey of Educational Provision funded under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966*, (London: OFSTED), 1994.

²²⁶ Home Office, *A Scrutiny of Grants under Section 11*, p. 2.

²²⁷ See Home Office, *A Scrutiny of Grants Under Section 11*.

²²⁸ See D. J. Smith (ed.), *The Facts of Racial Disadvantage*, vol. XLII, broadsheet no. 560, (London: Political and Economic Planning), February 1976.

disadvantage. Both the black and Asian communities had been shown to experience significant difficulties due to their poor spoken English. The West Indians for instance, spoke a Creole variety of English, which differed considerably from Standard English. People in Britain would find it rather difficult to understand this tongue. The language situation of the Asians was even more serious, since most of them had either learnt English only as a second language or not at all. Moreover, their native languages (i.e. Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Sylheti, Gujarati and Punjabi) were very different from English.²²⁹ The *PEP Report 1975* found that Asians who spoke English were much more likely to be doing non-manual jobs, and less likely to be doing semiskilled and unskilled manual jobs than those who did not. This connexion between educational underachievement and lack of English proficiency was furthermore corroborated by the *Fifth Report of the House of Commons Affairs Committee*, which, in 1981, indicated that one 'important component of racial disadvantage is educational'.²³⁰ Lack of English skills, in particular, was seen as detrimental to ethnic minority students' academic performance, hence:

What evidence there is shows that Asian and West Indian children encounter some major difficulties in their progress through the British educational system, which are not shared by white children in the same schools. Most obviously, a proportion of Asian children still speaks little or no English on entering schools in Britain. West Indian children may also suffer at school because of linguistic problems, which were and are less clearly identified and dealt with.²³¹

As the *PEP Report 1975* had already shown, the average educational level of the non-English-speaking population was generally lower than that existing among whites. Throughout the 1980s, concerns with the educational needs of linguistic ethnic minorities continued to intensify amid a spate of racial disturbances across the country. Between 1980 and 1985, outbreaks of civil unrest in inner-city areas of London, Liverpool and Bristol highlighted the acute socio-economic conditions experienced by linguistic ethnic minorities. The *Scarman Report* into the early disturbances ultimately suggested that they have been driven by a sense of disadvantage. The Report's conclusions indicated that residents living in 'deprived, inner-city, multi-racial localities' invariably experienced

²²⁹ Smith, *The Facts of Racial Disadvantage*, p. 44.

²³⁰ Hansard, *House of Commons, Fifth Report from the Home Affairs Committee, Session 1980-81, Racial Disadvantage*, (London: HMSO), 1981, para. 20, p. xii.

²³¹ Hansard, *Fifth Report*, para. 21, p. xiii.

'social and economic disadvantages'.²³² The existence of such adverse circumstances created 'a predisposition towards violent protest' which could be sparked off by incidents such as confrontations between local residents and the police.²³³ Against this background, the commissioning of the Rampton Enquiry into the education of ethnic minority children reflects the significance that the issue of ESL education had come to acquire, and therefore how far public perceptions about this policy had shifted.²³⁴

Education for All: Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups 1985

Published in the aftermath of the 1985 riots, the *Education for All Report* (called Swann Report after its Chairman, Lord Swann) went on to address the educational underachievement of all non-English-speaking children living in Britain.²³⁵ The Committee's terms of reference stated that:

Recognising the contribution of schools in preparing all pupils for life in a society which is both multi-racial and culturally diverse, the Committee is required to review, in relation to schools, the educational needs and attainments of children from ethnic minority groups, taking account, as necessary, of factors outside the formal education system relevant to school performance, including influences in early childhood and prospects for school leavers.²³⁶

In order to carry out this brief, the Swann Committee consulted a wide range of relevant policy actors involved in the provision of ESL education, including officials from the Department of Education and Science (DES) as well as Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI), academics from several universities, councillors from local government authorities, educational advisers, language specialists, think tank researchers as well as media practitioners.²³⁷ In addition, an array of organisations submitted evidence to the

²³² *The Scarman Report 1981* quoted in J. Solomos, *Race and Racism in Contemporary Britain*, (London: Macmillan), 1989, p. 115.

²³³ *The Scarman Report 1981* quoted in Solomos, *Race and Racism*, p. 115.

²³⁴ In line with the Swann Report, the Rampton Enquiry expressed concerns about the educational disadvantage experienced by ethnic minorities, and in particular the West Indian community. However, unlike the Swann Report, which provided extensive evidence of racism in schools; the Rampton Enquiry identified perceived entrenched attitudes and low expectations of the West Indian community as the main reason behind their children's academic underachievement.

²³⁵ G. K. Verma, 'The Swann Report and Ethnic Achievement: a Comment', *New Community*, vol. 12, no. 3, 1985, pp. 470-475.

²³⁶ DES (Department for Education and Science), *Education for All: Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups*, appointed by the Secretary of State and Science under the Chairmanship of Lord Swann, (London: HMSO), March 1985, para. 2, p. vii.

²³⁷ DES, *Education for All*, pp. iii-v.

Committee, including the Commission for Racial Equality, the British Refugee Council, the Afro-Caribbean Teachers Association, the National Council of Hindu Associations, the Muslim Education Trust, the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants and the National Association for Multi-Racial Education.²³⁸ The contrasting backgrounds of those partaking in the inquiry, as well as their broad-ranging expertise reflect the pluralistic nature that the debate over ESL education had attained.²³⁹

The Report recognised that the multi-racial nature of British society had implications for the education of all children, including the English-speaking indigenous majority. It consequently explored every aspect of multicultural education in Britain. It addressed, among other issues: the diverse nature of British society, the roots of racism, educational underachievement, ESL education policy, the employment of ethnic minority teachers, multi-ethnic and religious education as well as language across the curriculum. It also dealt with the particular educational needs of different ethnic minority groups, including Asians, West Indians, Chinese, Cypriots, Italians, Ukrainians, Vietnamese and Travellers. Within this context, the Committee advocated the development of what it called 'Education for All', understood as a national education system which aimed to preserve the cultural diversity of the country's school population. There were two distinct aspects of 'Education for All': on the one hand, catering for any particular educational needs, which ethnic minority pupils may have; and on the other hand, enhancing the education offered to all pupils.²⁴⁰ Hence, the Report indicated:

In our view, 'Education for All' should involve more than learning more about the cultures and lifestyles of various ethnic groups; it should also seek to develop in all pupils, both ethnic majority and minority, a flexibility of mind and an ability to analyse critically and rationally the nature of British society today within a global context. The reality of British society now and in the future, is that a variety of ethnic groups, with their own distinct lifestyles and value systems will be living together.²⁴¹

Linguistic diversity was consequently regarded as a 'positive asset', one which the schools should impart an understanding of to all pupils.²⁴² With regard to the particular wants of ESL students, the Report suggested a number of measures. On the one hand,

²³⁸ DES, *Education for All*, pp. 788-793.

²³⁹ B. Parekh, 'The Gifts of Diversity', *The Times Education Supplement*, 29th March 1985, pp. 22-23.

²⁴⁰ DES, *Education for All*, para. 4.13, p. 358.

²⁴¹ DES, *Education for All*, para. 2.7, p. 324.

²⁴² DES, *Education for All*, para. 5.6, p. 671.

'the needs of learners of English as a second language should be met by provision within the mainstream school, as part of a comprehensive programme of language education to all children'.²⁴³ On the other hand, the Report indicated that 'for a child from a home where English is not the first language, pre-school provision can be particularly valuable'.²⁴⁴ The Report went on to recommend changes across a whole range of curricular areas, which would offer pupils a more balanced and relevant view of the multi-ethnic society in which they lived in.²⁴⁵ Significantly, it called for the provision of two different sources of funding to cater for the two distinct dimensions of 'Education for All'. The Committee members regarded Section 11 as the chief source of funding for the 'ethnic minority dimension' of education.²⁴⁶ They believed, however, that the provision of a 'multicultural' component affecting the education of all pupils was not adequately catered for. The Committee thus indicated:

We feel that existing legislation does not cater adequately for present-day circumstances and that any new arrangements are bound to be hampered by the terms of the 1966 Act. We believe the time has therefore come for the government to reconsider the possibility of revising the provisions of Section 11 fully, through new legislation, in order to make it more appropriate to the needs of multi-racial schools and LEAs in Britain today.²⁴⁷

Above all, as Sir Keith Joseph put it 'the Swann Report is asking us to deal with the most difficult of all issues: attitudes'.²⁴⁸ The transformation of Britain into a multi-ethnic nation was central to the Report. The latter not only acknowledged the multi-cultural and multilingual nature of Britain, the Swann Report expected its peoples to embrace it. This could only be accomplished by a change in public perceptions regarding linguistic ethnic minorities. The Committee thus stated:

This report is concerned primarily to change behaviour and attitudes. They need to change throughout Britain, and while the education system must not be expected to carry the whole of the burden of that change, schools in particular are uniquely well placed to take a lead role. Britain has evolved, over many centuries, institutions and traditions which, whatever their shortcomings, have been taken as models by many nations, and were indeed an important part of the attraction of this country to the ethnic minorities who are the essential concern of our report. It is because we believe that everyone in Britain has a direct interest in ensuring that those institutions and the attitudes, which

²⁴³ DES, *Education for All*, para. 5.3, p. 771.

²⁴⁴ DES, *Education for All*, para. 5.4, p. 771.

²⁴⁵ DES, *Education for All*, para. 3.1, p. 327.

²⁴⁶ DES, *Education for All*, para. 4.13, p. 358.

²⁴⁷ DES, *Education for All*, para. 4.13, pp. 358-359.

²⁴⁸ *Hansard, House of Commons Official Report, Session 1984-85*, comprising period 11th March - 22nd March 1985, sixth series, vol. 75, (London: HMSO), 14th March 1985, Ethnic Minority Children (Education), cmd. 453.

inform them, change to take full account of the pluralism, which is now, a marked feature of British life, that we make our recommendations.²⁴⁹

Verma has indicated that the Swann Report constituted a 'landmark in pluralism'.²⁵⁰ The language in which the Committee articulated ESL policy reflects the social integrationist values advocated by its members. Their approach to ethnic diversity had not only translated into a celebration of multicultural education, but an endorsement of ESL education policy. On publishing the Report, Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education, indicated that 'the government accepts the Committee's finding that many ethnic minority pupils are achieving below their potential, and recognises the concern that is felt about this among their parents...we want the schools to preserve and transmit our national values in a way which accepts Britain's ethnic diversity and promotes tolerance and racial harmony'.²⁵¹ It is against this background, that the *Education Reform Act 1988* (ERA) was introduced.

The Education Reform Act 1988 (ERA)

Forty four years after the *Education Act 1944* had come into being, the *Education Reform Act 1988* (ERA) was enacted. Just as the original Act had structured the then incipient education system, the new ERA would proceed to overhaul it. The *Education Reform Act 1988* was concerned with 'the school curriculum, assessment and examinations, and related arrangements', which 'will affect the education provided for all pupils of compulsory school age'.²⁵² One of the most significant innovations of the ERA was the introduction of the National Curriculum, which provided a blueprint for the subject matter to be taught in British schools. In its opening section, the ERA stated the purpose of the National Curriculum as one which:

Promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society; and prepares such pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.²⁵³

²⁴⁹ DES, *Education for All*, para. 1.1, p. 767.

²⁵⁰ G. K. Verma (ed.), *Education for All: a Landmark in Pluralism*, (London: The Falmer Press), 1989, p. 1.

²⁵¹ *Hansard, House of Commons Official Report, Session 1984-85*, Ethnic Minority Children (Education), cmnd. 451.

²⁵² DES, *The Education Reform Act 1988: the School Curriculum and Assessment, Circular no. 5/89*, (London: HMSO), 22nd February 1989, p. 3.

²⁵³ DES, *The Education Reform Act 1988*, part 1, chp. 1, sec. 1, paras. 2 (a) (b), c. 40 at:

<http://www.hmso.gov.uk/acts/acts1988/Ukpga_19880040_en_2.htm#mdiv2> (checked 9th June 2002).

Organised on the basis of four Key Stages for 11-14 year olds, the ERA accordingly established two categories of subjects to be taught in schools across the country:

The core subjects are: Mathematics, English and Science; and in relation to schools in Wales which are Welsh-speaking schools, Welsh.

The other foundation subjects are: History, Geography, Technology, Music, Art and Physical Education; in relation to the third and fourth Key Stages, a Modern Foreign Language specified in an order of the Secretary of State; and in relation to schools in Wales which are not Welsh-speaking schools, Welsh.²⁵⁴

While significantly making provision for the teaching of Modern Foreign Languages as foundation subjects, prominence was given to the learning and teaching of English. This preference reflects the Act's concern with raising students' academic standards across the board. The latter had been the main thrust of the Kingman Committee, basis to the working party which established the National Curriculum.²⁵⁵ The Committee had dealt at length with a wide range of issues relating to teaching and learning of the English language, such as grammatical and pedagogical matters, language acquisition and development, teacher training techniques and qualifications, as well as evaluation and assessment.²⁵⁶ Although focusing to a large extent on English language tuition, the Kingman Committee acknowledged the problems faced by non-English-speaking students. In its final Report the Committee's members stated:

Our report is primarily concerned with children who speak English as a mother-tongue. Children in our schools who are speakers of languages other than English, including Afro-Caribbean Creole languages, share the entitlement which we have defined, and should be given every possible opportunity to function effectively in an English-speaking society. It is not within our terms of reference to consider English as a Second Language (ESL) provision in detail, but we urge close co-operation between ESL specialists and teachers who are implementing our recommendations in primary and secondary schools.²⁵⁷

In a written answer to the author, Sir John Kingman emphasised how ESL education 'was in the minds of my Committee' throughout.²⁵⁸ Although dealing with the educational

²⁵⁴ DES, *The Education Reform Act 1988*, part 1, chp. 1, sec. 3, paras. 1 (a) (b), and 2 (a) (b) (c), c. 40.

²⁵⁵ I. Nash, 'The Kingman Report: laying the Foundation for a New Consensus', *The Times Education Supplement*, 6th May 1988, pp. 11-14.

²⁵⁶ See DES, *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of English Language*, appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science under the Chairmanship of Sir John Kingman, (London: HMSO), March 1988.

²⁵⁷ DES, *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of English*, chp. 5, para. 17, p. 58.

²⁵⁸ Written answer provided by Sir John Kingman, Chair of the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of English Language 1987, to the author, 18th January 2001.

needs of ESL students was beyond the Committee's terms of reference, he pointed out that:

Our general impression was that the teaching of the structure of the language was better developed in ESL teaching than in mainstream teaching of English as a first language. This is not surprising, and it is an analogy for the teaching of foreign languages. If one is teaching an unfamiliar language, it needs to be given some structure to enable students to have an entry. We considered that some of the good practice developed in ESL and foreign language teaching could inform the teaching of English generally.²⁵⁹

In the same way as the Kingman Committee recognized the problem of ESL education, the contents of the National Curriculum ultimately endeavoured to reflect Britain's 'cultural diverse society'.²⁶⁰ Against this background, ESL education can be said to have become increasingly regarded as part of a wider social integrationist discourse; one based on the notion of equality of access to education. By the late 1990s, the educational needs of non-English-speaking pupils were certainly considered as a legitimate policy problem.²⁶¹ This process of policy re-framing finally materialised, in 1999, with the replacement of Section 11 grant by the so-called Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG).

Replacing Section 11: The Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG)

In 1998, shortly after coming into office, Prime Minister Tony Blair speaking on education policy stated:

I said in opposition that education would be our number one priority, the passion of my government. Words that are easy enough in opposition. But I believe we are turning those words into action that will revolutionise standards at every level...I believe passionately in education as the key to the success of an individual and of a nation.²⁶²

In the first education White Paper of the new administration, *Excellence in Schools*, David Blunkett, Secretary of State for Education, spelt out the government's vision for Britain's education policy accordingly, thus:

²⁵⁹ Written answer provided by Sir John Kingman to the author, 18th January 2001.

²⁶⁰ DES, *The Education Reform Act 1988: the School Curriculum*, para. 17, p. 7.

²⁶¹ J. Bourne, *Moving into the Mainstream: LEA Provision for Bilingual Pupils*, (Windsor: NFER-Nelson), 1989.

²⁶² No. 10 Downing Street, 'Speech by Prime Minister Tony Blair on education policy' on 14th April 1998 at: <<http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/page1589.asp>> (checked 9th June 2002).

Education matters. It matters to you and to the children you care about. It matters to the country. Tony Blair and I have made clear that education is our top priority...Excellence can be achieved only on the basis of partnership. We all need to be involved: schools, teachers and parents are at the heart of it. We also need the help of all of you: families and the wider community. We need your commitment if we are to get our children off to a good start. Everyone has a part to play.²⁶³

The concept of education in a multicultural and multilingual British society had ultimately become central to the government's political agenda. During the previous three decades, the educational needs of non-English-speaking children had been mainly addressed through the provision of Section 11 grants. However, despite a promising start in the late 1960s, by the late 1990s this pioneering funding scheme had been widely criticised.²⁶⁴ In 1981, the *Fifth Report from the Home Office Affairs Committee on Racial Disadvantage* admitted that 'there is no single aspect of Section 11 payments which has escaped criticism', hence:

It should be emphasised that the [Section 11] money is intended to repay local authorities for something extra which they have to do. The statute does not define what that extra is, which is left to local authorities to decide. Home Office guidance apparently goes no further than suggesting that as a general rule staff in posts claimed for should spend at least half of their time in dealing with 'Commonwealth immigrants'. Nobody from central government attempts to persuade local authorities to undertake new programmes and to reclaim the money spent.²⁶⁵

It went on to list a number of specific concerns about Section 11 including: 'the absurd formula of payments...under which payment is made when certain expenditure attributable to the presence of Commonwealth immigrants exceeds a norm', 'the exclusion of non-Commonwealth ethnic minorities with similar needs', 'the Home Office interpretation of Commonwealth immigrants being limited to those who had been in this country for less than ten years', 'lack of supervision by the Home Office of the expenditure and its effectiveness' and 'lack of any strategic approach by authorities'.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ DfEE, *Excellence in Schools White Paper*, (London: HMSO), October 1997, foreword by the Secretary of State for Education, p. i.

²⁶⁴ J. Meakin, 'What Future for Section 11 Funding?' *Municipal Review and AMA News*, vol. 766, April 1996, p. 12; and D. Gillborn, 'Naïve Multiculturalism: Social Justice, "Race" and Education Policy under New Labour', *Times Education Supplement*, 4th September 1998, p. 26.

²⁶⁵ House of Commons, *Fifth Report*, vol. 1, sec. (i), para. 50, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

²⁶⁶ House of Commons, *Fifth Report*, vol. 1, sec. (1), paras. 53, 54 and 55, pp. xxv-xxvi; and Tomlinson, 'The Strange Case of Section 11', pp. 803-806.

The Report suggested that if Section 11 was to be maintained, it had to be radically reformed; although ‘the little evidence available suggests however that there is no general understanding of the purpose of Section 11, and little by the way of accepted good practice’.²⁶⁷ By 1988, the situation developed further as a Home Office report entitled *A Scrutiny of Grants Under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966* reflects:

£100 million of taxpayers’ money is spent under Section 11 with the intention of benefiting the ethnic minorities. The money is spent on additional teachers for ethnic minority children, together with social workers, housing officers, business advisers and other local authority staff. Yet there is no clear objective for the grant and no effective system for assessing results. The Home Office team is cracking under the strain of examining in great detail the 1,200 existing applications for new posts received each year, while 12,000 existing posts continue with little or no scrutiny. The application process is bureaucratic and wasteful. Local authorities and communities believe the Home Office has lost all commitment to the grant, and that its days are numbered. Authorities vary considerably in their use and management of Section 11 resources. We saw evidence of the grant acting as a valuable catalyst for change in mainstream programmes. But we also saw it funding token ethnic minority posts and subsidising programme expenditure. The ethnic minorities, who are ultimately the customers for Section 11 grant, argue that there is no effective consultation, and feel little benefit for the expenditure of much of the £100 million. The legislation now 20 years old is out of date in important respects.²⁶⁸

While the findings of the report identified serious flaws with the provision of Section 11 grants, it was felt that dismantling the programme would be perceived by ethnic communities as a ‘downgrading of the government’s commitment to tackling racial disadvantage’.²⁶⁹ Instead, the Home Office recommended that ‘a specific grant designed to target resources at tackling racial disadvantage, administered by the Home Office, should be retained. But there must be a new clarity of direction and urgency about achieving results’.²⁷⁰ In its final recommendations, the 1988 Report also referred to the wording of the Section 11 text, in particular the term ‘Commonwealth immigrant’ was criticised for excluding non-Commonwealth immigrant groups with similar needs, such as the Vietnamese and the Somalis.²⁷¹ It therefore advocated that ‘the concept of Commonwealth immigrant should be removed from the legislation and the grant should be payable in respect of ethnic minorities suffering racial disadvantage’.²⁷² Although the original drafting of Section 11 had referred to the ‘immigrants from the [New] Commonwealth’ for purely historical reasons, the subsequent *Local Government*

²⁶⁷ House of Commons, *Fifth Report*, vol. 1, sec. (1), para. 59, p. xxvii

²⁶⁸ Home Office, *A Scrutiny of Grants under Section 11*, para. 1, p. iii.

²⁶⁹ Home Office, *A Scrutiny of Grants under Section 11*, p. iv.

²⁷⁰ Home Office, *A Scrutiny of Grants under Section 11*, sec. a (1), p. 21.

²⁷¹ Home Office, *A Scrutiny of Grants under Section 11*, p. 11.

(Amendment) Act 1993 eventually changed its wording to include all ethnic minorities, hence:

Subject to the provisions of this section, the Secretary of State may pay to local authorities, who in his opinion are required to make special provision in the exercise of any of their functions in consequence of the presence within their areas of persons belonging to ethnic minorities whose language or customs differ from those of the rest of the community, grants of such amounts as he may with the consent of the Treasury determined on account of expenditure of such description (being expenditure in respect of the employment of staff) as he may so determine.²⁷³

The main recommendations of the 1988 Home Office Report *A Scrutiny of Grants Under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966* were taken up by the government, and in 1990 the *Home Office Circular no. 78/1990* set out the new arrangements for the administration of Section 11 grants.²⁷⁴ They accordingly introduced a number of changes including: the establishment of a regular annual timetable according to which applications had to be made, compared with the earlier rolling programmes of bids that could be submitted at any time; the formation of bids in the shape of projects rather than on a post by post basis; the creation of a policy criteria under which provisions must fall; and the regular monitoring of projects against recognisable performance targets.²⁷⁵

Above all, these Home Office guidelines illustrated the extent to which public perceptions about ESL education had now changed. In contrast to the intention behind the original statute, by 1990, Section 11 funding was being understood as addressing 'issues particular to ethnic minority groups that prevent them from entering fully into mainstream activities'.²⁷⁶ As the *Home Office Circular no. 78/1990* indicated:

The government's fundamental objective is to enable everyone, irrespective of ethnic origin, to participate fully and freely in the life of the nation while having the freedom to maintain their own cultural identity. The achievement of this objective involves central and local government; the private and voluntary sectors; and the ethnic minority communities themselves. The government believes that at present there is a continuing need for specific grant to meet needs particular to ethnic minorities of Commonwealth

²⁷² Home Office, *A Scrutiny of Grants under Section 11*, sec. b (36), p. 25.

²⁷³ *Public Acts and Measures: Local Government (Amendment) Act 1993*, (London: HMSO), 1993, chp. 27, sec. 1 (1) (11), p. 1.

²⁷⁴ See Home Office, *The Home Office Circular no. 78/1990: Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966*, (London: HMSO), October 1990.

²⁷⁵ LARRIE (Local Authorities Race Relations Information Exchange), *Guide to Section 11 Funding: the 1992/93 Section 11 Allocation*, LARRIE Research Report, no. 3, (London: LARRIE), March 1992, p. 1.

²⁷⁶ Home Office, *The Home Office Circular no. 78/1990*, para. 12, pp. 4-5.

origin that prevent full participation in the mainstream of national life. Barriers to opportunities arise in a number of areas, particularly through differences of language, in educational attainment and through economic, social and cultural differences.²⁷⁷

In a further policy document entitled the *Grant Administration and Policy Criteria*, the government set out its vision of Section 11 grant likewise:

The government believes that Section 11 has an important role to play in assisting ethnic minority communities to enter fully and benefit from the mainstream of national life. The government's aim is to help the members of such communities to benefit fully from opportunities for educational, economic and social development. To this end the grant has provided and will continue to provide support in the teaching of English, in strategies aimed at improving educational performance and in tackling particular needs which arise where economic, social or cultural differences impede access to opportunities or services.²⁷⁸

In November 1996, Timothy Kirkhope, Home Office Minister, in an additional press release, *A Way Ahead for Ethnic Minority Community Funding*, similarly declared that:

Ethnic minority communities bring diversity and cultural enrichment to our society. I am determined that they, like everyone else, should have every opportunity to play a full part in the social and economic life of this country. Projects funded under section 11 have played an important part in this.²⁷⁹

In November 1998, the government finally announced the introduction of an altogether new ESL funding allocation programme under the title Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG). This new scheme, administered by the Department for Education and Employment, was designed to replace the ailing 33 year-old Section 11 grant with an overall more inclusive ESL financial support package.²⁸⁰ The introduction of EMAG took place against the backdrop of the *Macpherson Report* into the murder of Afro-Caribbean teenager Stephen Lawrence.²⁸¹ The Report, which had conceptualised the notion of 'institutional racism', recommended that the National Curriculum be amended so as to include in its ethos 'valuing cultural diversity and preventing racism, in order to

²⁷⁷ Home Office, *The Home Office Circular no. 78/1990*, para. 6, pp. 2-3.

²⁷⁸ Home Office, *Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966: Grant Administration: Policy Criteria*, (London: HMSO), October 1990, para. 9, p.3.

²⁷⁹ Home Office, *News Release no. 350/96: A Way Ahead for Ethnic Minority Community Funding*, (London: Home Office), 13th November 1996, p.1.

²⁸⁰ P. Baker and J. Eversley (eds.), *Multilingual Capital: the Languages of London's School Children and their Relevance to Economic, Social and Educational Policies*, (London: Battlebridge), 2000, p. 62.

²⁸¹ See *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny*, (London: HMSO), 1999.

better reflect the needs of a diverse society'.²⁸² In welcoming the Report's suggestions, Charles Clark, Schools Minister, declared:

We agree with the view of the Macpherson Report that it is important that the National Curriculum properly reflects the needs of a diverse society. As part of the National Curriculum review, we are seeking ways to ensure that all pupils gain an understanding of citizenship and democracy. An important part of this will be fostering an understanding of the diversity of cultures, which exist in Britain today. I believe that this is the best way in which we can reflect these issues in the curriculum, but of course, we are looking at a range of ways of ensuring that the curriculum responds fully to the needs of all pupils.²⁸³

In accordance with the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry's* recommendations, the new EMAG was expected to provide 'equality of opportunity for all minority ethnic groups'.²⁸⁴ As Jacqui Smith, Schools Minister, pointed out, there still remained a wide educational gap between English-speaking white students and their non-English-speaking coloured peers, thus:

Children from ethnic minorities are an important and vibrant part of today's society, and it is vital that we ensure they have the same opportunities to succeed as everyone else. Many Asian children achieve very good results - better than average -. But too many children from ethnic minority backgrounds are under-performing. If you are Pakistani, Bangladeshi or of African-Caribbean origin, your chance of gaining five good GCSE is half that of white pupils.²⁸⁵

According to the DfES' *Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant: Consultation Paper*, the new EMAG subsidy was specifically aimed 'to meet the particular needs of pupils for whom English is an additional language (EAL); and to raise standards of achievement for those minority ethnic groups who are particularly at risk of under-achieving'.²⁸⁶ In the words of David Blunkett, Education and Employment Secretary, 'there is no reason why underachievement should be tolerated'.²⁸⁷ By including additional marginal communities, such as Travellers, which Section 11 had failed to fund, the EMAG scheme hoped to achieve those objectives.²⁸⁸ In establishing the grant, Charles Clark indicated

²⁸² *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry*, chp. 47, para. 67, p. 334.

²⁸³ DfES Press Office, *Press Notice no. 1999/0110: Improved Standards for Ethnic Pupils will be our Lasting Response to the Lawrence Inquiry*, (London: DfES), 10th March 1999, p. 1.

²⁸⁴ DfEE, *Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant: Consultation Paper*, (London: DfEE), 15th June 1999, p. 1.

²⁸⁵ DfES Press Office, *Press Notice no. 1999/0405: Ethnic Minority Pupil Grant will boost Achievement*, (London: DfES), 9th September 1999, p.1.

²⁸⁶ DfEE, *Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant: Consultation Paper*, paras. (a) and (b), p. 1

²⁸⁷ DfES Press Office, *Press Notice no. 2001/0212: Raising the Achievement of Ethnic Minority Pupils*, (London: DfES), 14th April 2001, p. 1.

²⁸⁸ Baker and Eversley (eds.), *Multilingual Capital*, p. 62.

that 'the new Ethnic Minority Grant replacing Section 11 is providing £430 million over the next three years, as part of a new drive to improve the education of ethnic minority pupils and children of refugees'.²⁸⁹ Eversley pointed out, however, that the impact of the EMAG would be actually restricted both by the size of the total available resources and the need for authorities to find additional funding to supplement their allocation.²⁹⁰

The EMAG nevertheless broadened considerably the scope of Section 11, by aiming to provide ESL services, as well as improving the academic achievement of all ethnic minority students. The DfES' guidelines on EMAG went on to explain the dual nature of this grant. On the one hand, it 'provides an opportunity to build on Section 11 work and to ensure that schools and LEAs work together to provide genuine equality of opportunity for all pupils'; while on the other hand, EMAG 'links with the LEA's Education Development Plan and the Literacy Strategy, and contributes to the national priority to raise standards for under-achieving groups, including those for whom English is an additional language'.²⁹¹

In an interview with the author, Hasanat Husain, Director of Bilingualism in Tower Hamlets, emphasised that in addition to language skills, the EMAG also addresses 'the main targets of Literacy, Numeracy and ICT'.²⁹² While EMAG is concerned with both the issues of language and school achievement, the latter comprises a more extensive educational area than the former. In another interview, Peter Nathan, Head of EMAG Services at Hackney Council, explained that academic achievement, as opposed to ESL tuition:

tends to be a much broader issue, covering many different aspects of the way a school functions. These are problems to do with school policy, in terms of admissions, in terms of behaviour, in terms of how you target children...with special needs...When you have a child that arrives from another part of the world, who doesn't speak English, it's obvious what you've got to do. But then, there are a lot of different issues relating to performance and adaptability.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ DfEE Press Office, *Press Notice no. 1999/0191: Clarke Reinforces Commitment to Educating Refugee Children*, (London: DfEE), 28th April 1999, p. 1.

²⁹⁰ Baker and Eversley (eds.), *Multilingual Capital*, p. 62. It must be noted that apart from the generally inadequate grants, EMAG is based on a 50:50 central-local distribution.

²⁹¹ DfES, 'Guidance on Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant', 1999, p. 1 at: <<http://www.dfes.gov.uk/ethnic/guide.htm>> (checked 9th June 2002).

²⁹² Interview with Hasanat M. Husain, Head of Bilingualism, Education and Community Services, Tower Hamlets Council, London, 26th January 2000.

²⁹³ Interview with Peter Nathan, Head of EMAG Services, Hackney Council, London, 28th January 2000.

Under the EMAG schools are ultimately expected to establish a whole set of policies to help raise the attainment of ethnic minority pupils, who are at risk of under-performing. It also requires LEAs to monitor the achievement of ethnic minority pupils and set targets for year on year improvement.²⁹⁴ On the whole, the replacement of Section 11 with the new EMAG epitomises a long process of ESL policy re-framing in which a social integrationist discourse based on the notion of equality of access has come to dominate the public policy arena.

4.3 A Discourse of Assimilation: English Only or English Plus?

In accordance with this prevailing social integrationist policy frame, the present government has continued to step up its efforts to provide both ESL funding as well as additional services to the country's non-English-speaking school population. In a written answer to the author, Estelle Morris, Secretary of State for Education pointed out that the EMAG is 'currently worth around £145 million a year'. In addition, 'we calculate that in the financial year 2001-2002, some £480 million of general resources provided to schools through Standard Spending Assessment (SSAs) took account of ethnicity. Other Standards Fund Programmes such as Excellence in Cities, KS3 and the Literacy and Numeracy strategies also contribute to narrowing attainment gaps'.²⁹⁵ The government seems to view ESL education programmes as providing the most effective way to allow non-English-speaking students to access the National Curriculum. To this end, the DfES has published a guide entitled *Removing the Barriers: Raising Achievement Level of Minority Ethnic Pupils: Key Points for Schools*, which aims to raise awareness among schools of good practice in support of minority ethnic pupils.²⁹⁶ In the words of Estelle Morris:

Successful schools are sensitive to the identities of pupils. These schools make efforts to include in the curriculum their histories, languages, religions and cultures, and encourage the use of a pupils' first language for 'settling in' as well as for longer-term learning.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ DfES Press Office, *Press Notice no. 1999/0405*, p.1.

²⁹⁵ Written answer provided by Estelle Morris, Secretary of State for Education, to the author, 2nd May 2002.

²⁹⁶ DfES, *Removing the Barriers: Raising Achievement Levels of Minority Ethnic Pupils – Key Points for Schools* at: <<http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/ethnicminorities>> (checked 9th June 2002).

Throughout the late 1990s, despite these ESL-oriented measures, there has been a gradual erosion in public support for the pluralistic values underlying the EMAG. Unprecedented influxes of non-English-speaking illegal immigrants and refugees into Britain have led to widespread anxiety about the social and cultural impact that their significant presence may have. Their continuous arrival and the problems they present to the country's educational and welfare services have precipitated adverse public reactions towards both the refugees themselves as well as the policies aimed at them. As a result, the prevailing social integrationist discourse is currently being challenged by an assimilationist ideology intent on protecting the English-speaking Anglo-Saxon tradition, now perceived to be under threat. Estimates from the Refugee Council indicate that in 2001 alone, there were 71,700 new asylum applications, of which 30,470 were successfully processed; this compared with 1996 figures in which there were 29,640 applications of which only 7,295 were granted some kind of refugee status.²⁹⁸ These data have been compounded by a well-publicised steady flow of illegal immigrants coming from Sangatte, a controversial French-based Red Cross refugee camp located near Calais; as *Time* reported 'more than 200 illegal immigrants reached England in May [2002] through the Channel Tunnel'.²⁹⁹ The press has heightened the sense of crisis with headlines such as *The Guardian's* 'Blair's Secret Plan to crack down on Asylum Seekers'³⁰⁰ Accordingly, 'Tony Blair has taken personal control of asylum policy and is considering proposals to mobilise Royal Navy warships to intercept people traffickers in the Mediterranean and carry out bulk deportations in RAF transport planes'.³⁰¹

Derogatory comments regarding immigrants made by David Blunkett, Home Secretary, during the course of a recent interview are symptomatic of the changes in public perceptions currently taking place. Speaking on BBC Radio Four's Today programme, David Blunkett suggested that children of asylum seekers should be educated separately while their applications are being dealt with; as he put it: 'whilst they're going through the process, the children will be educated on the site, which will be open. People will be able

²⁹⁷ Written answer provided by Estelle Morris to the author, 2nd May 2002.

²⁹⁸ Refugee Council, *Annual UK Asylum Statistics*, 2002 at:

<<http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/infocentre/stats/stats001.htm> (checked 9th June 2002).

²⁹⁹ S. Cullinan and K. Noble, 'Sangatte', *Time*, 27th May 2002, p. 23.

³⁰⁰ S. Milne and A. Travis, 'Blair's Secret Plan to crack down on Asylum Seekers', *The Guardian*, 23rd May 2002, at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk_news/story/0,3604,720608,00.html> (checked 9th June 2002).

³⁰¹ S. Milne and A. Travis, 'Blair's Secret Plan'.

to come and go, but importantly not swamping the local school.’³⁰² David Blunkett’s comments are the more significant, since they have been made in the context of the *Asylum Bill* going through Parliament at the time of writing.³⁰³ The latter includes proposals to prohibit non-English-speaking refugee children in accommodation centres from attending mainstream classes at local schools. Such suggestions for segregated education have been criticised by several organisations and lobby groups. Peter Smith, General Secretary of the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL), for instance, in a letter to David Blunkett has said: ‘it was disturbing to hear of your suggestions that the educational needs of young asylum seekers can be met by what sounds like a form of apartheid’.³⁰⁴ Gil Stainthorpe, ATL’s Equal Opportunities Coordinator, has furthermore argued that ‘the proposal is deeply flawed. Teaching children in accommodation centres will deny them the educational opportunities they would get in mainstream schools – in English language and across the curriculum...Educating non-English speakers in isolation simply pools ignorance. Children require good models of language in order to learn’.³⁰⁵ Perhaps the reaction of Bill Morris, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers’ Union, to the government’s proposals best illustrates the nature of the ongoing debate, thus:

We cannot preach a socially inclusive society on the one hand, and on the other hand argue that the children of asylum seekers should be educated in some sort of detention camps. The two do not mix.³⁰⁶

Significantly, David Blunkett off-the-cuff remarks were indirectly condoned by Downing Street, who merely clarified his comments as ‘reflecting a particular context’, rather than describing immigration as an issue.³⁰⁷ Against this background, a number of legislative measures reflecting similar assimilationist values are being presently considered by the government. Among them, both an immigration White Paper and an education Green Paper provide an insight into the new set of meanings that are being attributed to ESL education policy.

³⁰² ‘Row erupts over Blunkett’s ‘swamped’ Comment’, *The Guardian*, 24th April 2002 at:

<<http://politics.guardian.co.uk/homeaffairs/story/0,11026,689919,00.html>> (checked 9th June 2002).

³⁰³ See *Hansard, House of Commons, Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Bill*, (London: HMSO), 2002.

³⁰⁴ Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL), ‘ATL urges the Home Secretary to withdraw Segregation Clause from the Immigration and Asylum Bill’, 10th June 2002 at: <http://www.askatnl.org.uk/news/press_releases/pn100602.htm> (checked 12th June 2002).

³⁰⁵ ATL, ‘ATL urges the Home Secretary’.

³⁰⁶ A. Travis, ‘Charities and Union Leader attach Asylum Plans’, *The Guardian*, 11th June 2002, p. 10.

³⁰⁷ ‘Row erupts over Blunkett’s ‘swamped’ Comment’, *The Guardian*.

Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Great Britain White Paper 2001

This Consultation Document considers the British government's latest approach to immigration policy.³⁰⁸ It consequently deals with a variety of immigration issues including the UK and EU labour markets, trafficking of people, fraud, border controls and marriage and family visits. A key aspect of the White Paper is its treatment of the question of British nationality and its relationship with the English language, which are deemed inseparable. Not only is a British identity understood to embody an English-speaking ideal, but any immigrant intending to become naturalised in Britain would be required to learn the English language. As the White Paper indicates:

Becoming British through registration or naturalisation is - or should be - a significant life event. It can be seen as an act of commitment to Britain and an important step in the process of achieving integration into our society. Yet, in spite of this, some applicants for naturalisation do not have much practical knowledge about British life or [English] language, possibly leaving them vulnerable and ill-equipped to take an active role in society. This can lead to social exclusion and may contribute to problems of polarisation between communities. We need a sense of civic identity and shared values; and knowledge of the English language...can undoubtedly support this objective.³⁰⁹

The government therefore considers essential that those peoples living permanently in the Britain should be able 'through adequate command of the [English] language and an appreciation of our democratic processes, to take their full place in society'.³¹⁰ In order to promote both the importance of an adequate command of English and an understanding of British society, the government intends to require applicants for naturalisation 'to demonstrate that they have achieved a certain standard [of English proficiency]'. The White Paper envisages that 'subject to certain limited exceptions, applicants would need to produce certificates showing that they have passed a test, if necessary after taking part in a suitable course'.³¹¹ Peter Wrench, Deputy Director General of the Immigration and Nationality Directorate at the Home Office, told the author that:

What the government is saying is that in the future we want people who are naturalising as British, becoming British, we want them to be able to have some knowledge of the

³⁰⁸ Home Office, *Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Great Britain*, (London: HMSO), 2001 at: <<http://www.official-documents.co.uk/document/cm53/5387/cm5387.pdf>> (checked 9th June 2002).

³⁰⁹ Home Office, *Secure Borders*, chp. 2, para. 2.11, cm. 5387, p. 32.

³¹⁰ Home Office, *Secure Borders*, chp. 2, para. 2.13, cm 5387, p. 32.

³¹¹ Home Office, *Secure Borders*, chp. 2, para. 2.14, cm 5387, p. 32.

English language. Not for its own sake; but, because that is the way into being able to feel a cohesive part of the society that they are wanting to join.³¹²

In welcoming the publication of the 'Secure Borders, Safe Haven' Paper, David Blunkett summed up the values underlying this document by stating that 'a nationality, immigration and asylum policy that secures...sustainable growth and social inclusion...are an essential part of our core principles'.³¹³

14-19: Extending Opportunities, Raising Standards Green Paper 2002

This education Green Paper describes the government's strategy for the modernisation of the Secondary school curriculum.³¹⁴ When introducing the Paper, Estelle Morris stated that 'no society can tolerate under-achievement...School must engage every young person. Social inclusion as well as economic prosperity remains a key objective of our 14-19 proposals'. She argued that if Britain is to match the needs of the 'global knowledge economy' it must be able to 'quickly respond to this demand for new skills', otherwise 'the damage to national economic performance will be considerable'.³¹⁵

In order to achieve this educational goal, the government has proposed a new structure for the National Curriculum at Key Stage 4, which establishes a criterion for mandatory subjects. Subjects should accordingly be compulsory at this stage only if they meet one of the two following overlapping conditions:

They provide an essential basis for progression, across all areas of learning and for keeping young people's options open; or they are essential for personal development, contributing to young people's spiritual, cultural, social and moral development as they begin to take their place in society and in the world of work.³¹⁶

Significantly, only English, Mathematics, Science and ICT are deemed to meet the first criterion of being essential for progression; consequently they would remain as a statutory requirement for all schools. In contrast, students would not be statutory obliged to study

³¹² Interview with Peter Wrench, Deputy Director General of the Immigration and Nationality Directorate at the Home Office, 14th March 2002.

³¹³ Home Office, *Secure Borders*, chp. 2, para. 2.14, cm. 5387, p. 32.

³¹⁴ DfES, *14-19: Extending the Opportunities, Raising Standards*, (London: HMSO), June 2002 at: <<http://www.dfes.gov.uk/14-19greenpaper/foreword.shtml>> (checked 9th June 2002).

³¹⁵ DfES, *14-19: Extending the Opportunities*, pp.1-2.

³¹⁶ DfES, *14-19: Extending the Opportunities*, ch. 3, para. 9, p.2.

either Modern Foreign Languages or Design and Technology.³¹⁷ The government believes that the study of Foreign Modern Languages, in particular, would be ‘too constraining’ and would not ‘preserve access to a broad and balanced curriculum for all’.³¹⁸ It has therefore suggested the introduction of a new statutory entitlement to access that would require schools to make the study of Modern Foreign Languages available but not obligatory. As the Green Paper indicates:

We would expect all schools to make Modern Foreign Languages, Design and Technology, the Arts and the Humanities available, but how schools provide such entitlement to access in these subjects is a matter for local decision.³¹⁹

While recognising that ‘the teaching of Modern Foreign Languages ‘needs to reflect the reality of the world in which we live’, the government explains the scale of ‘disapplication from Modern Foreign Languages at Key Stage 4 (36,000 pupils)’ by arguing that ‘for some young people aged 14-16, language learning presents serious problems’ which would be ameliorated by allowing them ‘to choose from a wider range of options’.³²⁰

The long-term implications of these proposals for the learning and teaching of Modern Foreign Languages in British schools have already been felt. A national survey of language tuition in schools conducted by the Association of Language Learning shows that nearly 30 percent of schools are planning to abandon the teaching of compulsory Modern Foreign Languages. Others plan to offer the subject for a token hour a week.³²¹ The survey, which included comprehensive and independent schools as well as specialist language colleges, found that more than 1,000 schools will drop Modern Foreign Languages as a compulsory subject at the level of 14 year-olds. The schools inspected have given two main reasons for such decision: on the one hand, the difficulty in attracting qualified staff to teach languages; and on the other hand, the fact that Language GCSEs are viewed as difficult subjects for some pupils, thus making it more unlikely that they will obtain high grades and thus contribute to enhance individual schools’ exam

³¹⁷ DfES, *14-19: Extending the Opportunities*, ch. 3, paras. 10 and 16, pp. 2-4.

³¹⁸ DfES, *14-19: Extending the Opportunities*, ch. 3, para. 16, pp. 3-4.

³¹⁹ DfES, *14-19: Extending the Opportunities*, ch. 3, para. 17, p. 4.

³²⁰ DfES, *14-19: Extending the Opportunities*, ch. 3, paras. 20 and 21, p. 4.

³²¹ R. Garner, ‘Schools ditch Language Learning’, *The Independent*, 25th May 2002, p. 1; and J. Henry and M. Shaw, ‘Schools jump gun in ditching Languages’, *The Times Education Supplement*, 24th May 2002, p. 1.

performance tables.³²² Terry Lamb, President of the Association of Language Learning, has warned that:

We are talking about getting on for half of the schools that are not independent or language colleges making it optional. I suspect there will be parental pressure in middle-class areas where people recognise languages will be a key skill for better jobs to continue to make it compulsory. In areas where languages are not particularly valued and parents don't travel abroad much, it will be decimated. It will become an elitist subject.³²³

Sir Trevor MacDonald, Chairman of the Nuffield Foundation's Language Team, has furthermore argued that the implementation of the Green Paper's proposals would be 'a retrograde step and a major setback to foreign language learning in this country'. He reasons that making the learning of languages optional would have 'a seriously damaging effect on national competitiveness and on the overall education levels of our children as they seek employment. The UK would fall even further behind our European and international competitors'.³²⁴ The present author has elsewhere pointed out that the government's approach to language education stands in stark contrast with the multicultural ideology prevailing in the EU, which celebrates linguistic diversity.³²⁵ Having designated the year 2001 as the European Year of Languages, the European Commission now recommends that all EU pupils should master at least two European languages in addition to their mother tongue by the end of compulsory education.³²⁶ Against this background, the Nuffield Foundation has concluded that the Green Paper proposals are not only 'wholly incompatible with the government's stated commitment to developing a coherent strategy for language learning from Primary school through to university and adult life'; but they are 'equally incompatible with a vision of a world-class education system'.³²⁷

On the whole, the significance of the Green Paper lies in the meanings it attributes to language education. As the Nuffield Foundation has put it: 'the government has sent out

³²² Garner, 'Schools ditch Language Teaching', p. 1

³²³ Garner, 'Schools ditch Language Teaching', p. 1.

³²⁴ Nuffield Foundation, 'Nuffield Languages Team Responds to the 14-19 Green Paper', 2002 at: <<http://www.nuffieldfoundation.org/languages/news/nw0000000202.asp>> (checked 9th June 2002).

³²⁵ C. Julios, 'Towards a European Language Policy' in M. Farrell, S. Fella and M. Newman (eds.), *European Integration in the 21st Century*, (London: Sage Publications), 2002, pp. 184-201.

³²⁶ European Commission, 'Council Resolution of 16th December 1997 on the Early Teaching of European Union Languages', *Official Journal of the European Union*, vol. 1, pp. 2-3, 1997; and EUROPA, 'Languages', 1999 at: <<http://www.europa.eu.int>> (checked 12th June 2002).

the message loud and clear to young people - and those who run their schools and teach in them - that language learning is a frill, an optional extra to education'.³²⁸ The learning of Modern Foreign Languages has been relegated to a secondary plane, and so have been the linguistic needs of Britain's multicultural school population. Instead, the academic requirements of an English-dominant school curriculum are being allowed to take their place. Both the White and Green Papers can ultimately be said to reflect the values of an emerging English-biased assimilationist ideology which is now challenging the previously established social integrationist ESL policy discourse.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has shown the way in which the meanings attributed to ESL education policy in Britain have changed over time. Drawing from an interpretive approach to policy analysis, the chapter has unveiled the development of this policy as being dominated by three distinctive discourse coalitions. Firstly, the period prior to the 1960s was characterised by a *laissez-faire* policy frame that took as a given the preservation of the dominant English language and Anglo-Saxon traditions. As a result, the educational needs of non-English-speaking pupils remained largely neglected. Secondly, during the 1970s and 1980s, as the number of immigrants increased and public perception of their deteriorating living conditions grew, British society's approach to ESL education began to change. Nationwide race-related incidents gave way to legislative measures that addressed the widespread racial disadvantage experienced by ethnic minorities. Consequently, a discourse of social integration based on the notion of equality of access came to replace the previous assimilationist frame. Finally, unprecedented influxes of illegal immigrants as well as refugees, in the late 1990s, have given way to deep-rooted anxieties about cultural and linguistic fragmentation. Such fears have been publicly articulated by an emerging assimilationist ideology, which places a premium on an English-speaking British ideal, and is slowly gaining ground in the public policy arena.

³²⁷ Nuffield Foundation, 'Nuffield Languages Team', p. 1.

³²⁸ Nuffield Foundation, 'Nuffield Languages Team', p. 1.

Chapter 5: Bilingual Education in the USA: A Judiciary-driven Policy

This chapter analyses the changing way in which bilingual education policy has been framed in the USA during the period from colonial times to the present day. Drawing from the interpretive approach to policy analysis, the chapter explores the multiplicity of meanings underlying bilingual policy, as well as the symbolic narratives through which they have been transmitted. Against the backdrop of the US judiciary, the chapter depicts the development of bilingual education as having been dominated by three distinctive policy discourses. Firstly, up to the 1960s, a *laissez-faire* ideology, which took for granted the safeguarding of the English-speaking Anglo-Saxon *status quo*, guaranteed that bilingual education was kept off the political agenda. Secondly, during the 1970s, a social integrationist discourse founded on the principle of equality of access succeeded, through community-based legal challenges, in re-framing bilingual education policy. Finally, from the 1980s onwards, growing fears of cultural and linguistic disintegration due to increased immigration have seen the realm of public policy dominated by an English-biased assimilationist discourse.

5.1 A Discourse of *Laissez-faire*: We, the English-speaking People

The development of bilingual education policy in the United States has been intrinsically linked with migration into the country. As the presence of non-English-speaking students in the classroom progressively grew, addressing their educational requirements became unavoidable.³²⁹ Kloss, who has traced the origins of second language education in the USA to the colonial era, points out that German-English schooling was authorised by law in several states and flourished unofficially elsewhere. Other European tongues were also taught, on their own or in conjunction with English, in response to pressure from immigrant communities.³³⁰ As Crawford has indicated, bilingual education in the USA

³²⁹ M. P. Cavanaugh, 'History of Teaching English as a Second Language', *English Journal*, vol. 85, no. 8, 1996, pp. 40-44.

³³⁰ See H. Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*, (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House), 1977.

is by no means a recent invention.³³¹ Despite the fact that the peoples inhabiting this vast country have never been monolingual, the United States did not develop a federal bilingual education policy until the second half of the twentieth century. This lack of an officially sanctioned language policy or of any public institution specifically devoted to language issues is rather remarkable for a nation of its size and linguistic heritage. Ricento reminds us that 'the United States has never had an official language nor a language academy'.³³² To this day, English remains the *de facto*, as opposed to the *de jure*, national language.³³³

In tune with the British experience, the reason behind such lack of a 'comprehensive language policy' for over one hundred years is to be found in a prevailing *laissez-faire* public discourse.³³⁴ The latter is characterised by a taken-for-granted attitude towards the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon culture and its English language and a disregard of minority ethnic cultures and languages. As Chapter 2 indicated, during the Independence period, an enduring single hegemonic American ideal was created. The notion of 'We, The People', one of the foundations of the federal state, was supposed to epitomise the whole of the American nation. Cohen has long argued that such an ideal, in reality, only represented the powerful select few who had formulated it.³³⁵ The original English colonists in the United States had produced a social order moulded in their own national, political, cultural, religious and linguistic experience. As a result, the ideology of Americanisation that emerged encapsulated the values cherished by the dominant English-speaking white Anglo-Saxon protestant elite. Their *laissez-faire* discourse thus pervaded all the institutions and symbols upon which the American nation had been built. It was furthermore strong enough for the many immigrant communities, subsequently entering the country, to assert a collective American citizenship. In spite of the multicultural and multilingual nature of the US population, successive generations of immigrants have invariably become transformed into English-speaking American citizens. The English language has played a prominent nationalistic role in this process of acculturation. Would-be US citizens have been largely expected to learn the English

³³¹ J. Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties*, p. 10.

³³² T. Ricento, 'Language Policy in the United States' in M. Herriman and B. Burnaby (eds.), *Language Policies in English-Dominant Countries: Six Case Studies*, (Clevendon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 1996, pp. 122-158.

³³³ B. Piatt, *English Only? Law and Language Policy in the United States*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 1990, p. 3.

³³⁴ Ricento, 'Language Policy in the United States', p. 128.

³³⁵ See Cohen, *Frontiers of Identity*.

language and become integrated into the American way of life. While their many ethnic tongues survived at home, in community and church settings, there has been no serious competition for the supremacy of the English language. As Zentella has pointed out, by the time third generation US-born immigrants are old enough to communicate orally, a language shift into English has invariably occurred.³³⁶ In addition, the US education system perpetuates the newcomers' cultural and linguistic assimilation, by devising a school curriculum, which promotes the English language as well as US Anglo-Saxon values. Against this background, before the 1960s, the problem of bilingual education largely avoided the public political agenda. Without significant demands for bilingual services, 'the language of government' was certainly not at issue.³³⁷

This period of time between the colonial days and the 1960s can be described as a *laissez-faire* phase, mainly characterised by the preservation of the *status quo*. As Crawford has indicated, Americans have had relatively limited experience with conflicts over language. For most of the country's history, the hegemony of the English language had seemed self-evident; seldom did anyone perceived a threat from other languages.³³⁸ The US government consequently did not see the need to either enact legislation protecting language rights or to make English the official language of the country. The federal government thus adopted a 'no policy' on language, explicitly defined and national in scope.³³⁹ During this time, ethnic linguistic minorities entering the USA were largely expected to abide by the official view on bilingual education policy. Not surprisingly the impact of bilingual education in the political agenda was negligible. As Yanow would argue, the fact that bilingual education was broadly believed to be a non-issue conveys a message about the prevailing *laissez-faire* ideology behind such perception.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ Interview with Ana Celia Zentella, 9th October 1997.

³³⁷ Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties*, p. 9.

³³⁸ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 1.

³³⁹ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 1; see also Kirp, *Doing Good by Doing Little: Race and Schooling in Britain*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), 1979.

³⁴⁰ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 9.

5.2 A Discourse of Social Integration: Ethnic Minorities' Language Rights

The established *laissez-faire* discourse was based on the so-called doctrine of 'separate but equal', whereby racial segregation was believed to be compatible with American democracy.³⁴¹ Laws, official customs and practices had long segregated American citizens in public places, schools, restaurants, residencies, recreational facilities and the likes. By the mid-1950s, nearly half of the states in the nation had laws that assigned children to public schools solely on the basis of their race.³⁴² This publicly sanctioned ghettoisation translated into the non-white community experiencing widespread educational disadvantage. In the late-1950s though, a shift in public attitudes began to take place; with the publication of the *Ashmore Report*, in 1954, inaugurating this process.³⁴³ The *Ashmore Report* brought into the open the plight of America's coloured citizens, by painting a frank portrayal of the adverse conditions reining in all-black schools across the country, compared with the rather different ones existing in all-white establishments. Significantly, this document identified segregation as the root of unequal educational opportunities.³⁴⁴

Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka in 1954

Two days after the *Ashmore Report* was published, the Supreme Court adopted a landmark anti-discrimination decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*.³⁴⁵ In Kansas, where the *Brown* case originated, state law permitted Topeka to segregate elementary school children by race. This lawsuit was initiated by African-American parents, suing for the right to an integrated education for their children. Their legal action dealt with racial discrimination as a basis for educational inequality. Brown, the leading plaintiff, complained, among other things, about the lack of safety, which resulted from bussing his daughter Linda to a 'coloured school' some 21 blocks away, as opposed to sending her to the neighbourhood school, only seven blocks away from his home.³⁴⁶ The

³⁴¹ See S. K. Bailey, *Prejudice and Pride: the Brown Decision After Twenty-Five Years, May 17th 1954 - May 17th 1979, Report from the US National Academy of Education*, (Washington, D.C.: US Department of Health, Education and Welfare), 1979.

³⁴² Bailey, *Prejudice and Pride*, p. 6.

³⁴³ See H. Ashmore, *The Negro and The Schools*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1954.

³⁴⁴ See Ashmore, *The Negro and The Schools*.

³⁴⁵ US Supreme Court, *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, (Washington, D.C.: US Supreme Court), 1954, 347 US 483, 74 s. ct. 686.

³⁴⁶ Bailey, *Prejudice and Pride*, p. 7.

Brown vs. Board of Education case was ultimately an attack on racial separateness. When the lawsuit reached the Supreme Court, appended to it was a document called 'The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation: A Social Science Statement', signed by thirty-two prominent social scientists. It summarised what was known about the adverse effects of statutory racial segregation on minority children. Segregation was explicitly defined as, 'that restriction of opportunities for different types of associations between the members of one racial, religious, national or geographical origin, or linguistic group and those of other groups, which results from or is supported by the action of any official body or agency representing some branch of government'.³⁴⁷ Within this context, Chief Justice Warren wrote:

Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprive children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe it does. We conclude that in the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.³⁴⁸

This Supreme Court decision was based on the belief that separate and segregated facilities provided for non-white US citizens were not, in fact, equal. On the contrary, existing patterns of segregation were no more than a manifestation of prejudice pervading North American society. By setting coloured students apart from the white majority, the latter were both discriminated against as well as rendered academically disadvantaged. Regardless of the existence of equality of facilities, racial segregation was inherently discriminatory. The Supreme Court recognised that intentional segregation amounted to an official caste system that ghettoised coloured citizens.³⁴⁹ While the removal of school segregation would not necessarily abate racial prejudice, ethnic minority pupils would at least not be deprived of the opportunity to access society's services on their own merits. As Bailey has put it, 'what the lawyers and justices associated with the *Brown* decision actually demanded was that race should be an irrelevant issue in all public policy – including educational policy'.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁷ Bailey, *Prejudice and Pride*, p. 7.

³⁴⁸ US Supreme Court, *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 US 483, 74 s. ct. 686.

³⁴⁹ Bailey, *Prejudice and Pride*, p. 6.

³⁵⁰ Bailey, *Prejudice and Pride*, p. 6.

Following the *Brown* ruling, states courts throughout the country began to recognise that racial segregation did inherently promote inequality.³⁵¹ Faced with evidence that school authorities consistently made decisions regarding, among others, attendance areas, faculty assignment and grade structure in ways that would racially separate children, these courts eventually decided that desegregation was required.³⁵² In turn, Congress came to view the *Brown* decision in the same light, with the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* including the following definition: ‘desegregation means the assignment of students to public schools, and within such schools without regard to their race, colour, religion, or national origin’.³⁵³ Its overall goal was to assure every American of equal treatment before the law, regardless of race or ancestry. Within the context of bilingual education, the *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruling signalled the beginning of a process of policy reframing, which would culminate with the replacement of the prevailing *laissez-faire* discourse with a social integrationist perspective. The first step in this transformation had seen the government’s long-held views on schooling practices being challenged. Both the African-American community as well as the country’s judiciary had understood the ideology of ‘separate but equal’ to be discriminatory. Moreover, as integrated education became a reality across the country, the educational needs of non-English-speaking children would soon cease to be considered a non-issue. By the late 1960s, bilingual education had already become a civil rights concern.³⁵⁴ When the *Bilingual Education Act of 1968* was eventually passed, the academic underachievement of Limited English Proficient (LEP) students was a matter of public debate throughout the United States.³⁵⁵

Bilingual Education Act (BEA) of 1968

The Federal Government’s first attempt to deal comprehensively with the educational needs of non-English-speaking students was the *Bilingual Education Act of 1968*.³⁵⁶ The original purpose of this piece of legislation was to address the learning requirements of Mexican-American children in the Southwest who had either been segregated in inferior

³⁵¹ Bailey, *Prejudice and Pride*, p.7.

³⁵² Bailey, *Prejudice and Pride*, p.8.

³⁵³ Bailey, *Prejudice and Pride*, p. 7.

³⁵⁴ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 91.

³⁵⁵ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 84.

³⁵⁶ The *Bilingual Education Act of 1968* derived from an earlier *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965*, which it amended and extended. See U.S.C. (United States Congress), *Bilingual Education Act, Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965*, as amended in 1967, Public Law 90-247, appx. A, sect. 702, stat. 816, 2nd January 1968.

schools or placed in English-only classes.³⁵⁷ Senator Yargorough, a Texan populist, introduced the legislation in an attempt to break what he saw as a cycle of injustice. As Crawford has explained, 'war and annexation had reduced Spanish speakers to a powerless minority, which in turn encouraged their economic exploitation, perpetuated by the educational neglect of their children in English-only classrooms'.³⁵⁸ Senator Yargorough had conceived bilingual education as a special entitlement for Spanish-speaking Mexican-Americans, rather than a programme to cater generally for ethnic linguistic minorities. In the event, the legislation went on to acknowledge the country's rich cultural diversity, and consequently it addressed the scholastic needs of all its ethnic communities, thus:

In recognition of the special educational needs of the large numbers of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States, Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programmes designed to meet these special needs.³⁵⁹

Title VII of the Act introduced a standard 'Bilingual Education Programme' as one designed to cater for the educational requirements of 3 to 18 year olds whose first language is not English.³⁶⁰ The main aim of this second language programme was to allow non-English-speaking children to 'develop greater competence in English, to become more proficient in the use of two languages and to profit from increased educational opportunity'.³⁶¹ Although Title VII clearly affirmed the importance of English, it also recognised the relevance of mother tongue teaching, hence it stated:

A child's mother tongue which is other than English can have a beneficial effect upon his education. The mother tongue, used as the medium of instruction before the child's command of English is sufficient to carry the whole load of his education, can help to prevent retardation in school performance. The literacy thus achieved in the non-English tongue, if further developed, should result in a more liberally educated adult.³⁶²

³⁵⁷ J. J. Lyons, 'Secretary Bennett versus Equal Opportunity' in Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties*, pp. 363-366.

³⁵⁸ Crawford, *Hold Your Tongue*, p. 75.

³⁵⁹ U.S.C., *Bilingual Education Act* quoted in T. Anderson and M. Boyer, *Bilingual Education Learning in the United States*, vol. 2, (Austin, Texas: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory), January 1970, appxs., p. 1.

³⁶⁰ U.S.C., *Bilingual Education Act* quoted in Anderson and Boyer, *Bilingual Education Learning in the United States*, p. 8.

³⁶¹ U.S.C., *Bilingual Education Act*, quoted in Anderson and Boyer, *Bilingual Education Learning in the United States*, p. 8.

³⁶² U.S.C., *Bilingual Education Act*, quoted in Anderson and Boyer, *Bilingual Education Learning in the United States*, p. 8.

The Act went as far as to define bilingual education as instruction in two languages and the use of those two languages as mediums of instruction for any part or the entire school curriculum. Study of the history and culture associated with a student's mother tongue was ultimately considered an integral part of bilingual programmes.³⁶³ The government's endorsement of the Act can be said to signify an ideological shift, away from the prevailing *laissez-faire* ideology and towards a more equitable social integrationist perspective. As Yanow would argue, the values embedded in the *Bilingual Education Act of 1968* ultimately reflect the way in which federal policy-makers made sense of bilingual education policy at the time.³⁶⁴ Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the debate over bilingual education continued to move further in the direction of language rights and equal opportunities. It became, in the words of Crawford, a clash of attitudes: 'nativist bias versus tolerance toward newcomers, Anglo-conformity versus an appreciation of diversity'.³⁶⁵

Lau vs. Nichols in 1974

Twenty years after the *Brown vs. Board of Education* case, another community-based lawsuit was to strengthen the government's re-interpretation of bilingual education as an equal opportunities issue. The so-called *Lau vs. Nichols of 1974* was a class-action suit initiated by the parents of nearly 2000 Chinese students in the 16,500-pupil San Francisco public school system. Approximately one-third of all the Chinese students received supplemental instruction in the English language; the remainder received no special tuition.³⁶⁶ The legal challenge was initiated by Lau, a Chinese student and his guardians, on behalf of 1,800 children of non-English-speaking ability. They litigated against Nichols, Chancellor of the San Francisco Public Schools, for the purpose of 'seeking relief against alleged unequal education opportunities resulting from the officials' failure to establish a programme to rectify the students' language problem'.³⁶⁷ The plaintiffs argued that the inability of the San Francisco Unified School District officials to remedy

³⁶³ See U.S.C., *Bilingual Education Act*, 1968.

³⁶⁴ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. ix.

³⁶⁵ Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties*, p. 87.

³⁶⁶ J. J. Lyons, 'The Past and Future Directions of Federal Bilingual-Education Policy' in O. Garcia and C. Baker (eds.), *Policy and Practice in Bilingual Education: Extending the Foundations*, (Clevendon, PA: Multilingual Matters), 1995, p. 4.

³⁶⁷ *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 US 563, 1974 quoted in I. Santiago, *A Community's Struggle for Equal Educational Opportunity: ASPIRA v. Board of Education*, (Princeton, NJ: Office for Minority Education Testing Service), 1978, p. 55.

existing inequality of opportunity violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the *US Constitution* as well as Title VI of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*.³⁶⁸ The petitioners asked that the Board of Education be directed to apply its expertise to the problem and rectify the situation.³⁶⁹ The case was first argued before the District Court of California. The lower court in San Francisco was very sympathetic but unresponsive. *Lau v. Nichols* was then appealed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, which affirmed the decision of the lower court. Finding 'no violation' either of the *US Constitution* or Title VI of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*, the Court stated:

Every student brings to the starting line of his educational career different advantages and disadvantages caused in part by social, economic and cultural background, created and continued completely apart from any contribution by the school system.³⁷⁰

The lower federal court thus went on to absolve the San Francisco School District of any responsibility for ethnic minority children's 'language deficiency'.³⁷¹ The case was finally appealed to the US Supreme Court, which unanimously disagreed. In reversing the judgement of the Ninth Circuit Court, the US Supreme Court found that English-only instruction to non-English-speaking public school students in San Francisco was a violation of Title VI of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*. The basis of the Court's ruling rested on the understanding that these children's deficiency in English had prevented them from meaningful participation in the education programmes offered by their School District. It was consequently deemed that, by merely treating all students the same, school administrators had not met their obligations to provide equal educational opportunities. On the contrary, they had neglected their responsibility to offer special help to those pupils unable to understand English. In delivering the decision, on 21st January 1974, Justice Douglas stated:

It seems obvious that the Chinese-speaking minority receives fewer benefits than the English-speaking majority from the respondents' school system, which denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the educational program.³⁷²

³⁶⁸ The Fourteenth Amendment to the *US Constitution* states that 'no state shall...deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws', while Title VI of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* bans discrimination based 'on the grounds of race, colour, or national origin' in 'any programme or activity receiving federal financial assistance' in R. Maidment and A. McGrew, *The American Political Process*, (London: Sage), 1986, p. 201; and Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties*, p. 253.

³⁶⁹ Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties*, p. 252.

³⁷⁰ *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 US 563, 1974, p. 797 quoted in Santiago, *A Community's Struggle*, p. 55.

³⁷¹ Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties*, p. 252.

³⁷² *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 US 563, 1974, p. 568 quoted in Santiago, *A Community's Struggle*, p. 55.

In short, it was recognised that when children arrived at school with little or no English-speaking ability, 'sink or swim' instruction was a violation of their civil rights. There was no such a thing as equality of treatment simply by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers and curriculum. For pupils who did not understand English were effectively precluded from attaining any meaningful education.³⁷³ As the US Supreme Court Justice indicated, 'basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational programme he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education'.³⁷⁴ The US Supreme Court however, stopped short of decreeing the official provision of bilingual programmes, thus leaving the door open to other pedagogical treatments for LEP students. As Justice Douglas indicated:

No specific remedy is urged upon us. Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak the language is one choice. Giving instructions to this group in Chinese is another. There may be others. Petitioner asks only that the Board of Education be directed to apply its expertise to the problem and rectify the situation.³⁷⁵

The US Office of Education interpreted this decision as the remedy of choice whenever a school district was found to be violating the civil rights of LEP students.³⁷⁶ As a result, *Lau vs. Nichols* soon became a mandate for bilingual education in the country. In the aftermath of the ruling, the Office of Civil Rights convened a group of experts to recommend approaches for implementing the Supreme Court's decision. The ensuing Lau Remedies outlined the necessary procedures districts should follow to be in compliance with the Court's decision including programme selection, identification of students' primary language, personnel requirements, parental notification and evaluation.³⁷⁷ Enforcement of these measures from 1975 to 1981 saw bilingual education imposed in nearly 500 school districts nation-wide through consent agreements known as Lau Plans.³⁷⁸ For the first time, large numbers of school districts were compelled to pay attention to their Limited English Proficient (LEP) students and to effectively address

³⁷³ Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties*, p. 253.

³⁷⁴ *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 US 563, 1974, p. 568 quoted in Santiago, *A Community's Struggle*, p. 56.

³⁷⁵ *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 US 563, 1974, p. 563 quoted in Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 93.

³⁷⁶ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 93.

³⁷⁷ R. R. Fernandez, 'Legislation, Regulation, and Litigation: the Origins and Evolution of Public Policy on Bilingual Education in the United States' in W. A. Van Horne (ed.), *Ethnicity and Language*, (Milwaukee: the University of Wisconsin), 1987, pp. 90-123.

³⁷⁸ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 93.

these children's educational needs. As Crawford has pointed out, before the mid-1970s few had done either of these things.³⁷⁹

The *Lau vs. Nichols* ruling set a major legal precedent on language rights in the USA, whereby the Federal government was obliged to provide adequate language programmes to safeguard fundamental civil rights.³⁸⁰ By successfully defending the language rights of non-English-speaking minorities, the *Lau vs. Nichols* decision consolidated the government's re-framing of bilingual education policy as an equal opportunities matter. The main architects of such an ideological transformation had been none other than the linguistic ethnic minorities themselves. Together with the judiciary, they have managed to find common ground in a shared understanding of bilingual policy. As Castellanos has put it: 'in a nation noted for its respect for law and order, American minorities were turning to the courts in their attempt to leave a more hopeful legacy for their children than they themselves had inherited from their forebears'.³⁸¹

Bilingual Education Act of 1974

The fact that Congress re-authorised and substantially revised the *Bilingual Education Act of 1968* illustrates the prominence that bilingual education policy had acquired by the mid-1970s. The new amended *Bilingual Education Act of 1974* expanded the previous programme by approving, among others, new grants for training and technical assistance for state educational agencies. It also established a National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE) for the collection, analysis and dissemination of information on bilingual programmes. In accordance with the now prevailing social integrationist discourse, the Act furthermore recognised three basic educational facts previously overlooked: firstly, the existence of 'large numbers of children of limited English-speaking ability' nation-wide; secondly, that such children 'have educational needs which can be met by the use of bilingual educational methods and techniques'; and thirdly, that 'a primary means by which a child learns is through the use of such child's language and

³⁷⁹ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 93.

³⁸⁰ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 92.

³⁸¹ D. Castellanos and P. Leggio, *The Best of Two Worlds: Bilingual-Bicultural Education in the US*, (Trenton, NJ: New Jersey State Department for Education), 1983, p. 117.

cultural heritage'.³⁸² Against this background, the *Bilingual Education Act of 1974* was instituted to provide equality of opportunities for all, thus:

Congress declares it to be the policy of the United States, in order to establish equal educational opportunity for all children, to encourage the establishment of an operation, where appropriate, of educational programmes using bilingual educational practices, techniques and methods; and for that purpose, to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies and to State educational agencies for certain purposes, in order to enable such local educational agencies to develop and carry out such programmes in elementary and secondary schools, including activities at the pre-school level, which are designed to meet the educational needs of such children; and to demonstrate effective ways of providing, for children of limited English-speaking ability, instruction designed to enable them, while using their native language, to achieve competence in the English language.³⁸³

Accordingly, the term 'programme of bilingual education' referred to bilingual tuition designed to cater for 'children of limited English-speaking ability in Elementary or Secondary schools'.³⁸⁴ The use of these students' native languages was only to be allowed in so far as it contributed to pupils' progress in English.³⁸⁵ Although upholding LEP students' language rights, the *Bilingual Education Act of 1974* clearly reinforced the compensatory nature of bilingual education policy. The *Lau* decision had clearly not given LEP students the right to learn their own language, but only the right to learn English. Empowered with such a newly acquired entitlement, ethnic linguistic communities across the country made their voices heard. During the 1970s several school districts became the target of lawsuits by parents, who argued that failure to address their LEP students' language needs meant failure to provide them with equal opportunities to learn.³⁸⁶ One of such legal actions, the so-called *ASPIRA vs. Board of Education*, involved the Hispanic community in New York City.

ASPIRA vs. Board of Education of New York City 1974

Following the *Lau vs. Nichols* decision, the *ASPIRA vs. Board of Education* lawsuit grappled with similar issues relating to the education of children of limited English-

³⁸² U.S.C., *United States Statutes at Large 1974*, containing the laws and concurrent resolutions enacted during the second session of the 93rd Congress of the United States of America 1974 and proclamations, vol. 88, part 1, Public Laws 93-246 through 93-446, (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office), 1976, Title VII: 'Bilingual Education Act', stat. 88, sec. 702 (a) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5), pp. 503-504.

³⁸³ U.S.C., *United States Statutes at Large 1974*, stat. 88, sec. 702 (a), pp. 503-504.

³⁸⁴ U.S.C., *United States Statutes at Large 1974*, stat. 88, sec. 703 (a) (4), p. 504.

³⁸⁵ U.S.C., *United States Statutes at Large 1974*, stat. 88, sec. 703 (a) (4), pp. 504-505.

³⁸⁶ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 91.

speaking ability. On the 20th September 1972, ASPIRA, a Puerto Rican community organisation, filed suit against the Board of Education of New York City. ASPIRA claimed that 182,000 Puerto Rican children of limited or non-English-speaking ability, enrolled in New York City schools, had been denied the right to equal educational opportunities.³⁸⁷ The discrimination experienced by these children was alleged to have been a function of both their ethnic origin as well as their lack of English-language skills. The complaint filed with the court by ASPIRA maintained that:

Plaintiffs and the members of the class they represent are Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking persons who speak English poorly or not at all. They are linguistically, culturally and historically different from the dominant culture in New York City. Yet the defendants have failed to recognise these differences in designing and implementing educational services and courses of study for plaintiffs. Specifically, they have failed to take into account the plaintiffs' inability to speak and understand English, and learn in classes conducted in the English language. Moreover, the defendants have not effectively taught the plaintiffs and their classes the English language. The failures of the defendant's public officials have been catastrophic. The rates of illiteracy, dropout and truancy in public schools for plaintiffs and their classes are shocking.³⁸⁸

The Puerto Rican Legal Defence and Education Fund (PRLDEF), attorneys for the plaintiffs, contended that children of limited or no English-speaking ability were precluded from fully participating in the learning process, because they were not able to understand either their teachers or the classroom texts. In accordance with the *Lau* case, the *ASPIRA* suit claimed that non-English-speaking children had been both denied equal educational opportunities, as well as having had their civil rights violated. For it was argued that the Board of Education of New York City and its administrators had infringed Title VI of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* together with the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the *US Constitution*.³⁸⁹ The PRLDEF thus claimed that the Board of Education had failed to provide any adequate pedagogical programmes or services to meet these children's special linguistic needs. Consequently, ASPIRA petitioned the United States District Court to order the New York City Board of Education to provide bilingual programmes for all children in need of them.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁷ Santiago, *A Community's Struggle*, p. 6.

³⁸⁸ US District Court, Southern District of New York (SDNY), *ASPIRA of New York Inc. vs. Board of Education of the City of New York*, 72 civ. 4002 SDNY, (New York: SDNY), 1974 quoted in Santiago, *A Community's Struggle*, p. 50.

³⁸⁹ Santiago, *A Community's Struggle*, p. 50.

³⁹⁰ Santiago, *A Community's Struggle*, p. 6.

The *ASPIRA vs. Board of Education* case turned out to be a lengthy and hard fought lawsuit. One in which the New York City Board of Education attempted to have the claim dismissed, while ASPIRA spent a considerable amount of time and resources gathering evidence to the contrary. On January 1973, US District Judge Frankel denied the Board's motion to dismiss the case on the grounds that the questions presented to the court were of 'evident gravity and complexity'.³⁹¹ During the time the *ASPIRA vs. Board of Education* trial was in progress, the *Lau vs. Nichols* case in California had reached the US Supreme Court. Recognising the similarity of the questions and issues raised by both *Lau* and *ASPIRA*, the Judge delayed litigation until a decision had been reached in the *Lau vs. Nichols* lawsuit. In the event, the unanimous ruling of the US Supreme Court in favour of *Lau* had a direct impact on the *ASPIRA vs. Board of Education* case.

Although the eventual ruling provided legal protection for the language rights of non-English-speaking minorities, the Supreme Court's decision left many problems relating to the actual delivery of bilingual programmes unanswered. Among others, matters such as classification and assessment of LEP students, qualification and training of bilingual teachers, as well as evaluation and funding of bilingual programmes remained unsolved. Months of negotiations between ASPIRA and the Board of Education followed, in which both parties tried to agree on the best way to deliver bilingual education services. In April 1974, Judge Frankel ordered them to develop separate plans for the provision of bilingual education to LEP students. Upon receipt of the latter and after reviewing the legal issues involved, the Judge concluded that there was sufficient ground for mutual agreement, and asked both parties to produce jointly a consent agreement.³⁹² On the 2nd August 1974, they finally signed the so-called *ASPIRA vs. Board of Education Consent Decree*. This document established a responsibility on the part of the Board of Education to: a), design and implement 'an improved method for accurately and systematically identifying and classifying children who are Spanish speaking or Spanish surnamed'; b), 'to provide all children attending public schools, both English-speaking and non-English-speaking children, with programmes in which they can effectively participate and learn'; c), to promulgate a policy of 'minimum educational standards' to all districts and high schools in the New York City school system; and d), to apply 'maximum feasible efforts

³⁹¹ US District Court, SDNY, *ASPIRA of New York Inc. vs. Board of Education of the City of New York*, 58 FRD 62 SDNY, (New York: SDNY), 1974 quoted in Santiago, *A Community's Struggle*, p. 53.

³⁹² Santiago, *A Community's Struggle*, p. 65.

to obtain and expend the funds required to implement' bilingual education.³⁹³ The basic biligual programme proposed by the *Consent Decree* comprised tuition both in English as well as support for LEP children's Spanish language skills. This dual objective was to be achieved through an educational strategy involving: firstly, the development of 'the child's ability to speak, understand, read and write the English language'; secondly, 'instruction in substantive courses in Spanish (e.g. courses in mathematics, science and social studies); and finally, reinforcement of 'the child's use of Spanish'.³⁹⁴ The *Consent Decree's* overriding concern was therefore to provide both equal educational opportunity as well as the highest quality of instructional programmes. In a memorandum accompanying the court order, Judge Frankel indicated:

The result appears to be a meaningful and hope-inspiring decree. There are problems still to be solved. There remain subjects of potential disputes in the future. But the main lines seem clear enough. And, most importantly, the court ventures to predict that the spirit of collaborative building that helped to bring us here should prove a vital force later on in meeting the further challenges we may face.³⁹⁵

He certainly considered the *Consent Decree* to be the result of 'a painstaking course of skilled, imaginative and high-minded endeavours'.³⁹⁶ Judge Frankel added that in the last critical months of negotiations, there had been 'an impressive display of constructive and creating lawyering'.³⁹⁷ In line with the Judge's positive remarks, Chancellor Anker, of the New York Central Board of Education, stressed that in entering into a consent agreement with ASPIRA, they were 'launching a major effort to implement further fundamental Board policy that every opportunity should be offered for all children in the city's public schools to be successful in learning'.³⁹⁸ He went on to say that 'we have an agreement we are happy with and we look forward to continue harmonious relationships with ASPIRA in behalf of our young people'.³⁹⁹ While the two main players in the *ASPIRA vs. Board of Education of New York City* case had found common ideological ground, their position was not universally endorsed. An array of different reactions to the newly established bilingual education programmes appeared in the press. The Spanish-

³⁹³ US District Court, SDNY, *ASPIRA of New York Inc. vs. Board of Education of the City of New York*, 72 civ. 4002 (MEF), (New York: SDNY), 29th August 1974, pp. 2-10.

³⁹⁴ US District Court, SDNY, *ASPIRA of New York Inc. vs. Board of Education of the City of New York*, p. 4.

³⁹⁵ US District Court, SDNY, *ASPIRA of New York Inc. vs. Board of Education of the City of New York*, pp. 7-8.

³⁹⁶ US District Court, SDNY, *ASPIRA of New York Inc. vs. Board of Education of the City of New York*, p. 6.

³⁹⁷ US District Court, SDNY, *ASPIRA of New York Inc. vs. Board of Education of the City of New York*, p. 7.

³⁹⁸ New York City Board of Education (NCBOE) News Bureau, *Press Release no. N-13-1974/75*, (New York: Office of Public Affairs), 29th August 1974, pp. 1-2.

speaking newspaper *El Diario*, for instance, hailed the court's decision as 'a victory for bilingual education'.⁴⁰⁰ The *New York Daily News*, on the other hand, viewed the *Consent Decree* as a 'bilingual headache', which the Board of Education had brought upon itself for failing to make a strong enough case for the provision of English-only instructional programmes.⁴⁰¹ In contrast, the *New York Times* saw bilingual education as a matter of being 'dragged into progress'.⁴⁰² In spite of such diverse responses to this educational phenomenon, bilingual programmes ultimately became institutionalised. Crawford has explained how in the process of doing so, bilingual education followed the course of many social reforms of the 1960s. As he puts it, bilingual education was 'conceived as an innovative approach to a social problem, it was taken up as a demand by ethnic militants and parents' organisations, supported by federal funds, and accepted by a corps of experts, lawyers and bureaucrats'.⁴⁰³ Just as the *Lau vs. Nichols* ruling had done earlier, the *ASPIRA vs. Board of Education Consent Decree* came to inform the officially sanctioned bilingual policy. In accordance with Federal guidelines, hundreds of school districts nation-wide now adopted bilingual education programmes. Hajer would argue that both 'discourse structuration' and 'discourse institutionalisation' had therefore taken place.⁴⁰⁴ After successfully reframing bilingual education in terms of equality, the social integrationist discourse had finally come to dominate the realm of public policy.

5.3 A Discourse of Assimilation: English Only or English Plus?

At a press conference called by New York City's Board of Education in 1974 to announce the signing of the *ASPIRA vs. Board of Education Consent Decree*, Chancellor Anker expressed concerns about the dangers inherent in bilingual education policy. He conceded that bilingual education was a necessity for Spanish-speaking students with 'discomfort' in English, but warned that 'many people...believe that bilingualism could become a source of divisiveness'.⁴⁰⁵ From the moment bilingual education became a policy mandate; opposition to the very same policy had also been born. Crawford

³⁹⁹ NCBOE News Bureau, *Press Release no. N-13-1974/75*, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁰ See *El Diario* ('*The Daily*'), 4th September 1974.

⁴⁰¹ See *New York Daily News*, 6th January 1975.

⁴⁰² See *New York Times*, 2nd September 1974.

⁴⁰³ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 96.

⁴⁰⁴ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', p. 46.

⁴⁰⁵ Chancellor Irving Anker speaking at the NYCBOE on 29th August 1974 in Santiago, *A Community's Struggle*, p. 67.

reminds us that 'prescriptiveness breeds resistance'.⁴⁰⁶ Bilingual education policy might well have remained a marginal experiment had it not been imposed on school districts nationwide via the Lau Remedies, court orders and federal guidelines. Instead, as Chancellor Anker had warned, it ultimately became a point of conflict between Federal authorities and local School Boards.

Bilingual education policy was left open to criticism on two fronts. On the one hand, the legitimacy of second language education as a civil rights issue was questioned. In so far as bilingual education had become the domain of teachers, educationalists and professionals, its significance as a community concern and a social movement diminished. As a result, attention turned to the actual effectiveness of bilingual programmes, which were increasingly viewed with scepticism. Government agencies, educational bodies and school districts have certainly done little to explain the pedagogical basis of bilingual education to outsiders, particularly parents, many of whom were new to the USA and had no memory of earlier struggles for bilingual education. The broader public, which had never been clear about the rationale of native language instruction, grew increasingly wary of its results.⁴⁰⁷ On the other hand, as bilingual education became standardised and the numbers of linguistic ethnic minority students kept on rising, nationwide deep-seated fears regarding the prospect of cultural and linguistic fragmentation surfaced. The social integrationist discourse, which had dominated the previous decade, came therefore under threat by an assimilationist ideology of linguistic nationalism. From the 1980s onwards, this assimilationist discourse has successfully transformed the issue of bilingual education policy into a legal struggle for the survival of English as the USA's official language.

The Official English Movement

During the 1960s unprecedented mass migrations from Asia and Latin America into the USA had already raised fears of cultural and linguistic fragmentation. In particular, these ethnic groups' continuous maintenance of their linguistic and cultural traditions had been widely perceived as either inability or unwillingness to assimilate into the US society.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁶ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, pp. 93-94.

⁴⁰⁷ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 96.

⁴⁰⁸ For a historical view of the development of nativist groups in the United States see B. Piatt, *English Only?*

Throughout the 1970s, the development of bilingual education policy was therefore accompanied by anti-immigration sentiment. In the aftermath of the *Lau* and *ASPIRA* decisions, those feelings were compounded by concerns regarding both English use as well as access to government and public services in languages other than English. Against this background, a political movement across the country aimed at protecting the English language by conferring it official status emerged. It included an amalgamation of government agencies and political lobbying groups, public and private sector organisations, as well as educational institutions and community groups.

From its inception in the early 1980s, the so-called Official English campaign, sought an amendment to the United States Constitution that would make English the official language of the country. In 1981, Republican Californian Senator Hayakawa, a critic of linguistic minorities' voting rights, introduced for the first time ever such an amendment. The proposed amendment not only acknowledged English as the national language, it emphasised the transitional nature of bilingual education programs, thus:

The English language shall be the official language of the United States. Neither the United States nor any State shall make or enforce any law which requires the use of any language other than English. This article shall apply to laws, ordinances, regulations, order, programs and policies. No order or decree shall be issued by any court of the United States or of any State requiring that any proceedings, or matter to which this article applies, be in any language other than English. This article shall not prohibit educational instruction in a language other than English as required as a transitional method of making students who use a language other than English proficient in English. The Congress and the States shall have power to enforce that article by appropriate legislation.⁴⁰⁹

This early English Language Amendment was largely ignored, and it died without a hearing in the 97th Congress. Prior to the English Language Amendment, Americans have seldom fought over their language. It seemed inconceivable that English may need legal protection in a country where, according to the *1980 US Census*, it was spoken by all but two percent of residents above the age of four, and where only 11 percent of the population were regular speakers of another tongue.⁴¹⁰ A new Babel appeared hardly imminent. Senator Hayakawa's action however, inaugurated what has become one of the most divisive debates in US politics to this day. Within the context of bilingual education

⁴⁰⁹ *S. J. Res. 72, 1981*, sects. 1-6, proposed English Language Amendment to the US Constitution sponsored by Senator S. I. Hayakawa quoted in Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties*, p. 112.

policy, the English Language Amendment signalled a change in public perceptions regarding the issue of second language education. The entitlement of non-English-speaking immigrants to equal opportunities was now being challenged by the linguistic rights of the English-speaking population, who perceived their own language to have come under threat.

Hajer has argued that in the process of framing policy problems 'actors try to impose their views of reality on others, sometimes through debate and persuasion, but also manipulation and the exercise of power'.⁴¹¹ The many flagship organisations belonging to the Official English Movement can be said to have deployed their growing budgets, nationwide membership and political influence to disseminate their views on bilingual education policy. Pressure groups such as US English and English First have certainly transformed the Official English campaign into a major force in US politics. The US English Agency alone has raised and spent millions of US dollars promoting their particular understanding of the English language question. Between 1983 and 1990, for example, it commanded a \$28 million budget.⁴¹² While lobbying to legalise the official status of English, these groups have also sponsored the abolition of bilingual education programmes. Organisations such as the Centre for Equal Opportunity (CEO) and One Nation/One California, for instance, have consistently advocated the notion of 'one nation, one common language', while at the same time exposing 'the failure of bilingual education'.⁴¹³ This ideological approach and the methods used to propagate it are ultimately symptomatic of the values underlying the Official English Movement.

Two concerns, in particular, have become central to the Official English campaign. On the one hand, there is the issue of national unity. As Linda Chavez, President of the Centre for Equal Opportunity has indicated 'with 20 million immigrants now living in our country, it's more important than ever to teach newcomers to think of themselves as Americans, if we hope to remain one people, not simply a conglomeration of different groups. And one of the most effective ways of forging that sense of unity is through a

⁴¹⁰ Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties*, p. 1.

⁴¹¹ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', p. 45.

⁴¹² Crawford, *Hold Your Tongue*, p. 4.

⁴¹³ L. Chavez, 'One Nation, One Common Language', Centre for Equal Opportunity (CEO), 1995, pp. 1-4 at: <<http://www.ceousa.org/html/chavez.html>> (checked 12th June 2002).

common language'.⁴¹⁴ Hence, the need to ensure legal protection of English as the USA's official language. On the other hand, there is the perceived failure of bilingual education programmes to deliver their intended results.⁴¹⁵ The escalating costs of bilingual education over time make a seemingly compelling case. In the 1960s, Federal allocation for second language education programmes comprised only a relatively small grant of \$7.5 million. In contrast, with some 2.4 million pupils currently eligible to receive bilingual tuition nationwide, well over \$5.5 billion is now spent on their educational needs. It is estimated that New York City alone spends \$400 million annually on its 147,500 bilingual students, which amounts to \$2,712 per pupil.⁴¹⁶ Ron Unz, Chairman of One Nation/One California, has argued that there is no conclusive evidence of the effectiveness of bilingual programmes, but instead mounting data to the contrary. Writing in the *Los Angeles Times*, he refers to the results of ELS education programmes as 'utterly dismal'. As he explains: 'of the 1.3 million Californian schoolchildren - a quarter of our state's total public school enrolment - who begin each year classified as not knowing English, only about 5 percent learn English by the year's end, implying an annual failure rate of 95 percent for existing programmes'.⁴¹⁷

The Official English Movement has not only mobilised a white middle-class conservative base, but it has managed to attract the support of members of linguistic ethnic communities across the country. Linda Chavez, a prominent Hispanic public figure, for instance, has strongly advocated English-Only educational policies.⁴¹⁸ Former House Speaker, Newt Gingrich, has also repeatedly called for a 'partial end of bilingual education'. He argues, that 'English is the common, commercial language in America...when we allow children to stay trapped in a bilingual programme, where you do not learn English, we are destroying their economic future'.⁴¹⁹ Former President Reagan has similarly stated his opposition to bilingual education programmes, he has thus declared:

Where there are predominantly students speaking a foreign language at home, coming to school and being taught English, and they fall behind or are unable to keep up in some

⁴¹⁴ Chavez, 'One Nation, One Common Language', pp. 1-4.

⁴¹⁵ H. Unger, 'Babel Babble', *Education*, 18th August 1995, p. 9.

⁴¹⁶ Chavez, 'One Nation, One Common Language', pp. 1-4.

⁴¹⁷ R. K. Unz, 'Bilingualism vs. Bilingual Education', *Los Angeles Times*, 19th October 1997, p. M6.

⁴¹⁸ Chavez, 'One Nation, One Common Language', pp. 1-4.

⁴¹⁹ N. E. Roman, 'Gingrich lays out Goals to reform Government', *The Washington Times*, 6th January 1998, p. A-1.

subjects because of lack of knowledge of the language, I think it is proper that we have teachers equipped who can get at them in their own language and understand why it is they don't get the answer to the problem and help them in the way. But it is absolutely wrong and against American concepts to have a bilingual education program that is openly, admittedly dedicated to preserving their native language and never getting them adequate in English so they can go out in the job market and participate.⁴²⁰

Reagan, who had made attacks on Federal red tape during his early election campaign, withdrew the Lau Regulations as one of his first official acts as President.⁴²¹ Against a backdrop of 3.6 million LEP students nation-wide, his administration presided over progressive cuts on bilingual education funding.⁴²² During the fiscal years of 1980 and 1988, real spending under the *Bilingual Education Act of 1974* was reduced by 47 percent. In contrast, total support for all education programmes declined by only 8 percent.⁴²³ Lack of support for bilingual programmes continued to gain pace during the 1990s, in spite of the Clinton administrations' favourable view of bilingual education.⁴²⁴ This trend has been compounded by the refusal of the Office of Civil Rights to articulate a preference for any pedagogical approach to bilingual education, since the early 1980s.⁴²⁵

Critics of Official English Movement's assimilationist ideology have rallied behind the so-called English Plus campaign. This pro-bilingual education perspective is supported by an amalgamation of educationalists, lobby groups, as well as members of the research and academic communities nationwide. Organisations such as the NABE (National Association for Bilingual Education), the PRDEF (Puerto Rican Defence and Educational Fund) and the National Council of La Raza have long advocated the provision of bilingual education programmes. They have also denounced what they perceive to be a hidden nationalistic agenda. Under the headline: 'English-Only Laws will foster Divisiveness, not Unity: they are Anti-Hispanic, Anti-Elderly and Anti-Female', Zentella has warned against the Official English Movement's views as being discriminatory and damaging to the American nation.⁴²⁶ Mulero has further criticised English-only

⁴²⁰ Public address by former President Ronald Reagan quoted in Lyons, 'The Past and Future Directions', pp. 1-14.

⁴²¹ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 94.

⁴²² T. H. Bell, *The Condition of Bilingual Education in the Nation*, (Washington, DC: Department for Education), 1982, p. 3.

⁴²³ Lyons, 'The Past and Future Directions', p. 6.

⁴²⁴ See K. Hakuta (ed.), *Federal Education Programmes for Limited-English-Proficient Students: a Blueprint for the Second Generation*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford Working Group), 1993.

⁴²⁵ Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, p. 94.

⁴²⁶ A. C. Zentella, 'English-Only Laws will foster Divisiveness, not Unity; they are Anti-Hispanic, Anti-Elderly, and Anti-Female', *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 23rd November 1988, pp. B1-B3.

programmes for 'valuing English above community languages'.⁴²⁷ Interviewed by the author, Noemi Herendeen, Director of Bilingual Curriculum and Instructional Services at the New York Board of Education, referred to the 'anti-bilingual and anti-immigrant sentiment' that the Official English Movement's ideas have generated.⁴²⁸ Woodward has also highlighted the anti-immigrant character of English-only legislation.⁴²⁹ In another interview with the author, Pedro Pedraza, Director of the Centre for Puerto Rican Studies at City University of New York, went further to condemn the Movement's assimilationist ideology as being 'xenophobic, anti-immigrant and anti-Hispanic'. He argued that it is based on misguided fears of 'that, which is neither English nor Anglo-Saxon, and is perceived to threaten those in power'.⁴³⁰ Advocates of the English Plus campaign have therefore voiced many concerns regarding the direction that US bilingual education policy is heading towards. The essence of the current debate on second language education has been encapsulated by Crawford, who has pointed out that bilingual education policy has become 'a discussion about national identity: what it means to be an American in the late twentieth century, and what will hold Americans together during a time of bewildering change. It [bilingual education] is about how much diversity a nation can tolerate, even a nation of immigrants'.⁴³¹

Despite the efforts of English Plus supporters, the assimilationist discourse embodied in the Official English Movement has ultimately come to dominate the ELS education scene in the USA. There are two main reasons that can be said to account for the success of this policy discourse. On the one hand, there is a significant ideological shift taking place among members of ethnic communities towards assimilation into US society. Second generation US-born English-speaking immigrants, in particular, seem to be moving away from bilingual programmes and towards the provision of English-only education. Maria Underwood, Special Assistant at the New York City Board of Education, explained the reasons behind this growing trend to the author, thus:

⁴²⁷ L. Mulero, 'Dole pone por Encima el Ingles' ('Dole puts English First'), *El Nuevo Dia* ('The New Day'), 13th October 1995, p. 7.

⁴²⁸ Interview with Noemi C. Herendeen, Director, Bilingual Curriculum and Instructional Services, New York City Board of Education, New York, 28th March 2000. The original interview, conducted in Spanish, has been translated into English by the author.

⁴²⁹ C. Woodward, 'Push for English-Only is on', *The San Juan Star*, 19th October 1995, p. 76.

⁴³⁰ Interview with Pedro Pedraza, 27th March 2000. The original interview, conducted in Spanish, has been translated into English by the author.

⁴³¹ Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties*, p. 87.

I think, more and more people are moving to take a position against bilingual education, [because they] do not see a real need for it. And what's happening, which I think it's very interesting, is that even within some of those same communities that used to support bilingual education, you've got people who are moving against it even more. And part of the reason is because second and third generations are now parents with children in the elementary schools or in schools, and they are now proficient English speakers themselves. And may have, in some cases, even lost the native language from their parents or grandparents. And so, they don't necessarily see the need for bilingualism, as I would say, my parents or my grandparents saw it. Because they always wanted us to maintain that tie to the family and be able to have the two languages. And also because it's not happening in the home. I see more and more Latino families or Latino couples raising children, who would love for their children to learn Spanish, as their native language at home, but they themselves don't speak Spanish in the home.⁴³²

A *Los Angeles Times* poll carried out in 1997, showed that 84 percent of Hispanic Californians favoured English-only public school instruction over bilingual tuition; while another *Los Angeles Times*-CNN poll a year later indicated that almost 40 percent of Latinos already supported the abolition of bilingual education programmes.⁴³³ On the other hand, the financial argument against bilingual programmes seems to be taking root. Advocates of bilingual education now readily acknowledge the long-term difficulties facing these educational programmes. In an interview with the author, Noemi Herendeen, for example, admitted that 'bilingual programmes are expensive'.⁴³⁴ In another interview, Pedro Pedraza similarly acknowledged that ESL education is increasingly perceived as posing a 'financial problem to New York City's budget', conceding that 'if bilingual programmes were reduced, it would be more economical'.⁴³⁵

As the activities of the Official English Movement have intensified, the drive to legitimise English as the USA's official language has also accelerated. Between 1981 and 1990 sixteen English Language Amendments were introduced in the US Congress, in addition to various statutes and resolutions. There have been two basic versions of the proposed amendments: on the one hand, there is the one-liner, which simply establishes English as the nation's official language. This leaves Congress and the Federal Courts to decide in which circumstances use of other languages may be allowed. On the other hand, there is the English-only mandate, which outlaws uses of other languages by federal, state and local governments. A few exceptions are specified here, such as

⁴³² Interview with Maria G. Uderwood, Special Assistant at the New York City Board of Education, New York, 24th March 2000.

⁴³³ *Los Angeles Times*, 1997 and *Los Angeles Times*, 1998 quoted in Crawford, *At War with Diversity*, pp. 96-103.

⁴³⁴ Interview with Noemi C. Herendeen, 28th March 2000.

⁴³⁵ Interview with Pedro Pedraza, 27th March 2000.

emergency situations and foreign language classrooms.⁴³⁶ Although the Senate convened hearings on Official English in 1984, as did the House in 1988, the English Language Amendment has never come to a congressional vote. Ratification of an Official English constitutional amendment at the federal level would require the approval of three-fourths of the state legislatures, that is, after passage by a two-third majority in both Houses of Congress. It therefore appears to be the strategy of proponents of these measures to obtain English statutes in most states first, and then argue that ratification of the federal provision would be no major departure from existing laws. Such tactics have been extremely successful. Since Senator Hayakawa first proposed an English Language Amendment to the *US Constitution* in Congress in 1981, Official English legislation has been considered in forty-eight states. A total of twenty-one states have now some form of Official English laws, including: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.⁴³⁷

California: from Bilingualism to Monolingualism

Amongst the fifty states comprising the USA though, few have so distinctively shaped and moved forward the debate on bilingual education policy as has the state of California. Shiffman has indicated that California is often thought of as a 'trend setter' state; as he puts it 'things happen in California'.⁴³⁸ The free-speech entitlement, the hippie movement of the 1960s, the election of a movie actor as Governor in 1966, the anti-war movement of the 1970s and the race-related riots of the 1990s all happened first in California. With regard to bilingual education policy, California has also been the state where some of the most groundbreaking language legislation has originated, not least the *Lau vs. Nichols* of 1974. During the 1970s, California was instrumental in placing bilingual education in the political agenda, ultimately helping to frame the language question as an equal opportunities issue. In contrast, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, California has been at the forefront of Official English legislation. Ironically, it has been this influential state, the one which has most helped to ensure the re-formulation of bilingual education by an assimilationist discourse coalition. From the late 1980s in

⁴³⁶ Crawford (ed.), *Language Loyalties*, p. 112.

⁴³⁷ Piatt, *English Only?* pp. 21-22.

⁴³⁸ H. F. Shiffman, *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy*, (London: Routledge), 1996, p. 248.

particular, the state legislature has passed a string of measures specifically aimed at both legally protecting the English language as well as abolishing bilingual education. In 1986, for instance, *Proposition 63* was passed in California with 73 percent of the vote.

⁴³⁹ This legislative landmark amended the State Constitution, making English the official language of California. Although Colorado and Florida have preceded California in similar rulings, the significance of the later addition cannot be underestimated, with fourteen more states following down the Californian route in quick succession.

In 1994, further Official English legislation followed. *Proposition 187*, the so-called SOS (Save Our State) by its US English sponsors, was approved by Californian voters by a 3 to 2 margin.⁴⁴⁰ In a state affected by large-scale migration, this proposition sought to discourage illegal immigration by denying publicly funded benefits to undocumented aliens. Its most controversial provision barred illegal immigrants from public Elementary and Secondary Schools. As *The New York Times* indicated at the time, the proposal also stipulated that children, who were US citizens, although born to undocumented parents, would be expelled from schools.⁴⁴¹ This measure was to be enforced even though these children may have grown up in the United States, be fluent in English and know little about their parents' native country.⁴⁴² A particularly contentious aspect of *Proposition 187* was the requirement that public schools and offices providing health and welfare services would have to verify the status of 'suspected' undocumented persons. Ricento has indicated that this would in effect mean that 'teachers and public officials will become agents for the immigration services, an Orwellian concept even for those who are sympathetic with the stated goals of the proposition'.⁴⁴³ As *The New York Times* pointed out, the implications would be far-reaching, with non-English-speaking people with 'foreign accents' becoming prime suspects, and undocumented persons refusing to seek emergency medical attention to avoid detection.⁴⁴⁴

⁴³⁹ Ricento, 'Language Policy in the United States', p. 151.

⁴⁴⁰ Ricento, 'Language Policy in the United States', p. 150.

⁴⁴¹ *The New York Times*, 11th November 1994, p. A17.

⁴⁴² *The New York Times*, 11th November 1994, p. A17.

⁴⁴³ Ricento, 'Language Policy in the United States', p. 150.

⁴⁴⁴ *The New York Times*, 11th November 1994, p. A17.

In spite of such concerns, four years later another monolingual initiative was passed in California. On the 2nd June 1998, the so-called 'English for the Children' initiative was approved, by a 61 to 39 percent vote. The initiative specified that:

All children in California public schools shall be taught in English by being taught in English. In particular, this shall require that all children be placed in English language schools. Children who are English learners shall be educated through sheltered English immersion during a temporary transition period normally intended not to exceed one year.⁴⁴⁵

California's *Proposition 227* constituted a turning point in the development of bilingual education policy, for it effectively reversed the principles behind the *Lau vs. Nichols* ruling. Whereas the latter understood bilingual education as the key to equality of opportunities, the former now established that English-only tuition played that role instead. To all intents and purposes, *Proposition 227* had reverted to the traditional 'sink or swim' educational system prevailing in the period prior to the *Lau vs. Nichols* ruling. In the run-up to *Proposition 227*, Ron Unz, Chairman of the 'English for the Children' initiative campaign, had already described bilingual education as being 'completely unworkable as well as unsuccessful'.⁴⁴⁶ As he explained:

Even after 20 or 30 years of effort, California has had absolutely no luck in finding the enormous supply of properly certified bilingual teachers to match the 140 languages spoken by California's school children. All sides of the debate agree that the old-fashioned sink or swim method of learning English is the worst alternative; yet more of California's school children today are submerged into this approach than are in properly structured bilingual programmes, although courts have ruled the former unconstitutional and the latter legally mandatory. Bilingual or nothing, in practice often means nothing.⁴⁴⁷

Accordingly *Proposition 227* not only openly criticised bilingual education programmes, it made a case for English-only tuition, thus:

The public schools of California currently do a poor job of educating immigrant children, wasting financial resources on costly experimental language programmes whose failure over the past two decades is demonstrated by the current high drop-out rates and low English literacy levels of many immigrant children...Young immigrant children can easily acquire full fluency in a new language, such as English, if they are heavily exposed to that language in the classroom at an early age.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁵ R. K. Unz and G. M. Tuchman, *English Language Education for Children in Public Schools (Proposition 227)*, sec. 1, chp. 3, art. 2, p. 305, 3rd July 1997 at: <<http://www.onenation.org/fulltext/html>> (checked 9th September 1999).

⁴⁴⁶ Unz, 'Bilingualism vs. Bilingual Education', p. M6.

⁴⁴⁷ Unz, 'Bilingualism vs. Bilingual Education', p. M6.

⁴⁴⁸ Unz and Tuchman, *English Language Education*, p. 305.

From this perspective, *Proposition 227* was understood to have granted Californian children the right to be taught in English. For it ultimately afforded them the opportunity to fully participate in the US society's services.

Arizona's Proposition 203 in 2000

Following the Californian example, Arizona has become the latest state to approve monolingual legislation. Its new *Proposition 203* has been largely modelled on California's *Proposition 227*. Sponsored by the English for the Children of Arizona organisation, this later initiative advocates the provision of English-only classes throughout the State of Arizona. In accordance with the now dominant assimilationist ideology *Proposition 203* establishes that 'all Arizona school children have the right to be provided at their local school with an English language education'.⁴⁴⁹ Arizona's government and school system are understood to have 'a moral obligation and a constitutional duty to provide all Arizona's children, regardless of their ethnicity or national origins, with the skills necessary to become productive members of our society'⁴⁵⁰. Of those skills, literacy in the English language is considered to be paramount.

On the whole, this rapidly growing list of English-only legislation across the country clearly illustrates the predominance of an assimilationist discourse coalition. The linguistic rights of ethnic minorities have now been superseded by the entitlement of English speakers to protect their own language. The case of California, in particular, shows how the meanings attributed to bilingual education have changed over time. During the 1970s, when bilingual education was perceived as an equal opportunity issue, Californians provided the USA with its most progressive bilingual education programmes. Two decades later however, as the protection of English becomes paramount, Californians have enacted the country's most far-reaching English-only legislation. As the Official English Movement continues to broaden its nationwide appeal, predominance of this assimilationist discourse coalition seems likely to continue

⁴⁴⁹ M. Mendoza and H. Ayala, *English Language Education for Children in Public Schools (Proposition 203)*, sec. 3, chp. 7, art. 3.1, pp. 15-754, 6th January 1999 at: <<http://www.onenation.org/fulltext/html>> (checked 20th February 1999).

in the foreseeable future. Maria Underwood shared with the author her personal vision of the eventual demise of bilingual education programmes, thus:

I would say that in the next ten to twenty, maybe twenty, years it may be difficult to find bilingual classrooms within the public education arena...It [bilingual education] won't be part of our public education curriculum. It may become part of something we do in after-school programmes or in Saturday programmes. As parents will still be interested in wanting their children to be bilingual...I think as the generations become more and more remove from the original country and become more and more core Americans, you are going to see less and less of that [bilingual tuition].⁴⁵¹

5.4 Summary

Following the precepts of the interpretive approach to policy analysis, this chapter has shown how the meanings attributed to bilingual education in the USA have changed over time. Three discourse coalitions, in particular, have dominated the evolution of this policy. Firstly, during the pre-1960s period, the prevalence of a *laissez-faire* ideology, which took for granted the preservation of the dominant English-speaking Anglo-Saxon tradition, resulted in the educational needs of linguistic ethnic minorities going largely unnoticed. Secondly, throughout the 1970s, as large numbers of non-English-speaking pupils flooded the country's school system, the way in which bilingual education had been perceived hitherto began to change. A number of community-instigated court rulings, which translated into bilingual legislation, eventually brought about the reformulation of bilingual education policy. In the event, a social integrationist discourse, championing equality of access to education for non-English-speaking pupils, became to dominate the realm of public policy. Finally, from the 1980s onwards, as bilingual education became institutionalised, bilingual student numbers grew and the cost of financing the programmes soured, public perceptions about bilingual education shifted again. The Official English Movement, with its two-pronged approach aimed at ending the provision of bilingual programmes while legitimising English as the USA's official language, has come to epitomise the new set of assimilationist values now prevailing. The success of the Official English campaign, which has resulted in a string of English-only legislative measures enacted across the country, clearly illustrates that the re-framing

⁴⁵⁰ Mendoza and Ayala, *English Language Education*, pp. 15-754.

⁴⁵¹ Interview with Maria G. Underwood, 24th March 2000.

of bilingual education policy by an English-biased discourse coalition has ultimately taken place.

What we have seen in Britain and the in USA at national level is an events-driven and a judiciary-driven process respectively, where second language policy frames followed one another. We should not expect this pattern to be replicated in the local setting. As Chapters 6 and 7 will show, what we find both in Tower Hamlets and Manhattan is not a succession of different perceptions of second language education, but a co-existence of competing policy discourses.

Part III: The Delivery of Second Language Education Programmes

Chapter 6: ESL Schooling in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets

This chapter explores the way in which ESL education programmes have been delivered in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. On the one hand, ESL education policy appears to take place in a multi-organisational setting in which a multiplicity of agencies and players are involved. Using the case-study both of the Bangladeshi-dominated Swanlea School and Tower Hamlets College, the chapter shows the emergence of three ESL discourse coalitions, namely the assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist. Each of these policy frames views ESL education differently, according to the value their members attribute to the dominant English-speaking Anglo-Saxon culture as well as the non-English-speaking ethnic heritage. The assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist ideologies ultimately fluctuate between a full embrace of the majority English language tradition to a complete disregard for it.

6.1 The London Borough of Tower Hamlets

A glimpse at England's capital quickly reveals London to be a distinctive cosmopolitan diverse city. London is one of the world's top five financial centres and the largest centre for international banking lending, contributing nearly 25 percent of the United Kingdom's income from financial and business services. The central area, consisting of the City and the West End, is an important critical mass of business activity enhanced by a wide variety of educational and cultural facilities. London is the largest metropolis in the European Union, with a population of just over 7 million (and a labour force of nearly 3.5 million), larger than some of the EU member states.⁴⁵² The mixture of its vibrant and diverse economy, rich cultural heritage, renowned academic institutions and international transport links have helped London achieve the accolade of 'Europe's world city'.⁴⁵³ With regard to its multi-ethnic heritage, estimates from the Office for National Statistics show that nearly half of the ethnic minority population of Britain lives in London,

⁴⁵² Office for National Statistics (ONS), *Regional Trends 33: 1998 Edition*, (London: HMSO), 1998, p. 20.

⁴⁵³ ONS, *Focus on London 99*, (London: HMSO), 1999, p. 15.

accounting for about a quarter of the capital's citizenry.⁴⁵⁴ In contrast, immigrant presence nationwide is less noticeable, thus in the East Midlands it only amounts to nine percent of the population, followed by the East Midlands (five percent), Yorkshire and the Humber (five percent), North West and Merseyside (four percent), the Eastern Region (three percent), the South East (three percent) and the North East (one percent).⁴⁵⁵ In other words, one in four people living in London belongs to an ethnic minority group, compared with one in 100 people in the North East, the South East, Wales and Scotland.⁴⁵⁶

Just as London's diversity marks it apart from the rest of the country, Tower Hamlets' distinctive socio-economic, cultural and ethnic makeup places this London borough in a unique position. Data from the *Census 1991* show that Tower Hamlets is home to the highest concentration of Southeast Asians of Bangladeshi origin not only in London, but in the whole of the country. Nearly a quarter of the total number of Bangladeshi residents in Britain have settled in Tower Hamlets, and nearly half of all the Bangladeshis living in London are found in this eastward borough.⁴⁵⁷ In other words, one in seven people of the population of Tower Hamlets is of Bangladeshi origin.⁴⁵⁸ Not surprisingly, the Bethnal Green area of Tower Hamlets has come to be known as 'Banglatown'.⁴⁵⁹ Most residents of Banglatown are comparatively newcomers and experience considerable socio-economic disadvantage. Their problems generally differ in degree rather than in kind from those of other ethnic minorities, partly reflecting their recent arrival. They tend to occupy some of the worst and most overcrowded accommodation, their unemployment rates are exceptionally high and their average earnings are also lower than those of any other ethnic minorities in Britain. There is also considerable poverty within the local Bangladeshi community and widespread academic under-achievement among its children. In addition, most Bangladeshi residents lack a good command of the English language as well as the necessary skills to gain access to well-remunerated jobs.⁴⁶⁰ The

⁴⁵⁴ ONS, *Regional Trends 33*, p. 20.

⁴⁵⁵ ONS, *Regional Trends 33*, table 3.14, p. 48.

⁴⁵⁶ ONS, *Regional Trends 33*, p. 37.

⁴⁵⁷ C. Peach (ed.), *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census*, vol. 2, (London: HMSO), 1996, p. 158.

⁴⁵⁸ See Tower Hamlets Directorate of Education and Community Services (THECS), *Census 1991: Results for Wards in Tower Hamlets*, (London: Tower Hamlets Council), November 1994.

⁴⁵⁹ 'Banglatown Scheme gets Underway', *East End Life*, no. 179, (Tower Hamlets Council: London), 15th – 21st September 1997, p. 1.

⁴⁶⁰ See OPCS, *Census 1991*, 'Report for Great Britain', (London: HMSO), 1991; and Local Economy Policy Unit (LEPU), South Bank University, *Living in Bethnal Green: a Survey of Residents in the Bethnal Green City Challenge Area*, (London: South Bank University), May 1995.

root of the problems experienced by Bangladeshis living in Tower Hamlets - and in Britain at large - had already been identified over ten years ago. The *House of Commons Affairs Committee 1987* on 'Bangladeshis in Britain' traced their predicament to a number of factors:

Their recent arrival from a rural agricultural society to an industrial and urban society in which they lack appropriate skills and training which would enable them to find well paid employment; their poor command of the English language which is damaging in practically every area of their lives. Lack of English is also severely restricting their access to different services and their involvement with the main stream society; discrimination, the extent of which is inevitably difficult to assess, but mainly in relation to housing and employment. However, if discrimination could be eliminated entirely, Bangladeshis will remain a disadvantaged group unless they are helped with appropriate support and services to overcome their long held disadvantages.⁴⁶¹

It is the combination of all the above circumstances that help to explain the academic disadvantage experienced by Bangladeshi school children. While lack of English proficiency is perhaps the most significant underlying factor, it clearly remains but one element contributing to the plight of this community in Britain.

The School population of Tower Hamlets

Since the early 1980s Tower Hamlets' schools have collected information on the languages spoken by their pupils, as well as their levels of English fluency.⁴⁶² Such information however, only became a statutory requirement of the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) in 1991.⁴⁶³ According to the *Tower Hamlets Language Census 1996*, around 75 different languages, other than English, are spoken in Tower Hamlets.⁴⁶⁴ By far, the most widely used language is Bengali with 18,314 speakers (86 percent of the school population), followed by Cantonese with 375 speakers (1.76 percent), Somali with 348 speakers (1.63 percent), Arabic with 257 speakers (1.2 percent) and Turkish with 222 speakers (1.04 percent).⁴⁶⁵ Bengali speakers are not only the largest

⁴⁶¹ Hansard, *House of Commons, Home Affairs Committee First Report, Session 1986-87: Bangladeshis in Britain*, vol. 3, appxs. (London: HMSO), December 1986.

⁴⁶² For an insight into the development of the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) see Young and Rao, *Local Government since 1945*.

⁴⁶³ THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Census 1996*, (London: Tower Hamlets Council), September 1996, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁴ THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Census 1996*, p.10.

⁴⁶⁵ THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Census 1996*, p.10.

ethnic linguistic community in Tower Hamlets, but their numbers are expected to continue growing over the next decade.⁴⁶⁶

With regard to English language fluency, ESL pupils in Tower Hamlets (i.e. from nursery to post-16 education) display all levels of language skills, from beginner to proficient. The *Tower Hamlets Language Census 1996* refers broadly to bilingual pupils as those who have access to or need to use two languages at home and at school.⁴⁶⁷ Such definition does not imply fluency in either tongue, and thus includes Bengali-speaking native pupils who have just begun learning English. An overwhelming majority of the borough's school population (56 percent) is nevertheless estimated not to be proficient in English.⁴⁶⁸ In primary schools, for instance, almost one quarter of pupils are beginners in English and 45 percent are in the early stages of fluency. In secondary school, however, almost 1 in 4 students (23 percent) are still in the early stages of English language fluency.⁴⁶⁹ Across the borough the majority of schools receive non-English-speaking pupils, but the proportions vary greatly, with some 32 schools accounting for over 80 percent of bilingual intake, while around 17 schools having fewer than 20 percent.⁴⁷⁰

Between 1981 and 1996, the bulk of the school population of Tower Hamlets increased by approximately 40 percent, from around 24,000 to 34,000 students.⁴⁷¹ During the same period of time, the proportion of non-English-speaking pupils rose dramatically, while the number of English-speaking students simultaneously decreased. As 20,000 new ESL students enrolled in Tower Hamlets' schools, the number of monolingual English-speaking pupils dwindled by about 5,000 pupils.⁴⁷² Although the remarkable rate of ESL student growth is not likely to continue unabated, the overall number of ESL pupils is expected to keep on rising. With one in every four 11 year-old ESL students in Tower Hamlets still being in the early stages of English fluency, future demand for ESL programmes seems guaranteed.⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁶ THECS, *Ethnic Background of Pupils in Tower Hamlets 1996*, (London: Tower Hamlets Council), 1996, p. 10.

⁴⁶⁷ See THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Census 1996*.

⁴⁶⁸ THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Census 1996*, p.12.

⁴⁶⁹ THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Census 1996*, p.12.

⁴⁷⁰ THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Census 1996*, p.8.

⁴⁷¹ THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Census 1996*, p.5.

⁴⁷² THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Census 1996*, p.5.

⁴⁷³ THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Census 1996*, p.13.

6.2 ESL Education and its Multi-organisational Context

Interpretive analysts have shown that social phenomena take place within complex multi-organisational settings involving a variety of agencies and actors. Drawing from the interpretive methodological approach, the thesis understands ESL education as an elaborate process which comprises an array of policy players.

There are two striking features concerning the provision of ESL education policy in Tower Hamlets: firstly, the centralised hierarchical structure within which ESL programmes are delivered; and secondly, the multi-organisational setting in which the teaching of ESL takes place. On the one hand, ESL education policy is conceived at central government level, with the DfES issuing policy directives which travel downward to local authority level. Each Local Education Authority, in turn, modifies these policy objectives to meet the particular needs of their different target groups. The ensuing policy criteria are then incorporated into the schools' curriculum, with ethnic minority children finding themselves at the receiving end of the ESL policy process. On the other hand, ESL programmes are delivered in a complex multi-agency setting, featuring an elaborate web of policy players. An amalgamation of organisations and individuals at various levels of central and local government, the public, private, community and voluntary sectors are actively engaged in the provision of ESL services. They are what Yanow has referred to as 'interpretive communities', each of which ultimately articulates ESL policy in a different way.⁴⁷⁴ Although it is not possible to classify every single player partaking in the provision of ESL programmes, the following policy network identifies five main sets of actors:

- **Central Government Agencies:** the Home Office and the Department for Education and Skills.
- **Tower Hamlets (TH) Local Authority Bureaux:** TH Education and Community Services Committee, TH Bilingual Services, TH Language Support Services, TH Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant Services, TH Mother Tongue and Supplementary Education and TH Under Age Provision.

⁴⁷⁴ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 236.

- **Community and Voluntary Organisations:** Great Sylhet Community and Development Council, Bethnal Green Community Centre, Bethnal Green Bengali Association, TH Adult Education, Bethnal Green Pensioners Action Group, Jagonari Women' Centre and Praxis (Ethnic Minorities Centre).
- **Schools:** Swanlea Secondary School and Tower Hamlets College.
- **Public/Private Partnerships:** Bethnal Green City Challenge Company (BGCC), Jobs Through English Project (JET), Bethnal Green Training Centre, East London Small Business Centre and Ethnic Advice and Community Service.

Each of these groupings easily branches out into different subgroups, which display further subdivisions. The DfES, for example, comprises a number of agencies concerned with the delivery of ESL programmes, including among others, the Ethnic Minority and ESL Team, the Multi-ethnic and Traveller Education Team and the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) Team. The actual ESL interpretive policy network is certainly infinitely more elaborate and intertwined than this simplified model suggests, with different categories frequently overlapping. The conglomeration of actors identified here however, can be said to provide a comprehensive account of the relevant players taking part in the provision of ESL education programmes. Identifying this interpretive policy network is, as Yanow would suggest, the first step towards mapping out the multiplicity of meanings attributed to ESL education policy; for the latter will mean different things to different policy actors.⁴⁷⁵

6.3 The Case of Swanlea School and Tower Hamlets College

The thesis' first case-study takes place in two schools situated in the London borough of Tower Hamlets, namely Swanlea School and Tower Hamlets College. The former is a Secondary School based in Whitechapel, and the latter is a Further Education College located in Poplar. The ethnic composition of both centres mirrors that of Tower Hamlets Borough at large, with approximately 80 percent of the students being Sylheti-speakers of Bangladeshi origin. In Swanlea School alone about 75 percent of the pupils are Bangladeshi, with the rest being an amalgamation of children from Somalia, white British

⁴⁷⁵ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, p. 20.

indigenous and a few Chinese. In an interview with the author, Josette Koraram, Head of Languages at Swanlea School, pointed out that 65 percent of children receive 'free school dinners', an indication of the fact that 'a lot of parents are on Social Security and income supplements'.⁴⁷⁶ Tower Hamlets College presents a similar picture. In both cases, pupils from non-English-speaking backgrounds comprise the overwhelming majority of the student population. A look at Swanlea School students' results in the London Reading Test (LRT), for instance, indicates a widespread lack of English language skills. Martin MacManum, an ESL teacher, indicated that the LRT 'gives you an analysis of what they [ESL students] can do regarding English, as far as reading and writing is concerned'.⁴⁷⁷ Josette Koraram went on to explain how 'their English is very poor. We had a survey [in the school] and 150 out of 210 Year 7 were on average three years behind in the London Reading Test'.⁴⁷⁸

To meet considerable demand for ESL programmes these schools are equipped with EMAG (English Minority Achievement Grant) departments.⁴⁷⁹ The latter supply ESL teachers whose task is to assist children improve their English language skills.⁴⁸⁰ ESL teachers therefore usually work with non-English-speaking pupils. In accordance with Tower Hamlets' ESL policy directives, ESL teachers are placed alongside mainstream teachers and are expected to work in partnership with them. Within this context, ESL teachers work with students during English fluency stages 1 to 4, in the hope that they will be able to progress through the National Curriculum. ESL teachers ultimately aim at enabling non-English-speaking pupils to have the same access to the National Curriculum as their English-speaking peers. Typically, ESL teachers will, in the first instance, assess the English needs of all pupils in the classroom. They will then design language development materials to meet their specific needs. Interviewed by the author, Toni Mitchelmore, Swanlea School's LAP (Language Achievement Project) Team Co-ordinator, explained:

⁴⁷⁶ Interview with Josette Koraram, Head of Languages Department, Swanlea School, London, 12th December 1996.

⁴⁷⁷ Interview with Martin MacManum, ESL Teacher, Swanlea School, London, 2nd February 1997. The London Reading Test (LRT) is taken by school pupils at the end of Primary Education, and it is used to ascertain their English language skills.

⁴⁷⁸ Interview with Josette Koraram, 12th December 1996.

⁴⁷⁹ EMAG departments were formerly known as Language Achievement Project (LAP) departments.

⁴⁸⁰ Since the introduction of the EMAG, the denomination of ESL teacher has been superseded by that of EMAG teacher. However, to allow for clarity and consistency throughout the thesis, the term ESL teacher will continue to be used.

We are working with the mainstream teacher developing materials within the individual curriculum in each subject, so that could be Science, Humanities, English and so on. And from there, we develop materials as well, which we keep both with the faculties and with ourselves. And we make these materials for the Stages 1 to 3 and 4, which go from early learners right through to fluent pupils.⁴⁸¹

Despite the high demand for ESL provision however, the rate of teachers to pupils seems alarmingly low. As Toni Mitchelmore pointed out 'we are actually understaffed by nearly two teachers'.⁴⁸² In theory, Swanlea School's Language Support Department should be provided with two ESL teachers per subject, but as she indicated 'one teacher over all per subject, really, it's what you end up with'.⁴⁸³ Toni Mitchelmore went on to tell how:

There are not enough of us to spread around; that means we have less time to spend in each curriculum area. If there were two more of us we would get a lot more coverage, we would be able to get more teachers during the course of the year and a lot more of pupils...we don't have the opportunity to work with each one of them [students], every term, every year.⁴⁸⁴

The reality of putting ESL policy objectives into practice appears far less straightforward than theory would suggest. The delivery of ESL programmes certainly appears hampered by countless obstacles, including lack of funding, shortage of staff and inadequate teaching methods. A look at ESL classroom practices will thus provide a unique insight into the problems faced both by teachers and educationalists as service providers, as well as pupils: the recipients of ESL tuition. It will also reveal these players' perceptions and views of ESL education or as Yanow would put it: 'how' does ESL policy actually mean to them?⁴⁸⁵

6.4 ESL Classroom Practice: Perceptions and Reality

The language experiences of Swanlea School and Tower Hamlets College have revealed five main factors that affect the way in which ESL policy is understood by those involved in it. They include: problem definitions, policy objectives, scarce resources, perceptions of language and identity, and the politicisation of ESL education.

⁴⁸¹ Interview with Toni Mitchelmore, LAP/EMAG Team Co-ordinator, Swanlea School, London, 13th December 1996.

⁴⁸² Interview with Toni Mitchelmore, 13th December 1996.

⁴⁸³ Interview with Toni Mitchelmore, 13th December 1996.

⁴⁸⁴ Interview with Toni Mitchelmore, 13th December 1996.

⁴⁸⁵ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. ix.

1) Problem Definitions

Defining the nature of ESL education as a policy problem is a difficult task, for there are many different ways in which the academic underachievement of non-English-speaking pupils is understood. In most cases, ESL education is explained with reference to the wider socio-economic environment in which non-English-speaking pupils operate. ESL policy is thus conceptualised as an immigration issue, a question of poverty and unemployment, and even a matter of cultural differences and widespread racism. Children's performance in the classroom is ultimately seen as a reflection of the adverse environment in which they live. The following list reveals the most common definitions of the ESL policy problem found in Tower Hamlets.

- **Poverty:**

The first explanation of ESL education views the problem as one of poverty and inner-city deprivation. Jeff O'Brien, Head of Tower Hamlets Adult Community Centre, encapsulated this approach when he told the author that:

Language is not the issue. It is not a matter of their [ESL pupils'] cultural heritage and identity as embodied in the language. But it is a problem of the socio-economic status that goes with it, and creates the conditions that prevent them from achieving and being socially mobile.⁴⁸⁶

It is the adverse conditions in which inner-city children live that can be said largely to determine their performance at school. Poverty, unemployment and illiteracy are common everyday occurrences for Bangladeshi families living in Tower Hamlets. Such circumstances are certainly not conducive to children achieving academic excellence. If these pupils' educational underachievement is to be tackled, we must look beyond the classroom. Jeff O'Brien suggested that we should be in fact targeting 'poverty', 'unemployment', 'overcrowded dwellings' and 'street violence'.⁴⁸⁷ As he put it: 'it's not that they [ESL students] don't take up the opportunities available to them, but the fact that

⁴⁸⁶ Interview with Jeff O'Brien, Head of Tower Hamlets Adult Education Centre, Bethnal Green Community Centre, London, 27th November 1996.

⁴⁸⁷ Interview with Jeff O'Brien, 27th November 1996.

there are no real opportunities offered to them. The rich get education, the poor get training'.⁴⁸⁸

- **Racism:**

The second definition of ESL education understands the problem in terms of racism and social prejudice. In an interview with the author, Hasanat Husain, Head of Bilingualism in Tower Hamlets, identified racism as the underlining cause for ESL pupils' educational underachievement. He claimed that most difficulties associated with academic underachievement have their origin in social attitudes, in particular widespread hostile sentiments towards ethnic linguistic communities. In his own words: 'racism thrives and there is a general lack of knowledge and understanding. If we are to achieve the ideal of a multi-cultural and multi-racial society, racial equality has yet to be achieved'.⁴⁸⁹ Within the context of Tower Hamlets, it is Asian immigrants and their UK-born offspring that appear to be the main targets of such racist prejudices. In another interview, Soyful Alon, Vice-Chair of Tower Hamlets' Education and Community Services Committee, echoed this sentiment when he said: 'we do receive quite a lot of physical abuse and racism. And that, it seems to me, is something bothering everyone'.⁴⁹⁰ Among the Asian community, Sylhetis appear to occupy a particularly disadvantaged position. As Josette Koraram explained:

Bangladeshis do suffer from racism, because of their colour. But, I also think that the Sylhetis, as opposed to Bangladeshis, particularly suffer from racism, because they are also ostracised in their own country. In Bangladesh, the Sylheti people are looked down. So already in their own country, they suffer from a form of racism. I think it's aggravated when they come here. In this country, they are the victims of all the prejudices such as being not white, such as not having the same habits, being Muslim as well.⁴⁹¹

From this perspective, racism and social rejection have a psychological effect on these children, which ultimately impinges upon their academic performance. Widespread racial discrimination serves to compound the difficulties already faced by ESL students as they adapt to life in Britain. Let us consider a typical Bengali student newly arrived at school in Tower Hamlets. Imagine her/his reaction when s/he discovers that the language

⁴⁸⁸ Interview with Jeff O'Brien, 27th November 1996.

⁴⁸⁹ Interview with Hasanat M. Husain, 4th October 1996.

⁴⁹⁰ Interview with Cllr. Soyful Alon, Vice-Chair Tower Hamlets Education and Community Services Committee, London, 22nd November 1996.

⁴⁹¹ Interview with Josette Koraram, 12th December 1996.

spoken at home is unknown to the schoolteachers, or that her/his ethnic heritage, customs and Islamic religion are alien to her/his schoolmates. Such children are already disadvantaged even before they have entered the educational system. As Hasanat Husain pointed out, 'the second generation child faces both further conflicts and disadvantage, once he has started school. Since he will be expected to live in one culture while at home, and abide by a completely different set of values and social codes, when going into the outside world'.⁴⁹²

- **Culture:**

A final interpretation of ESL education understands non-English-speaking pupils' academic underachievement as a cultural problem. Many educators have singled out culture as the reason behind these children's academic predicament. Since the Bangladeshi community has a dominant presence in the East End of London, their culture, language and traditions have also become the predominant ones in the area. As Philip Ratcliffe, ESL teacher at Swanlea School put it: 'they really think they are still living in Bangladesh'.⁴⁹³ Advocates of this cultural explanation argue that ethnic community elders play an essential role in encouraging their children to learn English. In the words of Martin MacManum:

If the parents do not speak English, that is a bad example for the children. Because if they see that their parents live in England, do not speak English, but are able to eat, pay the rent and make a living, there is no real incentive for them to learn English. And that is the problem: motivation. But you cannot force the parents.⁴⁹⁴

The presence of the Bangladeshi community in Tower Hamlets has allowed their cultural, religious and linguistic heritage to flourish unchallenged. In contrast, the dominant English-speaking Anglo-Saxon tradition has been relegated to a secondary plane. As a result, maintenance of ethnic and linguistic traditions, as opposed to integration into mainstream British society, is a central feature of family life. As Josette Koraram told the author:

⁴⁹² Interview with Hasanat M. Husain, 4th October 1996.

⁴⁹² Interview with Cllr. Soyful Alon, 22nd November 1996.

⁴⁹³ Interview with Philip Ratcliffe, ESL Teacher, Swanlea School, London, 22nd November 1996.

⁴⁹⁴ Interview with Martin MacManum, 2nd February 1997.

When you're with parents that don't work, you've got no sense of discipline. You don't have to get up early in the morning to go to work. And the only thing that gets done on time is praying five times a day and going to the mosque.⁴⁹⁵

From this point of view, it is therefore the upbringing and cultural background of non-English-speaking children that is at the centre of their academic underachievement. If the performance of ESL students in Tower Hamlets is to be raised, a fundamental shift on parental attitudes towards their children's education must take place.

2) Policy Objectives

A second factor that affects the way in which ESL education is understood refers to a seeming lack of clear policy objectives. Tower Hamlets' Language Policy Mission Statement indicates that:

Tower Hamlets aims to promote a view of language development, which is based on an understanding of the contribution which language makes to the intellectual, emotional and aesthetic development of the individual and to that person's cultural identity.⁴⁹⁶

From the outset such a vague policy statement is certainly open to interpretation. The Council's ESL policy document goes on to explain its educational objectives in more detail:

To ensure that all those involved in education share a commitment to ensuring that pupils and students are enabled to develop effective command of the English language.

To ensure that all those involved in education in the Borough - teachers, parents, governors, inspectors, officers and members - have a shared understanding of and a commitment to celebrating, respecting and fostering linguistic richness and diversity of Tower Hamlets.

To ensure that all those involved in education have a shared understanding of the central role which language plays in learning.⁴⁹⁷

Such ambiguous policy guidelines place ESL teachers and educationalists in a difficult situation, which compels them to pursue simultaneous although unfeasible policy goals. On the one hand, they are expected to implement the National Curriculum, which requires that 'Standard English should be thought of as a vital part of any person's language

⁴⁹⁵ Interview with Josette Koraram, 12th December 1996.

⁴⁹⁶ THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Policy 1996*, (London: Tower Hamlets Council), 1996, p. 5.

⁴⁹⁷ THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Policy 1996*, p.1.

repertoire'.⁴⁹⁸ While at the same time, they are urged to 'encourage pupils to recover or maintain and develop proficiency in their heritage language'.⁴⁹⁹ Most teachers and educationalists regard this balancing act to be idealistic at best and unfeasible at worst. In the pursuit of academic excellence and the attainment of performance targets, teachers inevitably put core subjects such as English, Maths and Science at the top of their list of priorities. Voicing the views of many practitioners in this respect, Josette Koraram asserted that the expectation that mother tongue teaching is to be given 'the same consideration as English language proficiency is highly 'unrealistic'.⁵⁰⁰

3) Scarce Resources

Soyful Alon told the author that he firmly believed that the successful delivery of ESL programmes ultimately depends on 'availability of adequate resources'.⁵⁰¹ Both lack of funding and staff shortages have certainly become a recurrent feature in Tower Hamlets' schools. Scarcity of resources has shaped the way in which those affected by it have come to view this policy. Josette Koraram, for instance, described her department's staffing levels as 'stretched', and the school as regularly experiencing a situation where 'we don't have enough [ESL] teachers to cover every class in every subject'.⁵⁰² Toni Mitchelmore similarly complained about how ESL staff shortages have become 'the norm', thus 'where we should have twelve [ESL] members of staff, we only have seven'.⁵⁰³ With mainstream classes having an average size of thirty students, most of whom need help with their English language skills, ESL teachers struggle to cope with their workload. As Jane Lawrence, ESL teacher, indicated 'we are supposed to target about eight children [per lesson]. I've found that I tend to concentrate on fewer'.⁵⁰⁴ The transition from Section 11 grant to the newly created EMAG has only compounded this situation, for practically all schools in the borough have lost staff as a result.⁵⁰⁵ During an interview with the author, Hasanat Husain dwelt on the impact that the ensuing devolution of funds to schools had on the allocation of teaching posts, thus:

⁴⁹⁸ THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Policy 1996*, pp. 1-5.

⁴⁹⁹ THECS, *Tower Hamlets Language Policy 1996*, pp. 1-5.

⁵⁰⁰ Interview with Josette Koraram, 12th December 1996.

⁵⁰¹ Interview with Cllr. Soyful Alon, 22nd November 1996.

⁵⁰² Interview with Josette Koraram, 12th December 1996.

⁵⁰³ Interview with Toni Mitchelmore, 9th February 2000.

⁵⁰⁴ Interview with Jane Lawrence, ESL Teacher, Swanlea School, London, 17th December 1996.

Because the money has been devolved to the schools....that money may not be sufficient to keep the number of Section 11 teachers already allocated to the schools. So, headteachers and governing bodies have to take the unpleasant decision to keep the required number of persons they could afford. And, hence, some teachers may have lost jobs.⁵⁰⁶

In addition, under the EMAG's criteria, eligibility for pupils entitled to language services has widened considerably. As a result, there has been an overall increase in the number of students now considered to be entitled to receive ESL tuition. In the words of Toni Mitchelmore:

Because some groups that were not included under Section 11 will be included now under EMAG, the number of students eligible for EMAG funding will increase dramatically.⁵⁰⁷

Against this background, the expectation that ESL and mainstream teachers would be able to work in partnership, preparing and co-ordinating lessons does not bear resemblance with the reality of overcrowded and understaffed mainstream classrooms with ESL students. As Jane Lawrence confided:

I don't think it's possible to share in the leading of the lesson unless you've planned it very carefully, which isn't practical all the time. In theory, you can do it: you plan everything, you share in the teaching. In practice, I've found that doesn't happen.⁵⁰⁸

The conditions under which inner-city schools such as Swanlea School and Tower Hamlets College have to implement ESL programmes seem inadequate. Endemic lack of resources makes it difficult for them to provide the most basic services. Soyful Alon pointed out how these schools are often faced with the stark choice of 'whether to provide ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) help or whether to provide the most essential equipment'⁵⁰⁹. He went on to say that:

Both are important, because, for example, if you cannot communicate with a child, then you can provide books, paper, anything, but the child won't learn. But at the same time, if a bilingual support or Section 11 help [is] provided...then without the books and the pen and paper, they [students] can't read.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁵ Interview with Toni Mitchelmore, 9th February 2000.

⁵⁰⁶ Interview with Hasanat M. Husain, 26th January 2000.

⁵⁰⁷ Interview with Toni Mitchelmore, 9th February 2000.

⁵⁰⁸ Interview with Jane Lawrence, 17th December 1996.

⁵⁰⁹ Interview with Cllr. Soyful Alon, 22nd November 1996. In line with ESL tuition, the term ESOL refers to second language education for non-English speakers.

⁵¹⁰ Interview with Cllr. Soyful Alon, 22nd November 1996.

Insufficient resources ultimately result in an unequal distribution of ESL services. For proportionally large linguistic ethnic groups tend to monopolise whatever educational means are made available, to the detriment of their less numerically significant peers. In the case of Tower Hamlets, for instance, ESL resources are mostly concentrated on the Bangladeshi pupils. As Jane Lawrence admitted:

In theory, we are not supposed to teach just the Bangladeshis, but there are such a large number of them. I think the Somali children suffer, because we don't have Somali dictionaries...All children in this area need lots of money spent on them...Education should be funded...for all the communities.⁵¹¹

Jeff O'Brien similarly argued that under-represented linguistic ethnic groups often miss out on educational provision to the larger communities. He described, for instance, how the cultural and linguistic heritage of Afro-Caribbean students in Tower Hamlets has not enjoyed the same attention at school as that of the Bangladeshis. Likewise, the traditions of small refugee groups such as the Moroccan community have also been neglected, as Jeff O'Brien explained: 'at the moment, we are trying to set up Arabic classes for Moroccan refugees. But in order to go ahead with the classes we have to make up the numbers'.⁵¹² Josette Koraram echoed his views by referring to the experience of her refugee Somali students: 'in the whole of the school, you see signs in Bengali, but you don't see signs in Somali. Because there is such a great need, it's such a large majority. The other minorities are neglected...they are such a small core; they become lost in the needs of the majority.'⁵¹³ In an interview with the author, Sally Bird, ESL Teacher, summed up these ESL practitioners' concerns regarding the impact of lack of resources on the delivery of language education services, as she put it:

I personally favour policies of bilingualism...[but] they are expensive. We've got a Somali community, a Turkish community, are we going to propose bilingualism for all these communities? I would say yes, we are. And then you have [to deal] with the mechanisms of how you do that, when you've got so many different languages.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹¹ Interview with Jane Lawrence, 17th December 1996.

⁵¹² Interview with Jeff O'Brien, 27th November 1996.

⁵¹³ Interview with Josette Koraram, 12th December 1996.

⁵¹⁴ Interview with Sally Bird, ESL Adult Education Teacher, Tower Hamlets College, London, 18th April 1997.

Overall, staff shortages and lack of adequate resources have come to characterise ESL education programmes in Tower Hamlets. They affect adversely not only the quality of ESL provision, but the whole educational experience of non-English-speaking children.

4) Perceptions of Language and Identity

There are many different ways in which ESL policy players relate to the ideas of language and identity. Some actors, for instance, believe the English language to have a high academic value, but consider ethnic tongues of little scholarly significance. Others take the opposite view. Some understand the notion of British identity as an English-speaking ideal. Others identify with a Bengali-speaking British-Asian identity. These players' understandings of linguistic and cultural traditions ultimately find expression in their attitudes towards ESL education programmes. Whether an ESL student, a teacher or an educationalist, their particular circumstances and self-identification patterns will largely determine how they approach ESL policy. The bicultural and bilingual experience of Tower Hamlet's ESL Bangladeshi students illustrates this reality.

As a starting point, ethnic minority students' immediate family and community environment are largely responsible for shaping their early perceptions of language and identity. In turn, parental attitudes will play an important role in influencing children's views on ESL education. In Tower Hamlets, most Bengali elders strongly advocate the maintenance of their mother tongue, religious and ethnic heritage. They do not therefore actively encourage their offspring to integrate into the wider English-speaking Anglo-Saxon British society. This is certainly the experience of John Bradley, Modern Languages Teacher, when dealing with the parents of his Bengali students, thus:

I have spoken to parents about the children's need to practice English more outside the school. And, [I have asked them] could you encourage your children to speak more English at home? And I had them come up, some parents, saying: 'no, we don't want our children to speak English at home; we want to keep our language alive'. Which, it's great; but then at school the children are suffering because of that. So, I think it's a mixed responsibility; the parents need to give that support as well. I don't expect them to speak English all day at home, but may be an hour during the day when the family speaks English would help.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁵ Interview with John Bradley, Modern Languages Teacher, Swanlea School, London, 2nd February 1997.

Martin MacManum suggested to the author that the reason behind this behaviour is to be found in the seeming isolationist nature of the Bangladeshi community. He likened the older generation's failure to encourage their children to learn English to a survival strategy, a way of preserving their own ethnic culture, hence:

Because the East End is an area dominated by the Bangladeshis, to certain extent they are afraid to go somewhere else. Here, the dominant culture is theirs. So, if they were to move to another area of London, then their culture would not be the dominant one and they are very afraid of this. Their culture has not adapted to living in England and, thus, it is very difficult for them to go anywhere else, where the [Bangladeshi] culture may not be accepted as much as it is here. I don't think they are integrated.⁵¹⁶

John Bradley echoed this sentiment by highlighting Bengali pupils' limited awareness of whatever lies beyond the physical boundaries of their immediate community. As he confided: 'basically, if it's not Whitechapel, they don't seem to know what's going on'.

⁵¹⁷ An incident in one of John Bradley's lessons with 16 year-olds illustrates this point:

We were doing recently a project on France, where we were studying a French town. They [students] were given a map and they had to say: 'this town in France was on the border', for example, and then say which other foreign countries were [surrounding it]. They didn't know these countries. Also then I extended the activity: I got them to write a similar thing about London. They didn't know anything that was outside Whitechapel. And it was mainly the Bengali children who could not come up with, for example...the Tower of London, which is just fifteen minutes away.⁵¹⁸

The performance of John Bradley's Bengali pupils is certainly consistent with the isolationist outlook of the Bangladeshi community in Tower Hamlets. Such an ethnically skewed approach permeates every aspect of these children's lives as they grow in an, otherwise, English-speaking British society.⁵¹⁹ As a result, ESL Bangladeshi students face fundamental conflicts between home and the school, between their parents' Asian traditions and the western British culture, and ultimately between their very own expectations and those of their forebears. Jane Lawrence pointed out that 'it is quite difficult for them [ESL students] to go home and do homework, because at home they are expected to go to mosque school or to study Bengali for a bit'.⁵²⁰ Comments such as

⁵¹⁶ Interview with MacManum, 2nd February 1997.

⁵¹⁷ Interview with John Bradley, 2nd February 1997.

⁵¹⁸ Interview with John Bradley, 2nd February 1997.

⁵¹⁹ Williams, A. and E. Gregory, 'Home and School Reading Practices in Two East End Communities' in A. Tosi and C. Leung (eds.), *Rethinking Language Education: from a Monolingual to a Multilingual Perspective*, (London: CILT), 1999, pp. 153-166.

⁵²⁰ Interview with Jane Lawrence, 17th December 1997.

‘they [Bengali parents] don’t know what the demands of homework are’, or ‘I don’t think they [Bengali parents] really understand much about the [education] system’, cropped up constantly in interviews with educators.⁵²¹ Most teachers believed that Bengali parents would be ‘shocked’ if they went to school and saw the way in which their children behave.⁵²² In the words of Toni Mitchelmore:

You have children from a very eastern culture walking into a very western culture. They are being told by their parents to embrace the Western culture for this and this, this, this and this. But you can only have that, for that portion of the day; and then you have to have this, this and this. We see the rebellion at school. That’s when you have the naughty girls, and the boys also tend to have naughty behaviour, and know that if their parents found out, they would be in an awful lot of trouble.⁵²³

There is a growing gulf between first and second generation Bengalis’ attitudes towards language and identity. On the one hand, the first generation displays a strong sense of ethnic identity. As Soyful Alon declared: ‘we remain Asian...I believe I am Bengali’.⁵²⁴ Unlike their predecessors however, Bengali children growing up in Tower Hamlets belong in two cultures, two languages and two identities. These youngsters’ attitudes towards them vary greatly. Sally Bird captured the various perspectives Bengali children have regarding their cultural and linguistic heritage, thus:

There is quite a lot of variety in attitude between extremes. There are people who reject or have rejected their mother tongue, whether Bengali or whatever, and they say: ‘I am British or I am English, I am a Londoner and I want a job in English, and that’s what I am going for’. To the other extreme, which is a strong identification with Bengali as the language of origin; to the idea that maybe something in the middle, when you actually aim to develop both of the languages.⁵²⁵

Tower Hamlets College Survey

Bengali students’ approaches to language and identity were explored in a local survey carried out by the author in Tower Hamlets College during the spring of 1997 and subsequently followed up in the spring of 2000. This quantitative exercise not only reveals ESL pupils’ understandings of their bilingual and bicultural identities; it also

⁵²¹ Interview with Jane Lawrence, 17th December 1997.

⁵²² Interviews with Toni Mitchelmore, 13th December 1996; and Jane Lawrence, 17th December 1996.

⁵²³ Interview with Toni Mitchelmore, 13th December 1996; and Jane Lawrence, 17th December 1996.

⁵²⁴ Interview with Cllr. Soyful Alon, 22nd November 1996.

⁵²⁵ Interview with Sally Bird, 18th April 1997.

reflects their views on ESL education. Table 3 shows a breakdown of the ethnic composition of the students surveyed in Tower Hamlets College. From a total of 56 students, 47 pupils (83 percent) were of Bangladeshi origin, followed by seven (2 percent) white native British and two students (3 percent) of Afro-Caribbean descent.

Table 3 Tower Hamlets College (THC) Pupils' Ethnic Background (16-19 year olds)

	Total	Females	Males
<u>Ethnic Origin:</u>			
Asian	47	21	26
White	7	6	1
Afro-Caribbean	2	2	0
Total	56	29	27

- **Identity:**

The first issue addressed in the survey was the question of identity. The intention here was to explore UK-born Bengali pupils' perceptions of themselves and their own individuality as well as the intertwined relationship between self-identity, nationality and residency. After stating their country of origin, students were asked to identify themselves with a particular nationality. The specific question examined was: 'what is your nationality?' Table 4 shows the pupils' self-identification patterns. All those born in the UK perceived themselves to be 'British'. On the other hand, 71 percent of the children born in Bangladesh identified themselves as being 'British', while only a mere 21 percent indicated that they were 'Asians'. When asked why they claimed to be British, most of the children answered: 'because I live here', 'because I have a British passport', or in the case of those born in the UK simply 'because I was born here'. These children's answers reflect a significant degree of integration into British society which, in the case of the Bengali pupils, stand in stark contrast with their parents' isolationist attitude.

Table 4 THC Pupils' Self-identification Patterns

<u>Country of Birth:</u>	Total	<u>Chosen Nationality:</u>			
		British	Bangladeshi	Both	Other
Bangladesh	28	20	6	2	0
UK	18	18	0	0	0
Other	1	0	0	0	1
Total	47	38	6	2	1

Note: With the exception of white British indigenous respondents, the Asian students born in the UK have in most cases both or at least one of their parents having been born in Bangladesh or Pakistan. The 'other' category refers to a newly arrived student from Latvia, who identified herself as being Latvian.

The pupils were then asked to choose either a country or a city of residence. These children's intentions for their future place of abode provide further clues about their identity and sense of belonging. Table 5 shows their answers. Of those born in the UK a majority of 72 percent favoured staying either in London or somewhere else in the UK. In contrast, none of the pupils born in Bangladesh chose this country as their future place of residence. Indeed, 92 percent of them selected either London or the UK as their final destination, while only 7 percent preferred to move abroad. Within London, the selected areas of residence fluctuated from the impoverished East End neighbourhoods, throughout the affluent City and the West End, to the leafy Hampstead suburbs. The fact that the majority of Bangladeshis chose to remain in the UK, either in London or some other metropolis, confirms their degree of integration in British society. Moreover, the intention of some Bengali children to move away from their community to more prosperous London neighbourhood signals a further break from their ethnic enclave in Tower Hamlets. Finally, these students' failure to select Bangladesh as their place of residence is further proof of a growing aspirational gap between them and their forebears.

Table 5 THC Pupils' preferred Country of Residence

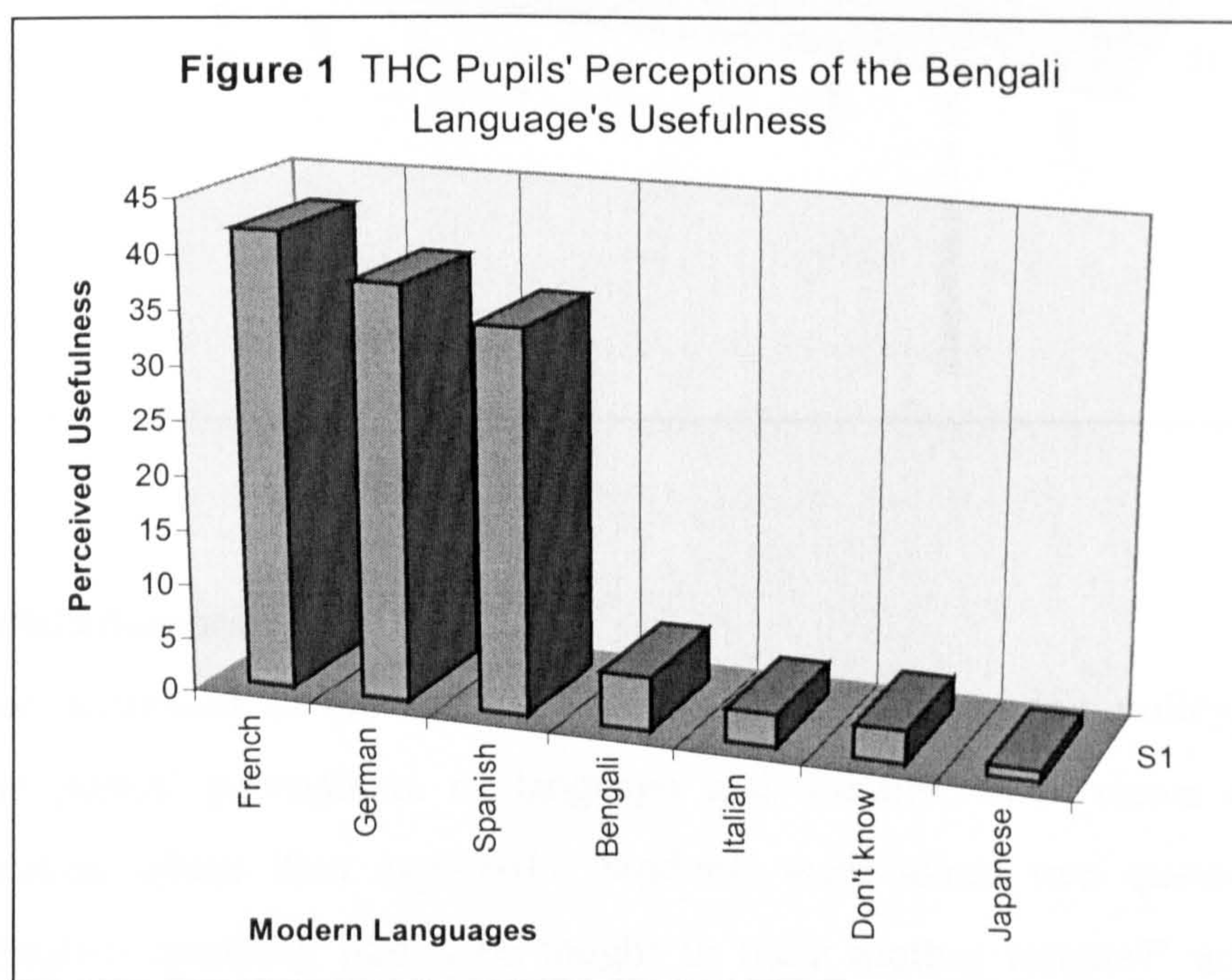
	<u>Chosen Place of Residence</u>			
	Total	UK/London	Bangladesh	Other
<u>Country of Birth:</u>				
Bangladesh	28	26	0	2
UK	18	13	0	5
Other	1	0	0	1
Total	47	39	0	8

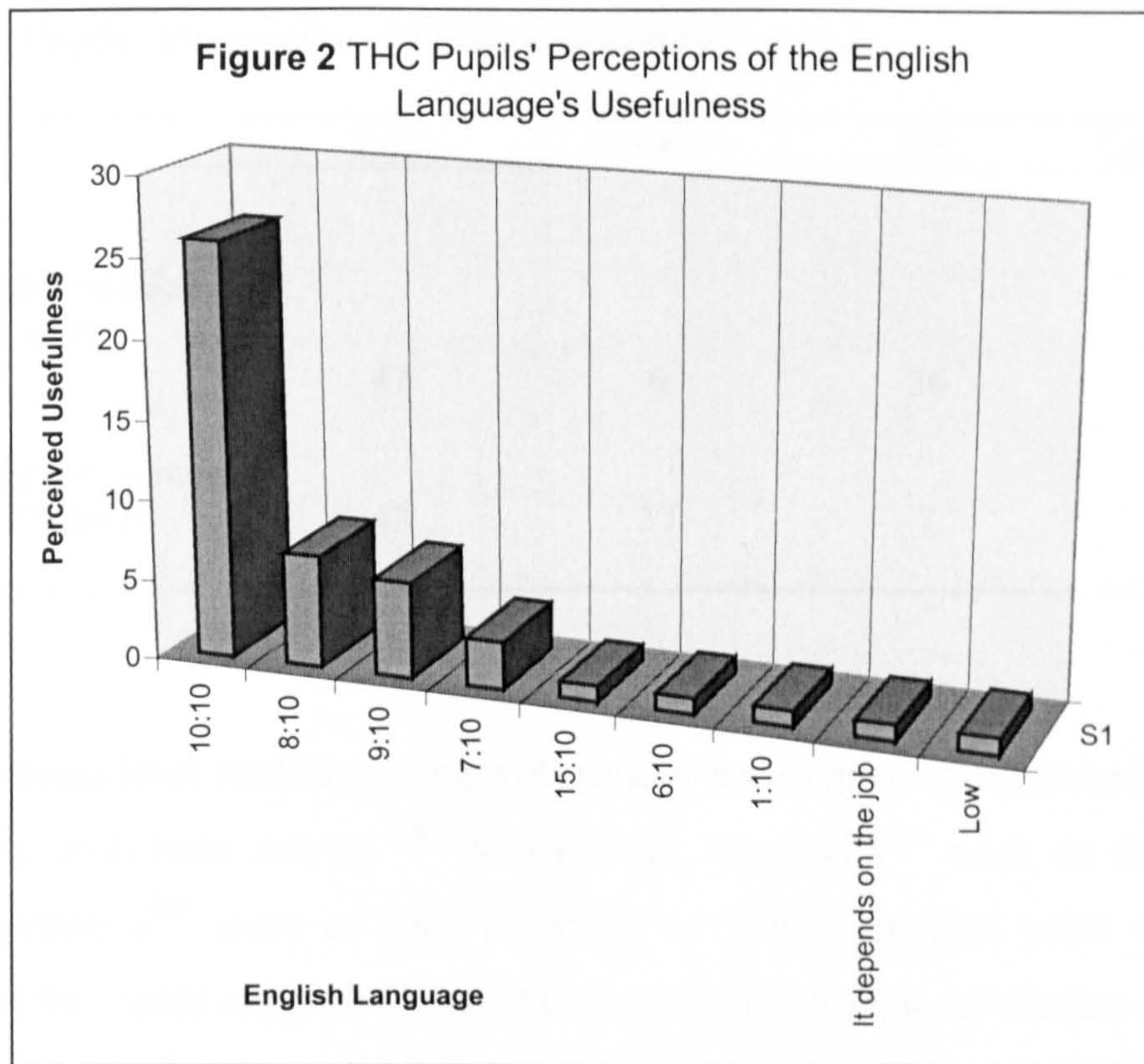
Note: within London, the preferred locations were: the East End, the South East, the City, Park Lane, Hampstead, North London and Brixton. Within the UK, the preferred locations were: Scotland, Manchester and 'somewhere rural'. Outside the UK, the preferred locations were: the Caribbean, America, Canada, Saudi Arabia, the Middle East, Brazil and Italy. Not a single respondent chose Bangladesh as their country of residence. The 'other' category refers to the newly arrived Latvian student, who hoped to return to her country of origin.

- **Language:**

The second topic addressed in the survey was the children's perception of language. Both the English and Bengali languages were put to the test. The intention here was to determine these pupils' preferences in the use of language, and the different values they attribute to them. The question put to them was: 'name the three most useful Modern Languages taught in the National Curriculum'. Figure 1 shows the students' perceptions of the Bengali language's usefulness. Out of a total of 47 students, 89 percent chose French as the most useful modern language, it was closely followed by German (80 percent) and Spanish (74 percent); lagging behind were Bengali (10 percent), Italian (6 percent) and Japanese (2 percent). Contrary to Bengali parents' views, these children do not attribute great academic relevance to learning their native language. Another question was put to them, this time regarding the English language: 'in a scale of 1 to 10, how important is learning English to getting a job?' (1 = not important and 10 = very important). Figure 2 shows these students' perceptions of the English language's usefulness. From a total of 47 students questioned, one student (2 percent) ranked English at 15 points, this was followed by a majority of 26 pupils (55 percent) who found English worth 10 points, seven students (14 percent) who ranked English at eight points,

six pupils (12 percent) gave it nine points, three respondents (6 percent) valued it at seven points, one pupil (2 percent) ranked English at six points, one student (2 percent) gave it one point, one pupil (2 percent) indicated that the usefulness of English 'depends on the job', and a further student (2 percent) said that English had a 'low' value. On the whole, the overwhelming majority of students regarded English not only as a very important academic subject, but most significantly as valuable socio-economic tool.





- **ESL education policy:**

The final issue addressed in the survey was that of ESL education policy. Having ascertained the pupils' perceptions of language and identity, their views on second language education were then explored. Students were asked two questions: first, 'should non-English speaking pupils be taught in their mother tongue?' and second, 'should all immigrants coming to Britain learn English?' Table 5 shows their answers. With regard to the first question, a majority of 76 percent of students believed that non-English speakers 'should not' be taught in their mother tongue. In answer to the second question, a total of 78 percent of pupils thought that all immigrants coming to Britain 'should learn' the English language. In other words, most students not only advocated the provision of ESL programmes; they also discouraged mother tongue teaching in mainstream education. Overall, students' views on ESL policy were consistent with both their self-identification patterns as well as the high regard in which they held the dominant English language.

Table 6 THC Pupils' Perceptions of ESL Education

	Total	Yes	No	Don't Know
<u>Questions:</u>				
Should non-English-speaking pupils be taught in their mother tongue?	47	6	36	5
Should all immigrants coming to Britain learn English?	47	37	7	3

A number of macro-level studies dealing with similar issues have corroborated the basic findings of this small local survey.⁵²⁶ In particular, Moddod's⁵²⁷ work on diversity in Britain, and Sinnott's⁵²⁸ study of ESL schooling in Tower Hamlets point towards a continuation of the trends suggested here. Such national and regional studies ultimately reveal a wealth of interpretations regarding the questions of language and identity.

5) The Politicisation of ESL Education

The Bangladeshi community in Tower Hamlets is not only the main recipient of ESL services; it also comprises the most significant electoral force in the borough. As a result, the provision of ESL education services has acquired a political significance. In the words of Jane Lawrence, ESL education in Tower Hamlets 'has become far too political. That's the problem'.⁵²⁹ Jeff O'Brien similarly argued that ESL has been turned into an 'election bargaining point...it is a matter of political expenditure that translates into votes'.⁵³⁰ In an interview with the author, Anna Ferris, EMAG Co-ordinator in Tower Hamlets Council, also echoed this opinion. She argued that the transition from Section 11 to EMAG funding had been driven by the government's own 'political agenda'.⁵³¹ The politicisation of ESL education can be said to have influenced the way in which this

⁵²⁶ See LEPU, *Living in Bethnal Green*.

⁵²⁷ See T. Moddod, R. Berthoud, J. Lakey, J. Nazroo, P. Smith, S. Virdee and S. Beishon, *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage*, (London: Policy Studies Institute), 1997.

⁵²⁸ See J. Sinnott, *Living in Tower Hamlets: a Survey of the Attitudes of Secondary School Pupils*, (London: Tower Hamlets Council), April 1995.

⁵²⁹ Interview with Jane Lawrence, 17th December 1996.

⁵³⁰ Interview with Jeff O'Brien, 27th November 1996.

⁵³¹ Interview with Anna Ferris, EMAG Co-ordinator, Tower Hamlets Council, London, 26th January 2000.

policy is framed, for political considerations seemed to have often preceded educational concerns.

Most teachers and educationalists felt that the maximisation of electoral gains seldom addressed the academic underachievement of ESL students; with many believing that so-called 'political correctness' had negatively affected ESL pupils. Martin MacManum, for instance, criticised local Bengali community leaders' insistence on mother tongue teaching in schools, as part of a wider pluralistic political agenda. He argued that their misconceived sense of equality of opportunities was doing a disservice to Bengali ESL students. For the latter were not being encouraged to develop the English language skills necessary to succeed in British society; as he declared:

Equal Opportunities within the school are creating a false environment, an environment that does not exist in reality. This means that they [Bengali students] are not prepared for the outside world. And that is not Equal Opportunities. Because that means that, yes, in the school there is a lot of political rhetoric, but once they finish school and go into the real world, what are they going to do? Because they don't even have the basic education to survive, the danger is they will trap themselves in endless poverty through ignorance.⁵³²

Josette Koraram furthermore argued that by establishing an all-encompassing EMAG, which does not deal with the different needs of ESL students, the government was simply 'playing the race card', thus:

You blend all the people who are second language learners, so you address all the needs at the same time. But their needs are not necessarily the same. The needs of the Somalis are not the same needs of the Bangladeshis. The Somalis are actually refugees...They are political refugees. The Bangladeshis are economic refugees and economic immigrants. There is absolutely no doubt about it.⁵³³

Political correctness was also perceived to interfere with ESL teaching practices. The experience of John Bradley illustrates this point. He complained that 'it gets to the stage sometimes that I really feel like saying: 'right, I don't want any Bengali spoken in the classroom'. But, it's not school policy to do that, so I never say it'.⁵³⁴ The introduction of a political dimension into the ESL policy process can therefore be said to have had a distorting effect on the policy process. For when electoral gain and political expedience

⁵³² Interview with Martin MacManum, 2nd February 1997.

⁵³³ Interview with Josette Koraram, 12th December 1996.

⁵³⁴ Interview with John Bradley, 2nd February 1997.

are rated above educational considerations, ESL education seems to be driven by a different set of values.

Overall, this section has explored a number of factors that influence the way in which those involved in ESL education have come to understand this policy. Having mapped out the existing ESL 'interpretive communities' and their particular 'symbolic artifacts', we now proceed to identify the resulting 'discourse coalitions'.⁵³⁵ Drawing from ESL players' contrasting interpretations of this policy, three emerging ESL policy frames are outlined next.

6.5 Emerging ESL Policy Discourses: The Assimilationists, Exclusionists and Social Integrationists

The interpretive approach suggests that in any given policy process, actors from various backgrounds form specific discourse coalitions around specific storylines. As Hajer has argued 'storylines are the medium through which actors try to impose their view of reality on others, suggest certain social positions and practices, and criticise alternative social arrangements'.⁵³⁶ Within the context of ESL education, three distinctive storylines have emerged around which those involved in this policy have gathered. They are the so-called assimilationist, exclusionist and social integrationist discourse coalitions. Their advocates' respective perceptions of ESL education vary from a full embrace of English-speaking Anglo-Saxon values, to a rejection of the former in favour of Bengali-speaking Islamic traditions, to a halfway perspective, which equally values both. These policy frames ultimately represent three different approaches to ESL education.

The Assimilationists

The assimilationists take a very pragmatic view of ESL education policy. They believe in the supremacy of the English language and advocate its mastery. They resemble the French Republican model, which places the strongest emphasis on French as being not only the official language of France, but a unifying force for all the nation's citizens.

⁵³⁵ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, p. 20.

⁵³⁶ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', pp. 43-76.

Within the context of the government's proposed English language requirement for British citizenship, David Blunkett, Home Secretary, encapsulated the essence of the assimilationist discourse in a written answer to the author; he declared: 'I want to do everything I can to improve social cohesion in the United Kingdom'.⁵³⁷ The assimilationists accordingly argue that second generation immigrants should speak English, for they are British subjects. Peter Wrench, similarly told the author:

There is no difficulty at all with people speaking minority languages as long as they have access to common communication mechanisms; and I think the English language is the key to that. If you've got somebody who speaks only Urdu or Spanish and they want to become a British citizen, then I think it is a reasonable question to say well, how are you going to play an active part in British society, if you are not prepared to learn any of the English language at all?⁵³⁸

Josette Koraram reiterated this view when she referred to ESL students having to be able to operate in an English-speaking society, thus:

They [ESL students] are here to learn English, they are here in England. They are little English men and women, and the priority has to be to make them so, right in their own country. Their country is England.⁵³⁹

Assimilationists perceive the English language to be as much a scholarly asset as an economic tool; for English language proficiency will ultimately determine both ESL students' academic excellence and their access to the labour market. Advocates of the assimilationist approach - which include most government officials, teachers, educationalists and ESL pupils - understand ESL programmes as providing minority students with equal access to the National Curriculum. As Estelle Morris, Secretary of State for Education has stated in correspondence to the author:

The government strongly believes that proficiency in English language is the most effective guarantee that EAL [English as an Additional Language] pupils can access the National Curriculum, attain well in school and have the best preparation for further or higher education, employment or training.⁵⁴⁰

This viewpoint was endorsed by Josette Koraram, who indicated:

⁵³⁷ Written answer provided by David Blunkett, Home Secretary, to the author, 8th April 2002.

⁵³⁸ Interview with Peter Wrench, 14th March 2002.

⁵³⁹ Interview with Josette Koraram, 12th December 1996.

⁵⁴⁰ Written answer provided by Estelle Morris to the author, 2nd May 2002.

I feel very very strongly on equal opportunities. But if we are not equipping those children with good standards of English, it's going to be more difficult when they leave school to go and find a job. Because of the inherently racist society [we live in]...you have a duty to make those Bangladeshi children better in English than the white children, in order to compete on equal grounds.⁵⁴¹

Soyful Alon similarly argued that in an 'ideal world' support for mother tongue teaching should be provided. In the schools of Tower Hamlets, however, 'the emphasis should be given on the main curriculum related [skills] like reading, speaking English, getting fluent in English'.⁵⁴² Jamal Khan, ESL Teacher, tried likewise to convey to her pupils the importance of mastering the English language. She explained to them that 'speaking the English language is very important for anybody who wants to work...even if you want a cleaner's job, you have to write your CV, you have to fill in an application form'.⁵⁴³

The assimilationists' preferred teaching strategy consists of the temporary segregation of ESL students into intensive English classes; for they argue that minority children should learn English prior to coming into school. Josette Koraram suggested that:

It would be a good idea if the children who have very very poor English skills were withdrawn for some of the areas of the curriculum for a little while, in order to have intensive English. And then they would be able to read directly in the classroom and that would be more advantageous.⁵⁴⁴

Martin MacManum pointed out that intensive English tuition would be particularly beneficial for Bengali schoolchildren in Tower Hamlets, for whom 'English is almost like a foreign language'.⁵⁴⁵ He complained that it becomes very difficult both to create a framework for these ESL students to learn English and 'for them to have a vision of their learning English'.⁵⁴⁶ Toni Mitchelmore similarly indicated that there are not many opportunities for Bengali ESL students to learn English before going to school, but even if they were, 'you've got to persuade the community that it is worthwhile teaching to two year-olds English'.⁵⁴⁷ Most ESL teachers therefore advocate pre-school English language

⁵⁴¹ Interview with Josette Koraram, 12th December 1996.

⁵⁴² Interview with Cllr. Soyful Alon, 22nd November 1996.

⁵⁴³ Interview with Jamal Khan, ESL Adult Education Teacher, St. Hilda's Community Centre, London, 11th December 1996.

⁵⁴⁴ Interview with Josette Koraram, 12th December 1996.

⁵⁴⁵ Interview with Martin MacManum, 2nd February 1997.

⁵⁴⁶ Interview with Martin MacManum, 2nd February 1997.

⁵⁴⁷ Interview with Toni Mitchelmore, 13th December 1996.

programmes. Martin MacManum, for example, recommended that ESL students be provided 'in the summer or before starting school or even once they've started school, with English as a Second Language tuition'; as a result, 'their English would be better'.⁵⁴⁸ Jane Lawrence, on the other hand, proposed 'giving them [ESL students] short bursts of withdrawal for special English teaching'.⁵⁴⁹ For those already at school, Toni Mitchelmore finally suggested the creation of 'supplementary ESL programmes', 'study clubs' and 'lunchtime language activities'.⁵⁵⁰

While the assimilationists value ethnic linguistic heritage, they believe that the maintenance of community languages should be mainly the responsibility of the immigrant communities themselves.⁵⁵¹ As Martin MacManum put it, 'in my experience, I haven't seen anybody who has learned English and because of that has forgotten its mother tongue'.⁵⁵² Although assimilationists do not advocate mother tongue teaching, they neither disregard it altogether. Josette Koraram believed that studying Bengali may actually help Bangladeshi children to appreciate their own mother tongue; it may 'give them a bit of respect for their language'.⁵⁵³ Jane Lawrence reflected on the fact that non-English-speaking children in British schools often devalue their own community languages. In her lessons, for instance, Bengali students only spoke English when they were being listened to, but 'when they want to say something rude or they want to swear, or they want to curse they do it in Bengali'.⁵⁵⁴ Despite the lesser status afforded to ethnic minority tongues, the assimilationists believe that under no circumstances they should be taught at the expense of English.

The Exclusivists

The exclusivists take the opposite view on ESL education to that of the assimilationists. They consequently advocate Bengali language instruction in the classroom, as well as the fostering of Islamic traditions at school. Perhaps, not surprisingly, most advocates of this particular approach belong to the Bangladeshi community, including community leaders,

⁵⁴⁸ Interview with Martin MacManum, 2nd February 1997.

⁵⁴⁹ Interview with Jane Lawrence, 17th December 1996.

⁵⁵⁰ Interview with Toni Mitchelmore, 13th December 1996.

⁵⁵¹ Interview with Ian Chisholm, Head of Procedures and Victims Unit, Criminal Policy Directorate, Home Office, London, 19th September 1996.

⁵⁵² Interview with Martin MacManum, 2nd February 1997.

⁵⁵³ Interview with Josette Koraram, 12th December 1996.

teachers, educationalists and parents. They seem to favour maintenance of their ethnic language at the expense of English. Jamal Khan encapsulated the exclusivist ideology during the course of an interview with the author, thus:

It doesn't matter where the children are coming from, they should learn their own language. There should be facilities for them. It is very very important for them. I speak Urdu, I want my daughters to learn Urdu, and I did my best to teach them. At home they all speak Urdu. That shows their identity. That's where they come from.⁵⁵⁵

The exclusivists' preferred teaching strategy is the use of mother tongue teaching in the classroom; for they advocate drawing on community tongues in order to teach pupils the English language. This discourse coalition furthermore supports the testing of core subjects such as Maths and Science in ethnic minority languages - i.e. Bengali - instead of Standard English. The exclusivists ultimately understand ESL education as nurturing non-English-speaking pupils' ethnic linguistic and cultural heritage. Hasina Haque, ESL Adult Education Teacher at St. Hilda's, for instance, reasoned: 'if English students are learning French and German, so why can't they learn Bengali?'⁵⁵⁶ Mainul Haque, Project Manager of the Bengali Elders Programme at St. Hilda's East Community Centre, similarly endorsed teaching of the Bengali language at school, in its own right; as he told the author: 'this [Bengali] is...perhaps the sixth biggest language in the world, so how should it not be important?'⁵⁵⁷

Hasina Haque however pointed out that it is the Bengali parents who take their offspring to Saturday morning Bengali language classes, and that 'they are very keen that their children should learn Bengali'.⁵⁵⁸ In contrast, young Bengalis by and large do not share the exclusivist attitudes of their elders. As Josette Koraram emphasized, the outlook of first and second generation Bengali UK-residents differs considerably, thus:

Our [school] children don't have the same expectations as their parents have. For a start, when a lot of parents came here, they wanted to go back to Bangladesh. But it hasn't worked out like that. They are still living in this country. Very few pupils who were born

⁵⁵⁴ Interview with Jane Lawrence, 17th December 1997.

⁵⁵⁵ Interview with Jamal Khan, 11th December 1996.

⁵⁵⁶ Interview with Hasina Haque, ESL Adult Education Teacher, St. Hilda's East Community Centre, London, 9th December 1996.

⁵⁵⁷ Interview with Mainul Haque, Project Manager, Bengali Elders Programme, St. Hilda's East Community Centre, London, 9th December 1996.

⁵⁵⁸ Interview with Hasina Haque, 9th December 1996; see also R. M. Asraf, 'The Cultural Implications of Teaching English as a Secondary or Foreign Language', *Muslim Education Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 4, 1997, pp. 4-19.

here want to go and live permanently in Bangladesh. The majority wants to remain here.⁵⁵⁹

Unlike the younger generation, Bengali elders living in Tower Hamlets have neither the need nor the motivation to learn English. Their large presence in the area has provided them with a familiar environment in which Bengali language and Islamic traditions dominate everyday life. Such circumstances have considerably diminished Bengali adults' perception of the English language's worth. This is certainly the experience of Jackie Gooding, ESL Adult Education Teacher, whose Bengali mature students regularly failed to attend her classes:

At the moment, this is a real dilemma that we are fighting with: is it us that fail the students or the students that fail us? it certainly feels like the latter. When you don't get regular attendance, when people don't put college as a high priority, it's very hard to find out exactly why, why they don't.⁵⁶⁰

Mainul Haque similarly found a complete lack of interest towards the English language and British culture among the Bengali elders he worked with; as he put it: 'at this stage, at this moment, I think they are not willing or not keen to learn English'.⁵⁶¹

The Social Integrationists

The social integrationist discourse coalition takes a pluralist view of ESL education. Unlike the English biased assimilationists or the ethnically inclined exclusivists, the social integrationists equally value both majority as well as minority linguistic and cultural heritage. In an interview with the author, Sally Bird summed up the dual nature of this approach, thus: 'you are Asian, you are British and you are sort of a mix British-Asian'.⁵⁶² Advocates of this approach, who comprise a small number of ESL teachers, educationalists and ethnic minority pupils, believe in the realisation of a multicultural ideal in the classroom. They therefore envisage ESL education as fostering minority pupils' fluency in both their adopted English language as well as their own mother tongues.

⁵⁵⁹ Interview with Josette Koraram, 12th December 1996.

⁵⁶⁰ Interview with Jackie Gooding, ESL Adult Education Teacher, Tower Hamlets College, London, 18th April 1997.

⁵⁶¹ Interview with Mainul Haque, 9th December 1996.

⁵⁶² Interview with Sally Bird, 18th April 1997.

The social integrationists' preferred teaching strategy is the use of ESL students' linguistics skills as the basis for their learning English. Sally Bird explained this view, hence:

It would be very useful, in the colleges and in the schools, if we did more work with students and pupils in their first languages, and develop their first languages to a more formal stage than they do in the reduced setting of the home...I think that to do that, in people's first languages, could have a very beneficial effect on their second languages.⁵⁶³

Jamal Khan's experience with ESL Bengali students corroborates this view; as he told the author: 'it [teaching in Bengali] works for me wonderfully. If they [ESL pupils] can't read and write Bengali, it's very difficult for them to learn English'.⁵⁶⁴ Reiterating this point, Toni Mitchelmore explained how her Bengali ESL students displayed certain 'oral understanding' of the Bengali language, which they did not usually possess in 'written form'. It follows that if these students were taught in Bengali, they would 'be able to have a more formal standard with Bengali'.⁵⁶⁵ She believed that having learned to read and write Bengali, her ESL students would, in turn, be able to progress faster in English; as she put it: 'the [Bengali] written form will be reinforced in their standards in English. I think they'll do extremely well. Having a formal standard [in Bengali] is extremely important'.⁵⁶⁶ Soyful Alon endorsed this perspective by further arguing that:

If they [ESL students] cannot understand English, the only way of helping them to understand is through their mother tongue. And necessary support should be provided to help them in this transition until they understand or they can communicate. Otherwise, they will be isolated.⁵⁶⁷

While the social integrationists expect ESL students to learn English, they do not conceive mother tongue teaching solely as a transitional tool towards English language fluency. On the contrary, the social integrationists understand ESL education as fostering bilingualism and biculturalism. In the words of Hasanat Husain: 'ESL programmes should aim to provide a supportive environment, at home and in the community, for the

⁵⁶³ Interview with Sally Bird, 18th April 1997.

⁵⁶⁴ Interview with Jamal Khan, 11th December 1996.

⁵⁶⁵ Interview with Toni Mitchelmore, 13th December 1996.

⁵⁶⁶ Interview with Toni Mitchelmore, 13th December 1996.

⁵⁶⁷ Interview with Cllr. Soyful Alon, 22nd November 1996.

bicultural nature of these children. If bilingualism and biculturalism were viewed favourably both by their families and by society at large, fewer problems would exist'.⁵⁶⁸

On the whole, the assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist discourse coalitions reflect the different ways in which those involved in ESL education make sense of this policy. While these policy frames are not exclusive, they represent the three main storylines around which ESL policy actors have been drawn together. Advocates of the assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist approaches thus share particular common values, views and perceptions on language, identity and ESL education. As Hajer would argue, each of these discourse coalitions ultimately comprises a group of players from various different backgrounds who nevertheless understand ESL policy in the same fashion.⁵⁶⁹

6.6 Summary

This chapter has explored the way in which ESL programmes are delivered in Tower Hamlets. Within a centralised hierarchical structure, government policy guidelines travelled from the DfES downwards to the LEAs until they reached the schools of the East End of London. Along the way, a network of public, private and community organisations and individuals have become involved in the provision of ESL education. Against this background, the experiences of Swanlea School and Tower Hamlets College have shown that each of these policy players understands ESL education in a different way. Drawing from ESL policy actors' particular accounts of their feelings, perspectives and value-systems, three ESL discourse coalitions have been unveiled, namely the assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist. Advocates of each of these policy frames have been brought together by their shared understandings of ESL education. The assimilationists, on the one hand, have attributed a premium value to the English language and Anglo-Saxon culture. The exclusivists, on the other hand, have emphasised the importance of community languages and ethnic heritage. In contrast, the social integrationists have endorsed a multicultural approach that equally appreciates both.

⁵⁶⁸ Interview with Hasanat M. Husain, 4th October 1996.

⁵⁶⁹ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', p. 47.

Overall, these policy frames have encapsulated three entirely different ideologies through which the phenomenon of ESL education policy has ultimately been given meaning.

Chapter 7: Bilingual Schooling in the New York City Borough of Manhattan

This chapter explores the way in which bilingual education programmes have been delivered in the New York City Borough of Manhattan. In common with Tower Hamlets, bilingual education policy is shown to take place in a complex multi-agency context in which various organisations and players are involved. The case study of the Hispanic-dominated Seward Park High School (SPHS) reveals the emergence of similar bilingual education policy frames to those identified in Tower Hamlets, namely the assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist. While the ideologies behind each of these discourse coalitions remain broadly unaffected, the nature of those who advocate them has changed.

7.1 The New York City Borough of Manhattan

From the outset New York City appears as a uniquely diverse North American metropolis comprising a large number of inner-city areas. Within this context, a myriad of ethnic linguistic communities coexists in an otherwise English-speaking Anglo-Saxon society. The extraordinary character of New York City as a cosmopolitan melting pot has been encapsulated by Beider, thus:

Nowhere in the nation is the rhythm of urban life more hammering than in New York City. Crammed into tiny spaces, millions of people find themselves in constant confrontation. Perhaps because of this crush, the denizens of New York are some of the loudest, pushiest, most neurotic and loneliest in the world, although they may also be the most vibrant, energetic and talented as well. Much that is unique, attractive, awe-inspiring and repulsive about the Big Apple is a function of the city's scale - too big, too heterogeneous, too jumbled and too exciting -.⁵⁷⁰

New York City is a vibrant urban sprawl which embraces many different ethnic influences, cultures and languages. Among this rich mix of nationalities and heritages there is one group whose numerical, cultural and linguistic impact stands above the rest, namely the Spanish-speaking Hispanic community. Just as the Bangladeshi group was

⁵⁷⁰ F. Beider (ed.), *Let's Go USA 1998*, (London: Macmillan), 1998, p. 134.

predominant in the London borough of Tower Hamlets, the Hispanic community enjoys an overwhelming presence in the New York City borough of Manhattan. Between 1990 and 1994, for instance, Hispanics alone comprised 43 percent of the total immigrant inflow into Manhattan.⁵⁷¹ Although traditionally labelled under the all-encompassing term 'Latino', this heterogeneous collective is made up of peoples from various Central and South American nations, including Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, Colombia and the Dominican Republic. In spite of their different origins and backgrounds, all Latinos share a common cultural and linguistic outlook, which strongly binds them together.

Over the past thirty years, three large inner-city districts have become home to Manhattan's large Hispanic community. The first and oldest settlement is the so-called *El Barrio* (the neighbourhood), which is situated in East Harlem (i.e. north east of Manhattan) and houses the bulk of New York City's Puerto Rican residents. The second area is Washington Heights, in the north west of Manhattan, which has become a focal point for the growing Dominican population. By the early 1990s, already 82 percent of all immigrants settling in Washington Heights had originated in the Dominican Republic.⁵⁷² The third sector where more recent Hispanic arrivals have concentrated is the Lower East Side (LES) of Manhattan in the vicinity of Chinatown, where Latino residents now outnumber their Chinese neighbours.⁵⁷³ It is in this southern corner of Manhattan that Seward Park High School is situated.

In common with the Bengalis' experience in Tower Hamlets, Manhattan's Hispanic collective has traditionally endured adverse socio-economic conditions, which have rendered Latino pupils academically disadvantaged. Typically, a Hispanic student newly arrived at Seward Park High School lives in a poor inner-city area with high levels of unemployment, single parent families and street violence. Within this context, s/he has to adapt to an English-speaking US society that often depicts Latinos through negative stereotypical images. In the classroom, s/he must endeavour to quickly master the English language in order to access the school curriculum. After lessons, s/he will most probably hold some menial job to supplement her/his extended family's income. Such

⁵⁷¹ New York City Department of City Planning (NYCDCP), *Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990*, (New York: NYCDCP), September 1994, p. 78.

⁵⁷² NYCDCP, *Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990*, pp. 85-86.

⁵⁷³ NYCDCP, *Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990*, pp. 85-86.

adverse living conditions certainly do not foster the financial and emotional stability necessary to develop a child's academic potential. The US Department for Education has already identified five environmental factors known to have a detrimental effect on students' academic performance including difficulty in speaking English, poverty, single parent families, parents' educational standards and differentials in family income.⁵⁷⁴ Residents of *los barrios latinos* (the Latino neighbourhoods) experience such conditions on a daily basis. Not surprisingly, Hispanic students in Manhattan are found to have both higher dropout rates and lower graduation rates than the overall school population of New York City.⁵⁷⁵ The Latino Commission on Educational Reform has referred to the unfavourable circumstances affecting Hispanic students in Manhattan by describing how 'Latino children are often clustered in overcrowded schools characterised by deteriorating facilities, inexperienced and overburden staff, and poorly articulated curriculum'.⁵⁷⁶ While in Tower Hamlets, socio-economic deprivation was largely responsible for the academic underachievement of ESL Bangladeshi pupils; in Manhattan, entrenched 'historical and institutionalised inequities' might be able to explain Hispanics students' educational predicament.⁵⁷⁷

The School Population of Manhattan

With around one hundred different languages being spoken in New York City, this metropolis' great linguistic diversity can be said to be one of its most distinctive characteristics.⁵⁷⁸ Garcia has gone as far as to describe New York City as 'the most multilingual city in the world'.⁵⁷⁹ According to the *US Census 1990*, over 2.5 million New Yorkers (38.08 percent of the city's population) speak a Language Other Than English (LOTE); about half of them (53.63 percent) alone speak Spanish.⁵⁸⁰ A breakdown of the five most spoken LOTEs in New York City puts Spanish with 1,486,815 speakers (20.42 percent) at the top of the list, followed by Chinese with

⁵⁷⁴ US National Centre for Education Statistics, *The Conditions of Education 1997*, (Washington DC: US Department for Education), June 1997, pp. 1-11.

⁵⁷⁵ L. O. Reyes, *Making the Vision a Reality: a Latino Action Agenda for Education Reform*, Final Report of the Latino Commission on Educational Reform submitted to the New York City Board of Education (NYCBOE) and Chancellor Ramon C. Cortines, (New York: NYCBOE), 23rd March 1994, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁷⁶ Reyes, *Making the Vision a Reality*, p. 1.

⁵⁷⁷ Reyes, *Making the Vision a Reality*, p. 14.

⁵⁷⁸ O. Garcia, 'New York's Multilingualism: World Languages and their Role in a US City' in O. Garcia and J. A. Fishman (eds.), *The Multilingual Apple: Languages in New York City*, (New York: Mouton de Gruyter), 1997, pp. 3-50.

⁵⁷⁹ Garcia, 'New York's Multilingualism', pp. 3-50.

211,447 speakers (2.91 percent), Italian with 202,538 speakers (2.78 percent) and French with 105,756 speakers (1.45 percent).⁵⁸¹ Significantly, Spanish-speaking Hispanics not only comprise the largest linguistic community in New York City, they also make up the bulk of those who lack English proficiency; hence, 59 percent of the city's ESL population are of Hispanic origin (14 percent are Chinese and 5 percent Italians).⁵⁸² In other words, among the many recipients of bilingual programmes in New York City, Latinos are both the most numerous and also the ones with the greatest need.

With almost one quarter of New York City's ESL population enrolled in Manhattan's schools alone, addressing the educational needs of Hispanic students has become both a priority as well as a major policy challenge.⁵⁸³ Patricia H. Parisi told the author that this problem is furthermore aggravated by the fact that the academic performance of different ESL groups varies greatly; as she put it: 'some immigrant groups are more successful [academically], and some are less successful'.⁵⁸⁴ She went on to explain how Vietnamese bilingual students, for example, are 'a very successful group, with very high success rates in school', whereas Hispanics systematically 'under-perform'.⁵⁸⁵ Raising the academic achievement of Latino students seems a particular difficult task, for as Patricia H. Parisi acknowledged 'we haven't necessarily figured out how to deal with their needs'.⁵⁸⁶ On the one hand, Latino students' overwhelming numerical presence guarantees them prime access to bilingual education programmes. On the other hand, the endemic deprivation they endure prevents them from becoming academically accomplished. As a result, Hispanic students in Manhattan's schools continue to miss out in the classroom. In 1992, for instance, Seward Park High School received 718 new bilingual students, the majority of whom were of Hispanic origin. By 1996, 12.5 percent of them had left the school before graduating, and did not subsequently enrol in another school.⁵⁸⁷ Of those bilingual students who did continue their education, only three percent eventually achieved fluency in English (as opposed to 13 percent city-wide).⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁰ *US Census 1990* quoted in Garcia, 'New York's Multilingualism', p. 11.

⁵⁸¹ *US Census 1990* quoted in Garcia, 'New York's Multilingualism', p. 11.

⁵⁸² *US Census 1990* quoted in Garcia 'New York's Multilingualism', p. 11.

⁵⁸³ NYCDCEP, *Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990*, p. 78.

⁵⁸⁴ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁵⁸⁵ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁵⁸⁶ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁵⁸⁷ New York City Board of Education (NYCBOE), *Seward Park High School Annual Report 1995-96*, (New York: NYCBOE), October 1996, p.4.

⁵⁸⁸ NYCBOE, *Seward Park High School Annual Report 1995-96*, p. 4.

The persisting trend of educational underachievement experienced by Manhattan's Latino school population certainly remains an unresolved educational problem; one which is likely to worsen as their share of New York City's school population continues to rise. In the words of Patricia H. Parisi, Latino students 'are long-term immigrants for us, and we haven't really been as successful [with them] as we would like to be.'⁵⁸⁹

7.2 Bilingual Education and its Multi-organisational Context

The most striking feature of Manhattan's bilingual education system is its decentralised structure. In contrast to the centralised Tower Hamlets case, the boundaries of federal control have been effectively rolled back in Manhattan. As Patricia H. Parisi indicated to the author 'the Federal government has little direct control over what happens in local school districts'.⁵⁹⁰ This relaxed power relationship between central and local government is a defining characteristic of the US education system, as the *America goes back to School* initiative illustrates.⁵⁹¹ In February 1997, President Bill Clinton issued a 'call to action for American education in the twentieth first century' in which he urged not only local and federal officials, but parents, teachers, educationalists, as well as community leaders to take an active role in improving the state of US education.⁵⁹² In other words, the provision of education programmes in the USA was understood to concern a wide range of policy actors from a variety of different backgrounds. In the same way, bilingual instruction in Manhattan comprises a large network of policy players operating within a rather loose power structure. Manhattan's bilingual education policy is generated at local level, with federal and state governing bodies ultimately left to respond to the demands of linguistic ethnic communities. In an interview with the author, Betty Arce, Special Assistant at the NYCBOE, explained how 'the [federal] system has reacted to second language education for the past twenty years'.⁵⁹³ Such decentralised setting can be said to provide a fertile ground for the development of different ideas, views and perspectives regarding bilingual education programmes; in the words of Patricia H. Parisi:

⁵⁸⁹ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁵⁹⁰ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁵⁹¹ See US Department for Education (US DfE), *America goes back to School: Partnership for Family Involvement in Education*, (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office), August 1997.

⁵⁹² US DfE, *America goes back to School*, p. 1.

⁵⁹³ Interview with Betty Arce, Special Assistant, NYCBOE, New York, 21st October 1997.

That's one of the good elements of our very decentralised [bilingual education] program: it lets one thousand flowers bloom, you know. There is not one central policy. There are different methods, so there's sort of competing ideas and programs that have a chance of succeed. And I believe in that way more kids with different learning styles will find a method that works for them.⁵⁹⁴

Against this background, bilingual education is found to take place within a multi-organisational environment, where a multiplicity of public, private and community actors are actively involved in the provision of bilingual education programmes. As in Tower Hamlets, Manhattan's bilingual policy network consists of five sets of players, including federal, state and local government agencies, schools, community and voluntary groups, as well as public/private partnerships. Each of these categories, in turn, divides into further subdivisions often comprising overlapping groups. The most relevant second language policy actors in Manhattan are accordingly classified as follows:

- **Central Government Agencies:** the United States Department for Education (US DfE) and the Office of the Secretary of State for Education's Regional Representative for Region II: New Jersey (NJ), New York (NY), Puerto Rico (PR) and the Virgin Islands (VI).
- **New York City Local Government Agencies:** New York City Board of Education (NYCBOE), New York City Office of Bilingual Education, New York City Bilingual Curriculum and Instructional Services, New York City Office of High School Bilingual/ESL Programmes and New York City Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs and Language Services.
- **Schools:** Seward Park High School.
- **Community and Voluntary Groups:** Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, Centre for Puerto Rican Studies and Borough of Manhattan Community College.
- **Private Agencies/Partnerships:** Puerto Rican Legal Defence and Educational Fund and Association for Young Latino Entrepreneurs.

This policy network not only helps to map out the various parties concerned with the provision of bilingual education programmes, it also points towards the possibility of multiple interpretations of the policy by the various existing 'interpretive

communities'.⁵⁹⁵ Depending on their individual beliefs, ideologies and value-systems, different players will make sense of bilingual education policy in different ways.

7.3 The Case of Seward Park High School

The thesis' second case-study takes place in Seward Park High School, a secondary comprehensive school located in Manhattan's Lower East Side. The ethnic composition of the school's population is predominantly of Hispanic origin. A breakdown of the students' ethnic origin shows that Latinos account for 45.6 percent of the school's intake, followed by Chinese (39.3 percent), blacks (13.2 percent) and whites (1.9 percent).⁵⁹⁶ With over 84 percent of pupils having a mother tongue other than English, bilingual education is an integral part of Seward Park High School's curriculum. Like most educational centres in Manhattan, this comprehensive school provides a combination of targeted ESL classes and mainstream bilingual tuition. Interviewed by the author, Armand Cosquer, Assistant Principal of Seward Park High School, indicated that students entering the school undergo a registration process, which involves them visiting the Languages/ESL Programme Department. Here, they are assessed first, in their native language 'to see what the language level would be', and then in English.⁵⁹⁷ Just as Tower Hamlets' students take the London Reading Test, Seward Park High School pupils are given the LAB (Language Attitude Battery) Test. Depending on the results of this English proficiency exercise, students are placed in the 'appropriate' bilingual classes.⁵⁹⁸

The teaching of core subjects such as Maths, Biology or History to bilingual pupils involves the use of English as well as the students' mother tongue. In the first instance, bilingual classes are conducted mostly in the students' native language, with Basic Standard English being tentatively introduced. Use of mother tongue is then progressively reduced, as English becomes the prominent medium for lessons. The final phase of bilingual programmes comprises bilingual classes being conducted entirely in

⁵⁹⁴ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁵⁹⁵ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, p. 20.

⁵⁹⁶ NYCBOE, *Seward Park High School Annual Report 1995-96*, p. 1.

⁵⁹⁷ Interview with Armand Cosquer, Assistant Principal, Seward Park High School, New York, 17th October 1997.

⁵⁹⁸ Interview with Armand Cosquer, 17th October 1997.

English. It is at this point that students are expected to exit bilingual education and move into mainstream schooling. Armand Cosquer explained how:

The [bilingual] class is taught by a teacher the Board of Education has deemed to be bilingual, that is, a person who can speak both English and Chinese, or Spanish or Bengali. The teacher then does his lessons in such a way that the content area is introduced to the students in Spanish or in Chinese. However, terminology that the students will need later on, vocabulary etc., is introduced in English. The students will also receive a glossary of terms. The first textbook that the child receives is in English. So they have to read in English, but the explanation of the content is done in the child's native language.⁵⁹⁹

The experience of William Quintana, Spanish Bilingual Biology/Chemistry Teacher at Seward Park High School, illustrates the actual delivery of bilingual programmes:

The first week...I give the class material in English, while translating it into Spanish. I write in English, I teach in English with a Spanish translation, and the exams are in Spanish. The objective is, by the end of the second month, after eight weeks, to have reduced the amount of native language I use, in this case Spanish, and to have increased the level of English, writing in English and speaking in English...After two months I continue increasing English and reducing Spanish; the reading material continues to be in English, while translation into Spanish is reduced. From time to time, I give them exams in English to identify areas in which they are underperforming, and then I revise those topics in Spanish, in order to ascertain whether there is a comprehension problem, or a knowledge problem. The objective, by the second term...is to try to have a completely [English] monolingual class.⁶⁰⁰

In other words, as Armand Cosquer put it: 'if you were to visit, let's say, a Global History class in September of bilingual Chinese, you would find that 90 percent of the time the teacher would be speaking in Chinese. However, by the time you've got to January, it should be at least 50 percent English'.⁶⁰¹

The delivery of bilingual programmes in Manhattan, however, is hampered by numerous obstacles, including staff shortage and inadequate use of resources. Luis Reyes, Chair of the NYCBOE, described to the author some of the difficulties facing bilingual programmes including a 'shortage' of qualified teachers, 'lack of instruction materials' and adequate 'staff development'.⁶⁰² In addition, he pointed to 'the fact that we have this

⁵⁹⁹ Interview with Armand Cosquer, 17th October 1997.

⁶⁰⁰ Interview with William Quintana, Spanish Bilingual Biology/Chemistry Teacher, Seward Park High School, New York, 23rd October, 1997.

⁶⁰¹ Interview with Armand Cosquer, 17th October 1997.

⁶⁰² Interview with Luis Reyes, Chair, New York City Board of Education (NYCBOE), New York, 21st October 1997.

new population coming from countries that have experienced economic or political turmoil where students come with limited schooling and therefore limited literacy in their first language'.⁶⁰³ In another interview, Pedro Pedraza, Director of the Centre for Puerto Rican Studies at City University of New York, similarly reflected on the multiplicity of educational needs that bilingual programmes must cater for:

The [bilingual education] situation is very complex. Bilingual education here in the city not only caters for Latinos, but it also provides programmes in schools where there are Tahitians, Greeks, Italians, Chinese, etc. So, it is a very difficult situation. With regard to the Hispanics, it is further complicated because there are many different groups: the Mexicans, more recently the Dominicans, the Puerto Ricans, etc. And each group has its particular idiosyncrasy, its socio-economic circumstances and its cultural community.⁶⁰⁴

The difficulties involved in the provision of bilingual programmes in Manhattan echo, to certain extent, those facing Tower Hamlets, including staff shortages as well as the complex needs of bilingual students. In order to understand these policy challenges it is necessary to take a look at bilingual classroom practices; for an insight into bilingual service provision will expose the problems encountered by teachers and educationalists as well as students. It will also unveil the different ways in which each of these policy players has come to perceive bilingual education.

7.4 Bilingual Classroom Practice: Perceptions and Reality

As in Tower Hamlets, the language experience of Seward Park High School has revealed five environmental factors that influence the way in which those involved in bilingual education understand this policy, including problem definitions, policy objectives, scarce resources, perceptions of language and identity, and the politicisation of bilingual education.

1) Problem Definitions

In contrast to the Tower Hamlets' case, there is a general consensus regarding the way in which bilingual policy is defined in Manhattan. The academic underachievement of bilingual students is basically understood as an educational problem. Government

⁶⁰³ Interview with Luis Reyes, 21st October 1997.

officials, schoolteachers, community leaders and bilingual pupils all seem to equate lack of English proficiency with school failure. Teodoro Gonzalez, Spanish Bilingual Maths Teacher at Seward Park High School, told the author that ‘nobody questions’ the fact that bilingual students ‘need to learn English’.⁶⁰⁵ Regardless of the presence of adverse environmental factors such as poverty or racism, bilingual students’ inability to master the English language is largely seen as the reason behind their academic underperformance. As Patricia H. Parisi put it: ‘you must learn English to be successful in the United States. In our schools, they [bilingual students] are taught in English, and to learn complex rigorous courses in the higher standards, you have to learn English’.⁶⁰⁶

2) Policy Objectives

A second factor that affects the way in which bilingual education is understood in Manhattan refers to the existence of clear policy objectives. There is one single overriding principle upon which bilingual education policy is based, namely a commitment to the teaching of English. This tenet was encapsulated by Patricia H. Parisi, when she said that: ‘overall, our policy is to get children to learn English as quickly as possible’.⁶⁰⁷ The New York City Board of Education’s *Curriculum Frameworks* elaborates further on this basic policy goal. On the one hand, bilingual tuition is meant to provide non-English-speaking children with equality of access to the school curriculum, hence:

Bilingual instruction plays a major role in affording bilingual/ESL students the opportunity to acquire the English proficiency and the academic, cognitive and cultural knowledge they need to become active participants in the larger society.⁶⁰⁸

On the other hand, the role of mother tongues in bilingual programmes is only intended as an aid to learning the English language. Bilingual students are ultimately expected to exit bilingual programmes by becoming fluent in English, thus:

⁶⁰⁴ Interview with Pedro Pedraza, 27th March 2000.

⁶⁰⁵ Interview with Teodoro Gonzalez, Spanish Bilingual Maths Teacher, Seward Park High School, New York, 23rd March 2000. The original interview, conducted in Spanish, has been translated into English by the author.

⁶⁰⁶ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁶⁰⁷ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁶⁰⁸ New York City Board of Education (NYCBOE), *Curriculum Frameworks: Knowledge, Skills and Abilities, Grades Pre-K-12*, (New York: NCBOE), 1995, p. xxi.

The concepts, literary skills and critical thinking strategies developed in all areas in the native language can be maintained and transferred to form a basis for [English] language acquisition, as well as for social and academic achievement in English.⁶⁰⁹

Contrary to Tower Hamlets ESL policy's emphasis on fostering community tongues, bilingual education programmes in Manhattan are clearly focused on the acquisition of the English language. Patricia H. Parisi again reiterated this point:

We respect the mother tongue, but we are not, in any way, committed to teaching children in their mother tongues. They need to learn English as quickly as possible, as effectively as possible.⁶¹⁰

Noemi C. Herendeen echoed further this view when she emphasized that the term 'transitional bilingual programme means that children are taught in their mother tongue only because that will allow them to learn English faster'.⁶¹¹ Manhattan's growing and ever changing immigrant population makes it ever more pressing for bilingual students to become fluent in English. It is precisely the accelerated pace of their integration into US society that reinforces and perpetuates the transitional nature of bilingual programmes. As Maria G. Underwood admitted to the author, bilingual education is meant to be a 'transition into mainstream English classes...the intent is that students will move out of the bilingual programmes within a range of three to five years'.⁶¹² Armand Cosquer similarly explained that any person arriving in the USA without knowledge of English is expected to acquire Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) within a period of three years. This limited English language ability would easily allow an individual to 'survive', that is 'to go to a store, to buy a newspaper, to take public transportation, etc.'⁶¹³ In contrast, the more sophisticated Cognitive Skills (COGS), entailing a comprehensive knowledge of the English language and grammar, are assumed to take from five to seven years to achieve.⁶¹⁴ From the start, non-English-speaking children entering Manhattan's educational system are geared towards mastering the English language in the shortest feasible space of time. In the words of Geoffrey Cabat, Director of Spanish Bilingual Social Studies/Government at Seward Park High School:

⁶⁰⁹ NYCBOE, *Curriculum Frameworks*, p xxi.

⁶¹⁰ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁶¹¹ Interview with Noemi C. Herendeen, 28th March 2000.

⁶¹² Interview with Maria G. Underwood, 21st October 1997.

⁶¹³ Interview with Armand Cosquer, 17th October 1997.

The [bilingual education] programme must be a transition from Spanish into English. Students must be in an English-speaking class by the end of their schooling period. This programme must become a bridge from their native language to English.⁶¹⁵

While achieving fluency in English is the principal concern of Manhattan's education system, every school in the borough adapts the provision of bilingual services to its particular circumstances. As Patricia H. Parisi declared, 'there is no one single official [bilingual education] policy...It's what works and what your community decides to do'.⁶¹⁶ The quality and nature of bilingual programmes therefore fluctuates 'from state to state and often from school to school, and county to county'.⁶¹⁷ In spite of contextual differences however, she stressed the fact that bilingual programmes everywhere abide by the same leading principle, namely:

The emphasis is always to mainstream in Modern English. We are working to accommodate kids so they can get there quickly and not lose out in their other studies till they master English.⁶¹⁸

Overall, Manhattan's simple straightforward policy objectives can be said to provide bilingual teachers and educationalists with a clarity of purpose that was lacking in the inherently ambiguous Tower Hamlets' ESL education system.

3) Scarce Resources

While most of the ESL policy players in Tower Hamlets felt constrained by a lack of adequate funds, their Manhattan counterparts were more concerned with the actual deployment of available resources.⁶¹⁹ Patricia H. Parisi ruled out funding as a pressing worry, for the NYCBOE's allocation for educational programmes is ample, thus:

New York City's school budget is 8.5\$ billion for the New York City school system. It's very hard in all of that to say that more money is going to cure it.⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁴ Interview with Armand Cosquer, 17th October 1997.

⁶¹⁵ Interview with Geoffrey Cabat, Director, Spanish Bilingual Social Studies/Government, Seward Park High School, New York, 16th October 1997. The original interview, conducted in Spanish, has been translated into English by the author.

⁶¹⁶ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁶¹⁷ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁶¹⁸ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁶¹⁹ S. A. Lopes, 'What is still needed in English as a Second Language K-12 Teaching?' *Educational Research Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 4, 2000, pp. 52-64.

It is not the amount of funds available that is at stake here, but rather their effective allocation. Manhattan's schools across the board are certainly preoccupied with issues such as the recruitment and training of qualified bilingual teachers, and the development of innovative teaching methods. Maria G. Underwood indicated how:

From a programme perspective, the one thing that comes to mind [that could get better] would probably be...more staff development...to improve the ability of our teachers to deliver all the things we are asking them to do, especially as we raise standards.⁶²¹

Lack of capable certified bilingual teachers affects most of Manhattan's schools. Betty Arce emphasised that this problem 'goes to the heart of teachers' preparation'.⁶²² While Armand Cosquer recalled how 'mediocre certified bilingual teachers continue to arrive at schools without the ability to perform the tasks for which they are supposed to be qualified'⁶²³. As a result, shortage of bilingual teachers is widespread throughout Manhattan's school system. He remembered an incident in his school that illustrates this point:

We had a case, I think it was two years ago, where the former Principal was taking a visitor from Australia around and sat into a class. A bilingual class in which the teacher spent most of the time in Chinese, and a few times when she wrote on the board in English she made mistakes in English. And on one occasion, a student was able to correct her English. Now, there is something wrong with that.⁶²⁴

Maria G. Underwood readily acknowledged the existence of flaws in the NYCBOE's screening system, thus:

In New York City, we've accepted in too many of our classes, teachers who are really not certified to be there or who even if they are certified, maybe they should never got to the point of certification; because their own proficiency in the languages is really not truly bilingual.⁶²⁵

This lack of capable bilingual teachers is compounded both by the complex needs of ESL students, as well as the specialised knowledge and skills required in certain subjects. One such area is Special Education Needs (SEN). The NYCBOE provides bilingual services

⁶²⁰ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁶²¹ Interview with Maria G. Underwood, 21st October 1997.

⁶²² Interview with Betty Arce, 21st October 1997.

⁶²³ Interview with Armand Cosquer, 17th October 1997.

⁶²⁴ Interview with Armand Cosquer, 17th October 1997.

⁶²⁵ Interview with Maria G. Underwood, 24th March 2000.

to SEN recipients, and as Coayle Horwitz, Special Assistant at the NYCBOE, disclosed to the author, finding the right kind of qualified professionals 'can get very complicated', hence:

If, for example, you have a child who speaks Greek, who is a Special Education child...there aren't a lot of teachers that have that combination of experience and certification. So, we have a lot of teacher shortage areas in some languages and in some types of services.⁶²⁶

There are other subject areas such as Maths and Science which are similarly affected by staff shortages. Armand Cosquer reflected on Seward Park High School's own experience:

There are areas in which there are very few people available. For example, we had a great difficulty in hiring an Earth Sciences Teacher this year. And seeing how difficult it was to find an English-dominant Earth Sciences Teacher, we are very nervous about next year when we will be looking for two or three bilingual Earth Sciences Teachers. So, what do you do when the person arrives who is qualified, but cannot really speak English too well, and...is licensed? What do you do there? That is the problem.⁶²⁷

Manhattan's second language policy players' responses to such staff shortages are two-fold. On the one hand, their efforts are channelled towards improving certification, screening and recruiting practices. In the words of Coayle Horwitz, there is a need to adequately 'work with the universities to train teachers and to certificate them in these, what we could call shortage areas, so that we can reach more children with the services that we have'⁶²⁸. On the other hand, there is an eagerness to enhance the overall quality of bilingual programmes by recruiting 'instructional leaders and people who really can provide the services, and not just translators'.⁶²⁹ Among the remedial measures being considered, Luis Reyes suggested the following:

Much more professional development, better preparation of the bilingual teachers in the colleges, and more ongoing professional development for teachers in best practices, instructional practices in the bilingual area and in general...One of my goals would be to see us do a better job at helping the teachers develop, helping teachers provide better

⁶²⁶ Interview with Coayle Horwitz, Special Assistant, New York City Board of Education (NYCBOE), New York, 21st October 1997.

⁶²⁷ Interview with Armand Cosquer, 17th October 1997.

⁶²⁸ Interview with Coayle Horwitz, 21st October 1997.

⁶²⁹ Interview with Maria G. Underwood, 21st October 1997.

services to the students by having more pedagogical methodologies and resources to deal with students who have limited schooling and limited literacy.⁶³⁰

While Manhattan's second language policy players have not been financially constrained, they have found shortages of capable qualified bilingual staff to be a hindrance. In contrast, lack of sufficient funds has seen their Tower Hamlets counterparts cutting back on the numbers of available ESL teachers.

4) Perceptions of Language and Identity

A final factor affecting the way in which bilingual education is perceived by those involved in it is their different understandings of the notions of language and identity. In common with the Tower Hamlets experience, various meanings were attributed to both of these concepts in Manhattan. Some second language policy players, for instance, valued the English language above mother tongues, while others believed Spanish to be as relevant as English. Some thought of white English-speaking Anglo-Saxon peoples as the embodiment of American identity, while others perceived themselves to be Spanish-speaking Hispanic-Americans. These actors' interpretations of language and identity are ultimately reflected in their approaches to bilingual education. The different ways in which teachers, educationalists and students relate to this policy are largely determined by their individual backgrounds, roles within the bilingual education process as well as their allegiances to different identity groups. The bicultural and bilingual experience of Manhattan's ESL Hispanic pupils provides a case in point.

Seward Park High School Survey

The approaches to language and identity of Manhattan's Latino bilingual students were explored in a survey carried out by the author in Seward Park High School during the winter of 1997 and subsequently followed up in the summer of 2000. This inquiry has produced similar results to those found in the Tower Hamlets case-study, and thus it points towards the rapid assimilation of bilingual students into mainstream society. Table 7 shows a breakdown of the Seward Park High School survey's respondents. From a

⁶³⁰ Interview with Luis Reyes, 21st October 1997.

total of 57 students, a majority of 55 (96 percent) belonged to the Latino group, while only two students (3 percent) were of Chinese origin.

Table 7 Seward Park High School (SPHS) Pupils' Ethnic Background (16-19 year olds)

	Total	Females	Males
<u>Ethnic Origin:</u>			
Latino*	55	29	26
Chinese	2	2	0
Total	57	31	26

*Note: Latino origin includes: 48 respondents from the Dominican Republic, three from Mexico, two from Ecuador, one from Venezuela, and one from Panama.

- **Identity:**

The first issue addressed in the survey was the question of identity. After stating their country of origin, bilingual pupils were asked to identify themselves with a particular nationality. The specific question examined was: 'what is your nationality?' Table 8 shows their self-identification patterns. Out of a total of 49 students born in a Latin American country, a majority of 47 (95 percent) identified themselves as being 'Hispanic'. However, a small but significant minority of two students (4 percent) already considered themselves to be 'American'. On the other hand, out of a total of six students born in the USA, a majority of four (66 percent) indicated that their nationality was 'American', while two pupils (33 percent) chose to identify themselves as being 'Hispanic'.

Seward Park High School bilingual students' responses indicate that their own perceptions of identity vary greatly. There were children born in Latin America who thought of themselves as being North American, while others born in the USA who self-ascribed to a Hispanic identity. These pupils' answers also reflect the rapid pace of their assimilation into US society. The fact that a majority of US-born Hispanics identified

themselves as being American suggests that in one single generation ethnic minority identity patterns have already shifted in favour of the dominant US culture. Even more significant is the small proportion of Spanish-speaking Latin American-born pupils who, regardless of their ethnic and linguistic heritage, also considered themselves to be American. The comments of Yanilka Fernandez, a 17 year-old Dominican-born bilingual student who, at the time of the survey, had only spent 22 months in Manhattan are a clear reflection of these immigrant children's accelerated rate of acculturation. When asked whether she saw herself settling in the United States in the future, she answered: '*Si, yo me veo ya aqui*' (Yes, I already see myself being here).⁶³¹

Table 8 SPHS Pupils' Self-identification Patterns

<u>Country of Birth:</u>	<u>Chosen Nationality:</u>			
	Total	Hispanic	American	Chinese
Latin America	49	47	2	0
USA	6	2	4	0
China	2	0	0	2
Total	57	49	6	2

It is precisely these children's choice of country of residence that provides further evidence of their speedy integration into US society. Like Tower Hamlets' Bangladeshi pupils, second generation Hispanic students have no desire to return to their countries of origin. On the contrary, they envisage themselves as adult members of the North American society. As they frequently told the author, they 'live here' in the USA, and realistically it is in 'this country' where they will be settling down. The vivid accounts of some of these Hispanic children illustrate this reality. For instance, Awilda Davis, a 20 year-old Dominican-born bilingual pupil who had barely lived in the USA for 22 months explained that:

⁶³¹ Interview with Yanilka Fernandez, 17 year-old bilingual student, 12th Grade Spanish Bilingual Education Programme, Seward Park High School, New York, 15th October 1997. The original interview, conducted in Spanish, has been translated into English by the author.

What you must do is to adapt to the country where you are living. If you are here [USA], you cannot pretend that the entire way of living that you had there [Dominican Republic], your whole culture, you can bring it over here and do it all over. You have to adapt according to the environment in which you are. If your routine here is coming to school, then going to work, then going home. You do it. But maybe in Santo Domingo you didn't do that. You came back from school and you could go for a walk or playing and so on. Then if you go over there to visit, you can continue living in the same way you were living before and enjoy that moment. And when you come here you must do what you do here. Adapting to the environment where you are.⁶³²

Yanilka Fernandez furthermore recalled the reasons behind her decision to settle down in the United States:

It is very difficult when you have the desire to continue your studies and the situation does not allow you to. That is why even if you didn't want to get used to the country [USA], you must get used to it. My parents also came for the same reason: because of the economic situation. Because in our countries such as the Dominican Republic, they are countries of scarce resources, economic growth is not very high. It is not the same than here, where you can obtain financial assistance or something like that through programmes. This is the same reason why I am here: that my parents want a better future, for the development of their lives as well as mine.⁶³³

Such feelings were echoed by Giselles Acevo, a 17 year-old Dominican-born bilingual student having lived in the USA for 24 months, thus:

I like [living in the USA] because unlike my country, here there are many opportunities available to the student that unfortunately we don't have in our Latino countries. And that is the reason why I had to stay here, because I didn't like it so much. But I have got used to it.⁶³⁴

The overwhelming majority of bilingual pupils surveyed chose the United States as their future country of abode. Table 9 shows their answers. Out of 49 students of Latin American origin, a majority of 44 (89 percent) selected the USA as their final destination, only three students (6 percent) chose to return to their homeland, and two (4 percent) preferred to live somewhere else abroad. On the other hand, out of six students born in the USA, five (83 percent) chose to remain there. Among those students who selected the

⁶³² Interview with Awilda Davis, 20 year-old bilingual student, 12th Grade Spanish Bilingual Education Programme, Seward Park High School, New York, 15th October 1997. The original interview, conducted in Spanish, has been translated into English by the author.

⁶³³ Interview with Yanilka Fernandez, 15th October 1997.

⁶³⁴ Interview with Giselles Acevedo, 17 year-old bilingual student, 11th Grade Spanish Bilingual Education Programme, Seward Park High School, New York, 15th October 1997. The original interview, conducted in Spanish, has been translated into English by the author.

United States as their final destination, two thirds expressed their intention to remain in the deprived neighbourhoods of Manhattan's Lower East Side. A significant one third however would prefer to move to the more leafy suburbs of Midtown and Downtown Manhattan. The intention of these bilingual students to break away from their inner-city communities towards more affluent white dominated residential areas is a further indication of their eventual absorption into US society.

Table 9 SPHS Pupils' preferred Country of Residence

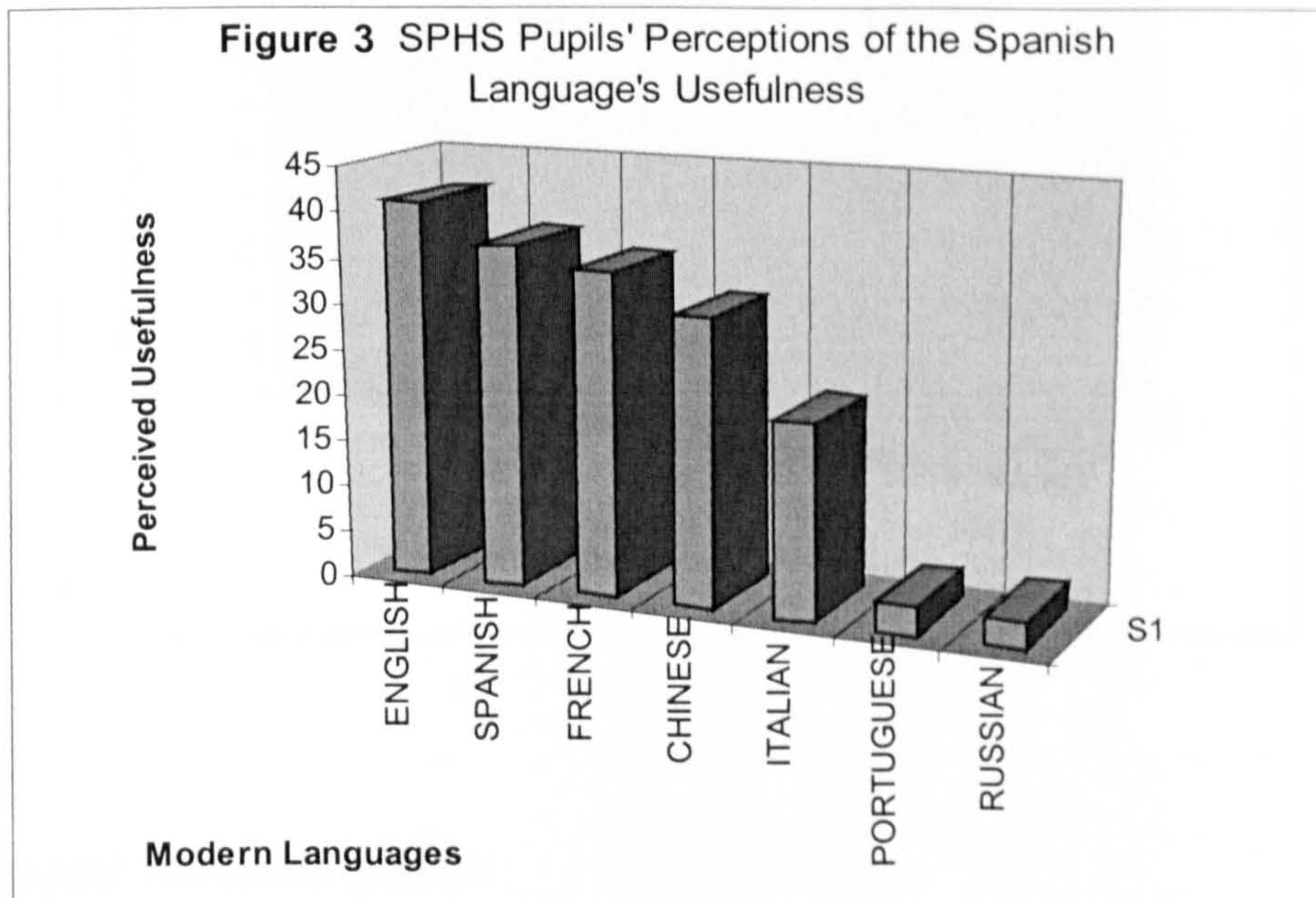
	<u>Chosen Place of Residence</u>			
	Total	NYC/USA	Latin America	Other*
<u>Country of Birth:</u>				
Latin America	49	44	3	2
USA	6	5	1	0
Other	2	2	0	0
Total	57	51	4	2

*Note: in the category of 'other' there was one respondent who would like to live in Italy in the future, while another was undecided. For the majority of respondents who chose to stay in New York City, the preferred locations within Manhattan included: the LES (Lower East Side) where they actually live (27 students), Midtown (13 students), Downtown (three students) and the Upper West Side (one student). Two respondents chose Brooklyn, and one chose Queens. Only three respondents chose a Latin American country as their future place of residence.

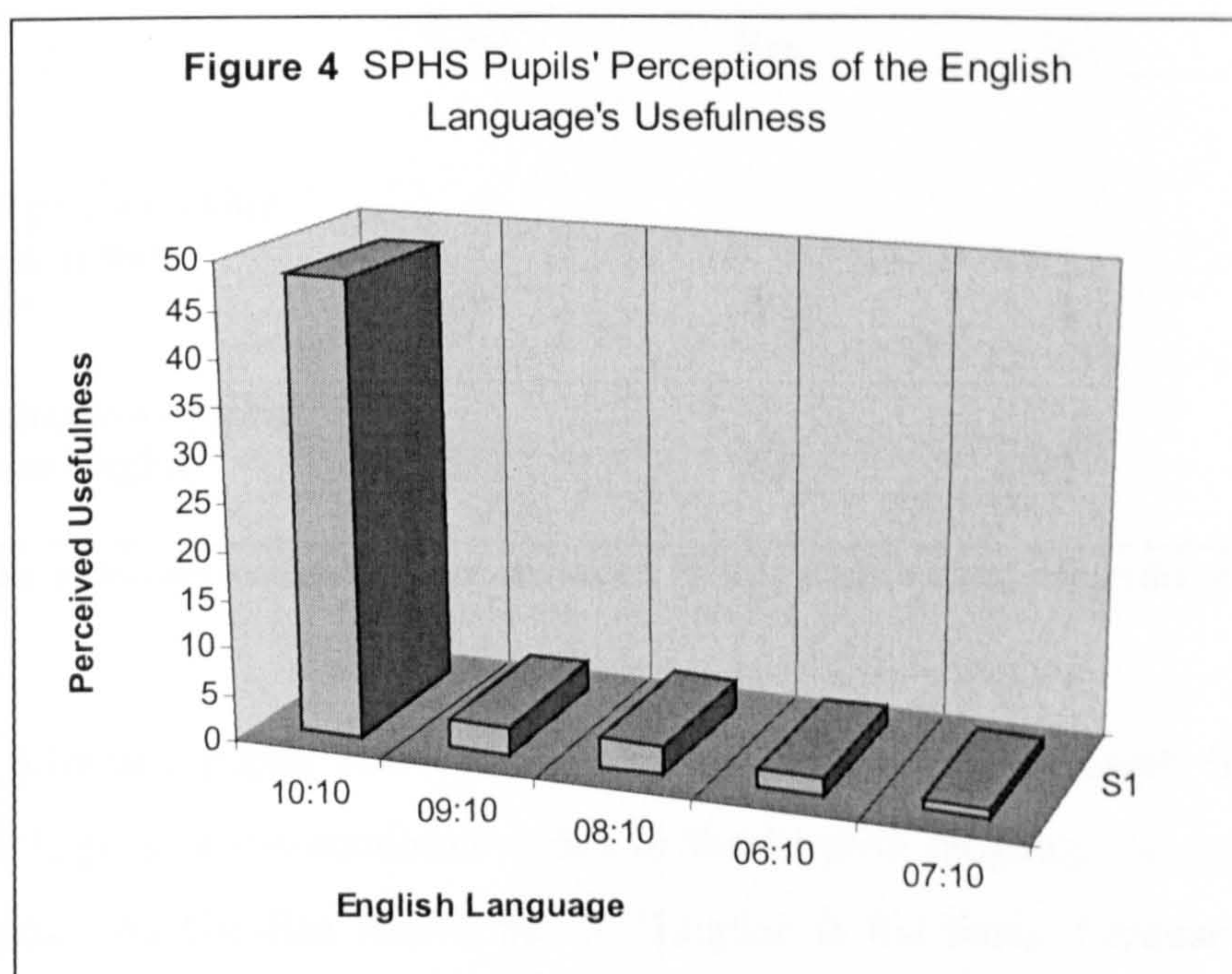
- **Language:**

The second topic considered in the survey was bilingual pupils' perceptions both of the English and Spanish languages. Like in the Tower Hamlets study, the intention was to determine the different value bilingual students attribute to each tongue. Figure 3 shows Seward Park High School pupils' perceptions of the Spanish language's usefulness. The question put to them was: 'name the three most useful modern languages taught in the school curriculum'. Out of 47 pupils a majority (87 percent) selected English as the most useful modern language, followed by Spanish (78 percent) and French (74 percent). Not far behind there were Chinese (65 percent) and Italian (44 percent); with Portuguese and Russian (6 percent each) coming last. On the whole, bilingual pupils overwhelmingly

perceived English as the most useful modern language to learn. Significantly, most of the Spanish-speaking Hispanic students valued English above their own ubiquitous mother tongue.



The premium value attached to the English language was reinforced by students' responses to another set of questions relating to the socio-economic importance of this tongue. The students were asked: 'in a scale of 1 to 10, how important is learning English to getting a job?' (1 = not important and 10 = very important). Figure 4 shows their perceptions of the English language's usefulness. Out of 57 students a majority of 48 pupils (84 percent) gave English top marks, three students (5 percent) ranked English worth nine points, another three (5 percent) gave it eight points, one (1 percent) valued English at seven points, and two (3 percent) gave it six points. These pupils' answers thus reflect their firm belief in the strength of the English language both as an academic as well as a socio-economic tool. Seward Park High School bilingual students ultimately perceive the English language as a means to successfully operate in the US society where they live.



- **Bilingual education policy:**

The final topic considered in the survey refers to the students' understanding of bilingual education. They were asked two questions: first, 'should non-English-speaking pupils be taught in their mother tongue?' and second, 'should all immigrants coming to the USA learn English?' Table 10 shows the pupils' responses to the first question. Out of 57 students a majority of 82 percent expressed their belief that children's native language should be used in the classroom, 14 percent however thought that English should be the only language spoken in lessons, with only 3 percent of respondents being undecided. While most pupils advocated the use of community languages at school, such tongues were only to be used as a means to learn English. In other words, bilingual education was understood to have a transitional nature. Bilingual students certainly indicated that as non-English-speaking newcomers they should be allowed to use their mother tongues 'at the beginning yes, but after we learn English, no'. With regard to the second question, a majority of 92 percent of bilingual pupils thought that all immigrants coming into the USA should certainly learn English; while a mere 3 percent thought otherwise and a further 3 percent of them were undecided. On the whole, most of the Seward Park High School students surveyed actively supported the provision of bilingual education programmes, just as their Tower Hamlets counterparts had done.

Table 10 SPHS Pupils' Perceptions of Bilingual Education

	Total	Yes	No	Don't Know
<u>Questions:</u>				
Should non-English-speaking pupils be taught in their mother tongue?	57	47	8	2*
Should all immigrants coming to the USA learn English?	57	53	2	2

*Note: of the two undecided respondents, one answered: 'if they wish to learn'; while the other simply said: 'I don't know'.

While most bilingual pupils believed that 'being bilingual' is an asset, they have also attributed the highest socio-economic value to the English language as opposed to their mother tongues. As Giselles Acevo put it, 'English is the basis; because, if you don't know the language, you are not going to have the ability to study and progress in this world over here'.⁶³⁵ Daniel Davis similarly declared that 'English is the main language in the United States. It has to be learned in order to achieve development'.⁶³⁶ In contrast to the Tower Hamlets experience, these youngsters' perceptions of bilingual education are also shared by their elders. While most first generation Hispanic immigrants attach great importance to their ethnic heritage, they are only too aware of the overpowering influence of the English-speaking US culture on their children lives. In an interview with the author, Roberto G. Sierra, Director of Community and Social Services at Borough of Manhattan Community College, admitted that 'it is important to appreciate your culture', but in the USA 'if you don't speak English, it's going to limit you'.⁶³⁷ Patricia H. Parisi further argued that bilingual pupils' heightened appreciation of the English language's worth is ultimately part of a process of acculturation, hence:

Because America has always been filled with new immigrants...each new wave of second or third older generation then expects the integration of those kids. I don't sense that ethnic identity is [now] any more than it ever was...By the second or third generation they don't care what granny did. It doesn't matter anymore that...granny was from Slovenia...By the third generation most people are...Americans.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁵ Interview with Giselles Acevedo, 15th October 1997.

⁶³⁶ Interview with Daniel Davis, 15th October 1997.

⁶³⁷ Roberto G. Sierra, Director, Community and Social Services, Borough of Manhattan Community College, New York, 14th October 1997.

⁶³⁸ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

The findings of the Seward Park High School survey have been corroborated by a number of macro-level studies addressing similar issues.⁶³⁹ In particular, Zentella's anthropological observations of Manhattan's Hispanic community confirm the increasingly fast pace of assimilation of young Latinos into US society.⁶⁴⁰ Likewise, Skerry's work on race and ethnicity substantiates the fluidity inherent in the notion of identity.⁶⁴¹ On the whole, these national and regional studies ultimately depict the concepts of language and identity as possessing multiple meanings.

5) The Politicisation of Bilingual Education

Like in Tower Hamlets, the presence of a political element within the second language education process affects the way in which this policy has been framed in Manhattan. As Chapter 5 showed, the Official English campaign has already polarised the debate on bilingual education policy in the USA. Luis Reyes told the author that it was regrettable that 'the politics of education is a source of...controversy and conflict'.⁶⁴² This sentiment was echoed by Pedro Pedraza, who indicated that bilingual education has largely become 'a political issue'.⁶⁴³ Noemi C. Herendeen furthermore argued that bilingual policy has been turned into an 'economic and cultural struggle, based on unfounded fears of immigrants and their ethnic traditions'.⁶⁴⁴ As a result, the debate over bilingual education has eventually given way to a nation-wide 'anti-bilingual and anti-immigrant backlash'.⁶⁴⁵ Maria G. Underwood similarly explained that because bilingual education has 'become so political...it's either viewed as a political or as a cultural issue, but not as one that is educational'.⁶⁴⁶ The politicisation of bilingual education has not only divided US public opinion, it has helped shape the bilingual policy process. For the prevalence of political as opposed to educational considerations has ultimately seen the provision of bilingual programmes being informed by a different set of values.

⁶³⁹ See S. Nieto, *Affirming Diversity: the Socio-political Context of Multicultural Education*, (New York: Longman), 1992.

⁶⁴⁰ See Zentella, *Growing Up Bilingual*.

⁶⁴¹ P. Skerry, 'Many American Dilemmas: the Statistical Politics of Counting by Race and Ethnicity', *The Brookings Review: Education in America*, (Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press), summer 1996, p. 36-52.

⁶⁴² Interview with Luis Reyes, 21st October 1997.

⁶⁴³ Interview with Pedro Pedraza, 27th March 2000.

⁶⁴⁴ Interview with Noemi C. Herendeen, 28th March 2000.

⁶⁴⁵ Interview with Noemi C. Herendeen, 28th March 2000.

⁶⁴⁶ Interview with Maria G. Underwood, 24th March 2000.

Overall, this section has examined a number of factors that influence the way in which bilingual education policy is perceived by those taking part in it. In following Yanow's steps to conducting interpretive policy analysis, the chapter has not only identified the various existing second language policy players; it has also explored their particular symbolic narratives.⁶⁴⁷ Drawing from these policy actors' contrasting interpretations of bilingual education, the remaining part of the chapter describes three emerging second language policy frames.

7.5 Emerging Bilingual Education Policy Discourses: The Assimilationists, Exclusivists and Social Integrationists

As Hajer would argue, Manhattan's various bilingual policy players have given meaning to 'the vague and ambiguous' world of bilingual education by means of three distinctive 'storylines'.⁶⁴⁸ These bilingual discourse coalitions correspond with the assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist policy frames found in Tower Hamlets. Such approaches to bilingual education vary accordingly from an embrace of the English-speaking US tradition, to a rejection of the latter in favour of the Spanish-speaking Latino heritage, to a halfway perspective which values both. While Manhattan's 'storylines' are consistent with those of Tower Hamlets, the nature of those who advocate them has changed. In Tower Hamlets, most government officials belonged to the assimilationist discourse coalition, while the Bangladeshi community – mostly represented by the elders – espoused an exclusivist approach to bilingual education policy. In contrast, both Manhattan's government officials as well as the Hispanic community equally ascribe to an assimilationist perspective. In other words, contrary to the Tower Hamlets case, the NYCBOE and its main target group share a common bilingual policy strategy. As a result, the assimilationist discourse coalition, with its emphasis in bilingual tuition, has come to dominate Manhattan's language experience.

⁶⁴⁷ Yanow, *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*, p. 20.

⁶⁴⁸ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', p. 48.

The Assimilationists

Manhattan's assimilationist discourse coalition comprises most government officials, educationalists, schoolteachers and bilingual pupils as well as ethnic community groups. These second language policy players advocate the dominance of the English language and the Anglo-Saxon culture. While acknowledging the value of ethnic traditions, the assimilationists promote the acculturation of non-English-speaking immigrants into US society. Within this context, learning of the English language is seen as providing newcomers with both a common means of communication as well as a sense of unity and shared purpose. The all-encompassing Official English movement can be said to epitomise this ideology. Echoing assimilationist views, Patricia H. Parisi stated that:

They [immigrants] all learn English and that's the best sign of unity. If they didn't want to be a part of it [USA], they could leave, they would leave, and they don't. Because, this is where the opportunities are...Their parents made the active decision to come here; it must have been for a reason.⁶⁴⁹

The assimilationists perceive bilingual students as would-be American citizens and thus envisage them being linguistically and culturally integrated into US society. Teodoro Gonzalez told the author that 'a lot of Hispanic children here want to become assimilated very quickly; they want to be taken for American almost immediately'.⁶⁵⁰ The experience of Roberto G. Sierra at Borough of Manhattan Community College provides a case in point:

Myself being Puerto Rican, foreigner in the United States, and whose parents were born in Puerto Rico, it's good to understand and know the [Spanish] language. But quite frankly, I've always committed myself as an American. I'm gonna be here. I was in the military and I'm gonna be American for the rest of my life. And this is my place of birth and probably where I will die.⁶⁵¹

As in Tower Hamlets, Manhattan's assimilationists view the English language as key to addressing the educational disadvantage experienced by bilingual students. In the words of Roberto G. Sierra:

⁶⁴⁹ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁶⁵⁰ Interview with Teodoro Gonzalez, 23rd March 2000.

⁶⁵¹ Interview with Roberto G. Sierra, 14th October 1997.

It is important to me to understand where you came from, to appreciate your culture. But if you're going to work in a primarily English dominant society, you also must take that into consideration and study [the English language] accordingly.⁶⁵²

Proficiency in English is certainly understood to be paramount to achieving academic excellence. Yanilka Fernandez had no doubt that 'English is the vehicle for communicating in the United States'.⁶⁵³ Assimilationists furthermore believe that English enjoys an unparalleled status among modern languages including those like Spanish comprising sizeable linguistic communities. Pedro Pedraza went as far as to say that English is 'the most international language in the world'.⁶⁵⁴

The preferred teaching strategy of the assimilationists is the temporary segregation of bilingual students into intensive English classes. According to this discourse coalition, mother tongue is to be used only as a temporary means to learn English. In an interview with the author, Dwijen Bhattacharyja, Bilingual Bengali Teacher at Seward Park High School, reiterated that 'in this country [USA], the policy is to mainstream [bilingual] students as fast as you can'.⁶⁵⁵ The assimilationists believe that such objective is best served by a rigorous programme of English tuition. Teodoro Gonzalez reasoned that 'if they [bilingual students] are going to live in this country [USA], they obviously need to learn English. Nobody disputes that', however, 'to expect them to learn English when they do not speak their own language properly is suicide'.⁶⁵⁶ He therefore advocated the provisional use of mother tongue in bilingual classes where 'everything should be geared for them [bilingual students] to learn English quickly'.⁶⁵⁷ The Official English movement's current drive towards English-only tuition represents an increasingly dominant brand of assimilationism; one which believes that the best way to learn English is by being taught in English. The success enjoyed by the English Only campaign ultimately reflects its nation-wide appeal as well as this assimilationist movement's growing power base. Maria G. Underwood pointed out that progressively 'you have more

⁶⁵² Interview with Roberto G. Sierra, 14th October 1997.

⁶⁵³ Interview with Yanilka Fernandez, 15th October 1997.

⁶⁵⁴ Interview with Pedro Pedraza, 10th October 1997.

⁶⁵⁵ Interview with Dwijen Bhattacharyja, Bilingual Bengali Teacher, Seward Park High School, New York, 23rd March 2000.

⁶⁵⁶ Interview with Teodoro Gonzalez, 23rd March 2000.

⁶⁵⁷ Interview with Teodoro Gonzalez, 23rd March 2000.

and more people believing that the more English you provide and the less of the native language, the better for the children'.⁶⁵⁸

The Exclusivists

Manhattan's exclusivists take the opposite view on bilingual education to that of the assimilationists. They consequently value ethnic minority heritage above the dominant English-speaking North American tradition. As Roberto G. Sierra explained:

There are...Puerto Ricans who feel very proud to be Puerto Rican first and everything else second, or who do not even associate themselves with...being American...But also those people may be into the independence of Puerto Rico...So, it depends on what your personal commitment is.⁶⁵⁹

Manhattan's exclusivists are for the most part Spanish-speaking Latino elders residing in Hispanic-dominated neighbourhoods and intend on handing down their ethnic traditions to the younger US-born generation. They therefore advocate the maintenance of the Spanish language and Hispanic traditions in the classroom. Roberto G. Sierra recalled how 'my parents spoke a lot of Spanish around the house and wanted me to learn Spanish, and in turn, I learned Spanish'.⁶⁶⁰ Among the many players involved in Manhattan's bilingual education policy process, the exclusivists represent a negligible minority. Ana C. Zentella argued that the circumstances surrounding the members of the exclusivist discourse coalition render them powerless minority. She referred to the 'losing battle' fought by Hispanic parents who would like to see their offspring maintaining the Spanish language and Latino traditions, thus:

All Hispanics want their children to learn Spanish. They all think it's going to be possible. They don't have the faintest idea of the kind of forces they have to overcome.⁶⁶¹

The forces she eluded to include socio-cultural and environmental factors such as the dynamics of migration, the power of assimilation, the strength of the US culture and the predominance of the English language. The combination of these elements greatly contributes to the accelerated integration of successive Hispanic generations into North

⁶⁵⁸ Interview with Maria G. Underwood, 24th March 2000.

⁶⁵⁹ Interview with Roberto G. Sierra, 14th October 1997.

⁶⁶⁰ Interview with Roberto G. Sierra, 14th October 1997.

⁶⁶¹ Interview with Ana C. Zentella, 9th October 1997.

American society. As Pedro Pedraza admitted 'I am a US-born Puerto Rican, and for many Puerto Ricans our main language at home is English...our children already speak English both at home and in their community'.⁶⁶² Maria G. Underwood similarly reiterated how:

I see more and more Latino families or Latino couples raising children, who would love for their children to learn Spanish as their native language at home. But they themselves don't speak Spanish in the home.⁶⁶³

Significantly, it is the younger cohorts of US-born Hispanics who self-perpetuate this process of acculturation. They do so by incorporating certain Latino elements into their adopted North American traditions, while simultaneously internalising others. In the words of Patricia H. Parisi: 'they [immigrants] bring the best part of parts they love most of their own culture, and they integrate it and absorb it into the American culture'.⁶⁶⁴

The Social Integrationists

The final discourse coalition present in the Manhattan's bilingual education scene is that of the social integrationists. Likewise their Tower Hamlets peers, Manhattan's social integrationists value the English language and its US culture, as much as mother tongues and their ethnic traditions. The experience of Roberto G. Sierra's own family reflects this view, thus:

My children are very proud of being American, and they are also very proud of being Puerto Rican.⁶⁶⁵

The social integrationist discourse coalition comprises a small number of schoolteachers, educationalists as well as bilingual students. This policy frame emphasises the bicultural and bilingual nature of ethnic minority children. Just as the Official English movement epitomized the assimilationist approach, the English Plus campaign can be said to embody the social integrationist ideology.

⁶⁶² Interview with Pedro Pedraza, 27th March 2000.

⁶⁶³ Interview with Maria G. Underwood, 24th March 2000.

⁶⁶⁴ Interview with Patricia H. Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁶⁶⁵ Interview with Roberto G. Sierra, 14th October 1997.

Advocates of this discourse coalition believe that bilingual students' mother tongues should receive similar attention to that enjoyed by the English language. Dwijen Bhattacharyja argued that bilingual skills, as opposed to monolingual skills, should be regarded as desirable academic and cultural assets. Bilingual education should therefore aim to promote proficiency in community languages as much as in English, hence:

I believe you don't want to make them [bilingual students] rootless by taking away their language. Why do you have to? Why should that be the policy? Why can't you have a policy like Canada has or Switzerland or the Benelux? That could be a nice example in an age of global business and globalisation, where they [bilingual students] can utilise their language skills. But unfortunately this is not the government policy here [USA].⁶⁶⁶

Social integrationists understand bilingual programmes as educational vehicles through which children can become truly bicultural and bilingual. This discourse coalition ultimately perceives bilingual education policy as the realisation of a multicultural ideal; one which positively encourages the fostering of ethnic and linguistic diversity. Maria G. Underwood's comments encapsulated the essence of the social integrationist bilingual policy frame, thus:

I would hope that worldwide we would understand the beauty and the gift that multilingualism is. How important it is, beyond the economics, the fact that you are able to speak two languages. It means you have some doors that are open to you. Beyond that, just the fact that [learning] languages is another way of getting the brain to work...it helps us to really look at the world differently. It gets us to think, it makes us more intellectual and better thinking human beings. I would hope we would move in the direction of understanding how wonderful that is, and that we would have two and three languages, as opposed to focusing on one language [English], because it's the language that the business world and the market think in.⁶⁶⁷

On the whole, the assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist discourse coalitions represent the various ways in which Manhattan's many policy players have come to make sense of bilingual education. As Hajer has argued, these coalitions' different 'storylines' ultimately provide the common medium through which their advocates have given meaning to language, identity and ultimately bilingual education.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶⁶ Interview with Dwijen Bhattacharyja, 23rd March 2000.

⁶⁶⁷ Interview with Maria G. Underwood, 24th March 2000.

⁶⁶⁸ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', pp. 47-48.

7.6 Summary

This chapter has analysed the delivery of bilingual education policy in Manhattan. Unlike the centralised Tower Hamlets model, Manhattan's educational system has been shown to operate in a loose decentralised fashion; with bilingual education largely becoming a local government function. In common with Tower Hamlets, the implementation of bilingual programmes has taken place in a complex multi-organisational setting involving a myriad of public and private sector as well as community players. Within this context, the experience of Seward Park High School has exposed these policy actors as having contrasting views of bilingual education. Drawing from their various approaches to this policy, the chapter has unveiled three similar bilingual discourse coalitions to those found in Tower Hamlets, namely the assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist. Manhattan's assimilationists have accordingly attributed the greatest value to the English language and the US culture. In contrast, the exclusivists have emphasised the importance of the Spanish tongue and Latino traditions. The social integrationists, on the other hand, have advocated a multicultural perspective that equally appreciates both majority and minority heritage. Although the essence of Manhattan's and Tower Hamlets' discourse coalitions has remained unchanged, the composition of their respective members has been altered. While in both cities government officials displayed an assimilationist outlook, their target groups' perceptions of bilingual education appear in stark contrast. Whereas Tower Hamlets' Bangladeshis advocated an exclusivist approach to ESL education, Manhattan's Hispanics actively support an assimilationist view of bilingual schooling instead. Such different interpretations of the same social phenomenon have not only highlighted the context-specific nature of second language education, but have ultimately revealed this policy as comprising multiple meanings.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This chapter brings the thesis to a close by analysing the study's findings. It begins by contrasting the different ways in which ESL and bilingual education policies have been framed both in Tower Hamlets and Manhattan. The chapter then dwells on the issue of contextuality, and its impact on the provision of second language programmes. Drawing from the thesis' empirical material, a classification of second language policy discourses is in turn suggested. The chapter finally concludes by assessing the merits of the thesis' interpretive analysis of second language education policy.

8.1 Two Tales of Policy Sidelining and Policy Mainstreaming

The language experiences of Britain and the United States have shown how their particular ESL and bilingual policy players responded differently to a common education problem. While in both countries second language education programmes emerged in the wake of mass influxes of non-English-speaking immigrants, the meanings attributed to this policy by British and US policy actors respectively have varied. Whereas in Britain, ESL education has been regarded as a by-product of immigration and race-relations policies, in the USA bilingual policy has become synonymous with language rights. These different national approaches to second language tuition have in turn shaped the delivery of language education programmes at local level. As a result, in Tower Hamlets, ESL policy has largely remained sidelined, whilst bilingual education has become mainstreamed in Manhattan.

The London Borough of Tower Hamlets: A Tale of Policy Sidelining

From the outset, the development of ESL policy in Britain has enjoyed an uneven trajectory of public concern. Volatile external events heightened by media attention have intermittently propelled the matter of ESL education into the Government's political agenda. Whether ethnic tensions in the 1960s, urban disturbances in the 1980s or racist crime in the 1990s, it has been these race-related happenings which have eventually

brought the problem of ESL education into the public light. As a result, attention given to the ESL question has fluctuated significantly depending on the wider interest generated by such events.

The language experience of Tower Hamlets has exemplified the failure of ESL education to emerge as a mainstream policy issue in Britain.⁶⁶⁹ On the one hand, ESL education has not been publicly perceived as a legitimate concern. Janet Readding, Chair of the Refugee Working Group at the Refugee Council, told the author that she believed the assimilationist ideology pervading British decision-makers had been largely responsible for ESL policy becoming a marginalised issue; in her own words: 'I think that we live not only in a multicultural, multilingual and multi-ethnic society, but it is still a society which is completely dominated at the top by policy makers who are essentially [English] mono-lingual and mono-ethnic in their outlook'.⁶⁷⁰ Their particular vision of the UK's social order does not therefore envisage ESL education as a high public policy priority.⁶⁷¹ As a result, ESL programmes have neither been afforded adequate resources nor long-term funding. In another interview, Belinda Guthrie, Language and Ethnic Minority Achievement Advisor at Richmond Council, pointed out that ESL education has only ever been funded on a 'short-term' basis, as a result ESL practitioners experience considerable uncertainty 'the staff in this field (ESL), we just don't have any security in our jobs. And I think that, if that's not put right, then, how can you expect people to actually stay in the job? So, I think, recruiting people is becoming more difficult because of that, retaining people is more difficult because they move on to different jobs in different fields'.⁶⁷² Anna Ferris similarly highlighted the fact that most EMAG teachers are only employed on a temporary basis while their mainstream colleagues enjoy the benefits of permanent teaching contracts. She perceived this as an indication of the lesser status afforded to ESL education programmes, and ultimately as a 'lack of political commitment to long-term [ESL] provision'.⁶⁷³ Her experience, shared by many education

⁶⁶⁹ See Bourne, *Moving into the Mainstream*, and Cameron, 'The Development of English as an Additional Language through Classroom Participation' in C. Leung (ed.), *Language and Additional/Second Language Issues for School Education: A Reader for Teachers*, (Watford: NALDIC), 2002, pp. 6-13.

⁶⁷⁰ Interview with Janet Readding, Chair, Refugee Working Group, Refugee Council, London, 28th January 2000.

⁶⁷¹ Leung, 'English as an Additional Language', pp. 33-55.

⁶⁷² Interview with Belinda Guthrie, Language and Ethnic Minority Achievement (LEMA) Advisor, Richmond Council, London, 21st February 2000.

⁶⁷³ Interview with Anna Ferris, 26th January 2000.

practitioners, has seen ESL education services consistently relegated to a secondary plane, permanently in the shadows of the all-embracing immigration and race-related policies.

The New York City Borough of Manhattan: A Tale of Policy Mainstreaming

The development of bilingual education policy in the USA stands in stark contrast with that of Britain. From its early origins in the 1960s, bilingual education sought to address the question of language rights. Linguistic ethnic minorities, through their lack of English language skills, had long been denied equal access to US society's services. The provision of bilingual programmes was therefore understood as an equal opportunities entitlement for non-English-speaking groups. The evolution of bilingual legislation in the USA illustrates this reality, for time after time community-based legal challenges have produced court rulings advocating language rights. Whether in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s or 1990s concerns about equality have invariably been the driving force behind bilingual legislation. As a result, the visibility of bilingual policy in the public arena has followed an incremental progression. While interest in bilingual education has remained constant throughout, it has been the ideological debate over linguistic rights that has made headlines. As time passed, questions relating to the multicultural nature of US citizenship and the need to legalise the official status of English have surfaced. In the end, majority language rights have taken priority over minority language rights.

In contrast to the Tower Hamlets case, bilingual education in Manhattan has long been regarded as a mainstream policy; with the provision of bilingual programmes being perceived as a legitimate public concern. As Patricia Parisi stated, bilingual education is 'covered by our Civil Rights Act and the Constitution which protect all children's right to an education'.⁶⁷⁴ It is in this way that bilingual tuition has ultimately become an integral part of the US education system. In the words of Noemi Herendeen: 'bilingual education is mainstream, it's not remedial or sidelined, it's mainstream. Bilingual education is a permanent feature of mainstream education. The US Department for Education always caters for bilingual education'.⁶⁷⁵ Pedro Pedraza certainly considered bilingual education to be 'central to the school experience of all immigrant children in the USA'.⁶⁷⁶ Within

⁶⁷⁴ Interview with Patricia Parisi, 8th October 1997.

⁶⁷⁵ Interview with Noemi C. Herendeen, 28th March 2000.

⁶⁷⁶ Interview with Pedro Pedraza, 27th March 2000.

this context, bilingual programmes have enjoyed both adequate resources as well as long-term funding, as the '\$8.5 billion' budget for the New York City school system illustrated.⁶⁷⁷ In contrast to Tower Hamlets' ESL practitioners, their Manhattan counterparts have neither been concerned with job security nor insufficient funding, but rather with the difficulty of fulfilling the demand for qualified bilingual teachers.

The contrasting experiences of Tower Hamlets and Manhattan can therefore be summed up as two tales of *policy sidelining* and *policy mainstreaming* respectively. On the whole, these stories illustrate how the different meanings attributed to the notions of language and identity have come to shape the second language education policy process.

Before proceeding to the next section, which examines the context-specific nature of ESL and bilingual policies, it must be noted that there is a case for conflating these two notions into the simplified and inclusive 'second language education policy'. In discussing the historical and social developments of language policies in Britain and in the USA, the conventionally accepted meanings of ES and bilingual education have been preserved throughout the thesis. By now though, it is clear that both of these education programmes deal with the teaching of English to non-English speakers, and therefore address a similar policy problem. Amalgamating the terms ESL and bilingual education into the all-encompassing second language education policy would not only accurately reflect the scope of these policies, but it would also bring clarity to the often complex language education debate.

8.2 Second Language Education as a Context-specific Policy

Just as public perceptions of language and identity have influenced the development of second language education, so have the different settings in which this policy has taken place. At the beginning of the thesis, five environmental features affecting the provision of second language programmes were identified, including demographic, socio-economic, organisational, cultural and political factors. In this section, the so-called language

⁶⁷⁷ Interview with Patricia Parisi, 8th October 1997.

dimensions are revisited in order to examine their impact on the development of second language education policies.

1) Demographic Dimension:

The demographic dimension has seen population movements as central to the growth of second language education programmes, for linguistic ethnic minorities have been the main recipients of second language tuition. Tower Hamlets' and Manhattan's school systems certainly comprise an amalgamation of children from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, income levels and cultural contexts. Educational institutions everywhere have faced challenges in their attempts to cater for second language students' needs, while providing equal opportunities for all. Factors such as family structure and parents' educational level have been shown to influence pupils' academic prospects as well as their school performance. The US Department of Education already identified five such factors including difficulty in speaking English, poverty, single parent families, parents' educational level and differentials in family income.⁶⁷⁸ Both the Bangladeshi community in Tower Hamlets and the Hispanic cohort in Manhattan have clearly experienced living conditions associated with poor scholastic performance and high school drop out rates.

2) Socio-economic Dimension:

When in contact, languages may enter into differentiated functional relationships which may be hierarchical and/or complementary. Some tongues may accordingly enjoy a dominant position while others may be relegated to a secondary level. The socio-economic dimension of second language policy has revealed the existence of such hierarchies between the English language and community tongues. As Graddol has emphasised, 'languages are not equal in political or social status, particularly in multilingual contexts'.⁶⁷⁹ Luxembourg's multilingual system provides a case in point, for supposedly equal languages display a ranking order. Beardsmore has explained how, in Luxembourg, oral interaction is mainly carried out in Luxembourger; with the German language dominating written communication; while French, entering children's education

⁶⁷⁸ US National Centre for Education Statistics, *The Conditions of Education 1997*, pp. 2-11.

⁶⁷⁹ Graddol, *The Future of English?* p. 5.

at a late stage, enjoys the lowest status of them all.⁶⁸⁰ Whether in English-dominant or non-English-dominant territories, languages appear hierarchically classified according to the socio-economic position they occupy in society at large. Within this context, the maintenance of a given mother tongue becomes tied up with the economics of the dominant language. The cases of Tower Hamlets and Manhattan illustrate this reality. Here, bilingualism is understood as proficiency in English and knowledge of a mother tongue. Transitional second language programmes are accordingly geared towards mastering of the English language, with the use of community tongues being merely constrained to help achieving this objective. To the extent that such linguistic divisions are institutionalised, the relative status of a language reflects that of its speakers. Tower Hamlets' and Manhattan's school curricula are hence designed to meet the academic needs of their dominant English-speaking populations. By contrast, in Wales, where the Welsh language has become dominant, the school curriculum caters for its predominantly Welsh-speaking native students.

The maintenance and development of a given language appears to be directly linked to the status its speakers enjoy in the wider society. Socio-economic dominant groups will therefore be able to guarantee the preservation of their languages, while this will not be necessarily the case for ethnic linguistic minorities. Among ethnic communities, those commanding the largest numbers and powerbase will be better placed to exert political influence at local level. The Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets' 'Banglatown' and the Hispanics in Manhattan's *los barrios Latinos* (the Latino neighbourhoods) have vividly illustrated such a situation. In turn, the case of Wales with its officially sanctioned regional language has ultimately confirmed that minority linguistic groups in a position of strength will mirror the behaviour of their nationally dominant indigenous counterparts.

3) Cultural Dimension:

By deploying mother tongues to assert individual ethnicity, linguistic minorities have established a link between language and identity. The experiences of Swanlea School and Seward Park High School have highlighted the important role played by language in shaping pupils' perceptions of citizenship. Second language students defined their own

⁶⁸⁰ Beardsmore, 'An Overview of European Models', p. 5.

identity in relation to the tongues they speak. Socio-economic status, perceived usefulness and pertinence of a given language have played an essential role in shaping these students' self-identification patterns. In Tower Hamlets, for instance, pupils came to see themselves either as being British, British-Asian or Asian; while their Manhattan peers self-ascribed either to an American, Hispanic-American or Hispanic identity.

Behind these value judgements lie peoples' motivations for learning a given tongue, and ultimately the language policy strategies they are likely to adopt. The bilingual model of Wales, for instance, can be construed as survival strategy against encroachments from the English governing national tradition. The Welsh language has therefore been used to preserve the cultural and linguistic heritage of this region. The maintenance of the Bengali language in the East End of London can be similarly understood as a cultural scheme of the community's elders, aimed at holding back the assimilation of the younger generation into the dominant British culture.

4) Organisational Dimension:

The organisational dimension of language has revealed second language policy as taking place in a multi-agency setting. An array of players at different levels of central and local government as well as the public, private, community and voluntary sectors has been actively involved in the provision of second language programmes. The second language policy network here identified has dealt with five layers of analysis, namely central government agencies, local authority bureaux, community and voluntary groups, schools and private/public partnerships. These actors have all played a part in the second language education policy process; with the relationships among them having been characterised by a combination of competition, bargaining and compromise.

The significance of the organisational dimension of language mainly lies in having revealed the multifarious environment in which second language policy takes place. The multiplicity of existing actors, agencies, goals, beliefs and meanings present has exposed the sheer complexity of this policy. The organisational dimension has unveiled, among others: conflicting definitions of the language problem, different approaches to second language policy framing, contrasting perceptions of language and identity, the existence

of scarce resources and the politicisation of second language programmes. On the whole, the organisational dimension of language has portrayed second language education as a multifaceted policy involving a wide network of players.

5) Political Dimension:

When political expediency takes priority over educational considerations, second language education becomes governed by a new set of values. This is precisely what the political dimension of language has shown. In Tower Hamlets, for instance, most second language teachers have criticised the all-encompassing EMAG grant as an exercise in political correctness that fails to address the different needs of second language students. Anna Ferris explained how the rationale behind the EMAG grant is not the pupils' scholastic needs, but the 'Government's political agenda'.⁶⁸¹ In Manhattan, many second language practitioners have similarly perceived the current anti-bilingual legislation as being driven by the Official English movement's assimilationist ideology. As Noemi C. Herendeen told the author, the prevailing approach to second language education is largely based on 'unfounded fears of immigrants and their ethnic traditions'.⁶⁸² Whether in Tower Hamlets or Manhattan, the politicisation of second language education has certainly influenced the development of this policy.

On the whole, the exploration of the previous five language dimensions has helped to depict second language education as a context-specific policy. The framing of second language policy is linked to the particular environment in which it takes place, and to the specific actors which give meaning to this policy. As Hajer indicated, 'social constructs do not float in the world; they can be tied to specific institutions and actors'.⁶⁸³ Tower Hamlets' and Manhattan's particular responses to second language education can ultimately be explained by reference to their individual demographic, socio-economic, organisational, cultural and political characteristics. Having explored the various language dimensions impacting on second language education policy, we now turn our attention to the different discourse coalitions that have emerged in these two boroughs of London and New York City respectively.

⁶⁸¹ Interview with Anna Ferris, 26th January 2000.

⁶⁸² Interview with Noemi C. Herendeen, 28th March 2000.

⁶⁸³ Hajer, 'Discourse Coalitions', pp. 43-76.

8.3 A Typology of Second Language Policy Frames

Chapters 6 and 7 mapped out three distinctive approaches to second language education policy which had been identified both in Tower Hamlets and Manhattan. The so-called assimilationists, exclusivists and social integrationists represent the three main storylines around which second language policy players have gathered. Drawing upon these different perspectives, the following section suggests a typology of second language policy frames.

The assimilationist, exclusivist and social integrationist perspectives have played a central role in the development of second language policy. These discourse coalitions have not only shaped second language players' perceptions of language and identity, but have also informed the wider debate over second language education. The meanings which assimilationists, exclusivists and social integrationists have attributed to language, identity and ultimately second language education policy have varied according to their different value systems. The latter have ranged from an almost complete embrace of the dominate English language and Anglo-Saxon culture, to an almost complete abandonment of the former in place of minority tongues, to a half-way route promoting equal use of both. Table 11 summarises the different aims, values and assumptions characterising these second language policy discourses.

The experiences of Tower Hamlets and Manhattan have shown that ascription to a particular discourse coalition varies greatly among all those involved in second language education policy. There seem to be neither a clear-cut distinction between each discourse nor a defined set of players advocating a particular ideology. Whether government officials, teachers, educationalists or members of ethnic minorities, an eclectic mix of players has been found among each discourse coalition. All those belonging to a given second language policy frame, however, have invariably shared a set of common beliefs.

The assimilationists

The assimilationists emphasise the prominence of the dominant English language and the Anglo-Saxon culture. They regard English as the main medium of communication and the language every student should aspire to master. In contrast, minority tongues are reduced to mere educational aids temporarily deployed in the pursuit of English language proficiency. Both Tower Hamlet's and Manhattan's governing bodies have taken an assimilationist approach to second language policy, with their school curricula overwhelmingly catering for the dominant English-speaking school population. With regard to the assimilationists' self-identification preferences, this group strongly identifies with the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture and the English language. The assimilationists therefore describe themselves as English-speaking British and American citizens respectively.

The exclusivists

Members of this group are mainly concerned with minority languages and traditions. Their ethos is overwhelmingly ethnic and appears strongly skewed towards the teaching of mother tongue and the maintenance of minority customs. Not surprisingly perhaps, ethnic community elders have been the most ardent advocates of the exclusivist approach. Their appreciation of the dominant English language appears tinted with economic overtones. For them, English has become only relevant as a means of communicating with the larger English-speaking outside world. Their culturally insulated ethnic enclaves have afforded them no incentives to learn this otherwise ubiquitous tongue. In the streets of Bethnal Green, for instance, Bengali has become the predominant language. While in Manhattan's Latino neighbourhoods, everyday life takes place in Spanish. Tower Hamlets' and Manhattan's exclusivists therefore advocate the teaching of Bengali and Spanish respectively. In contrast to their assimilationist and social integrationist peers, members of the exclusivist discourse perceive themselves as bearers of a Bengali-speaking Asian and a Spanish-speaking Hispanic identity respectively.

The social integrationists

Those embracing the social integrationist ideology emphasise the value of both the dominant English language as well as minority tongues. In educational terms, this translates into bilingual classes, of the Welsh type, including both majority and minority

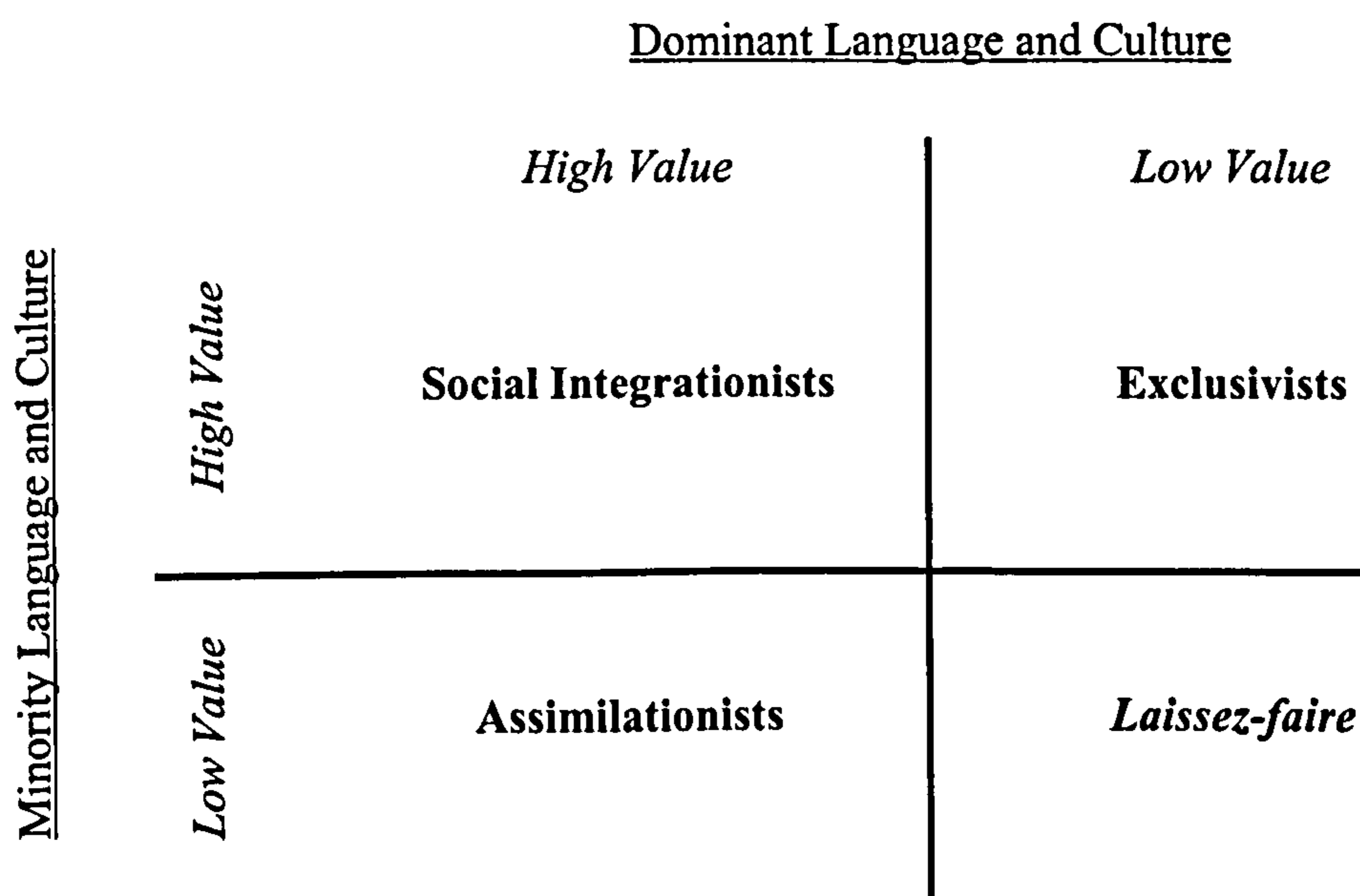
languages. Typically, it has been teachers and educationalists, which have advocated this approach. For they recognise the central role that such linguistic and cultural heritage play in the psychological and academic development of second language pupils. Bilingual children are perceived as having a dual identity, which materialises in the form of hyphenated inclusive identifiers such as British-Asian and Hispanic-American.

Table 11 Typology of Second Language Policy Discourses

	Assimilationists	Social Integrationists	Exclusivists
<i>Aims</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assimilation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiculturalism and Diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Segregation
<i>Values</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dominant Anglo-Saxon cultural and linguistic heritage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both Majority and Minority cultural and linguistic heritage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnic minority cultural and linguistic heritage
<i>Policy Objectives</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assimilation of ethnic minority culture into the dominant tradition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cohabiting of dominant tradition with minority culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preservation of minority culture insulated from dominant tradition
<i>Perceived Identity:</i> • UK ➤ USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • British ➤ American 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asian-British ➤ Hispanic-American 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asian ➤ Hispanic
<i>Languages Spoken:</i> • UK ➤ USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English ➤ English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bengali and English ➤ Spanish and English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bengali ➤ Spanish
<i>Meaning Attributed to the English Language</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowering the UK/US citizen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Part of a bilingual heritage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic tool

The different values which discourse coalitions attribute to both language and culture largely determine how their advocates understand second language policy. Drawing upon these variables, a modified version of the second language policy frame typology, which includes the *laissez-faire* discourse, has been suggested. Figure 5 shows a diagram of second language policy discourses. According to this chart, a high regard for the dominant language and culture coupled with a low appreciation of minority languages and their heritage will indicate assimilationist tendencies. Conversely, a high emphasis on mother tongue/culture at the expense of the majority language/tradition will identify an exclusivist approach. On the other hand, a high estimation of both dominant and ethnic languages/cultures would signal a social integrationist ideology. Finally, the *laissez-faire* discourse reflects a taken-for-granted attitude towards the dominant language and culture together with a disregard of minority linguistic and cultural heritage. Although the diagram allows for many variations and overlapping between these categories, it can be said to encapsulate the prevailing perspectives on second language education policy.

Figure 5 Diagram of Second Language Policy Discourses



As Bassey earlier argued, an important criterion for ascertaining the merit of a case-study 'is the extent to which the details are sufficient and appropriate for a teacher working in a

similar situation to relate his decision-making to that described in the case study'.⁶⁸⁴ In other words, it is the 'relatability' of a case-study as opposed to its generalisability that it is of essence.⁶⁸⁵ This is hopefully what the thesis' case-studies have accomplished, namely that their findings can be related to other similar second language education contexts.⁶⁸⁶ Although the thesis focuses on the language experiences of Tower Hamlets and Manhattan, its theoretical and empirical work is relevant to the analysis of second language education programmes elsewhere. The above policy chart can be therefore applied to other environments in which such policies take place. The values Welsh, Canadian and Australian language policy players attribute to the notions of language and identity will certainly have an impact on the ways in which they frame their particular second language education policies. Accordingly, Australia's strong emphasis on English language learning could be said to belong in the same assimilationist tradition of Britain and the USA. In contrast, Canada's immersion programmes, with their fostering of majority and minority language teaching, would seem to conform to a social integrationist discourse. On the other hand, Wales' bilingual education policy, having reversed the prevailing majority/minority language hierarchy, could be likened to a social integrationist ideology with exclusivist (i.e. nationalistic) tendencies. While a detailed study of each region would be deemed necessary to ascertain the presence of their specific language education policy discourse coalitions, it is reasonable to assume that the assimilationists, exclusivists and social integrationists would somehow feature. On the whole, the thesis' proposed typology of second language policy frames aims to provide a useful heuristic device to understand the dynamics of discourse coalition formation.

8.4 Towards an Interpretive Approach to Policy Analysis

Interpretive theories have challenged the notion that revenge and oranges could be known in the same way. An interpretive approach to policy analysis shifts the focus from a set of universal laws about objective sense-based facts to the human capacity for making and communicating meaning. Hajer has explained how:

⁶⁸⁴ Bassey, 'Pedagogic Research', p. 85.

⁶⁸⁵ Bassey, 'Pedagogic Research', p. 85.

⁶⁸⁶ See S. Churchill, *The Education of Linguistic and Cultural Minorities in the OECD Countries*, (Clevendon: Multilingual Matters), 1986.

Every social process involves communication among actors. Communication has an essential ideological character: people see, interpret and act out of their own perception about reality. In this sense communication is above all *the communication of meaning*. People exchange, as it were, their interpretations of reality. This is what I call discursive communication. It concerns communication as the *interpretation* of reality.⁶⁸⁷

Unlike oranges and other elements of the physical and natural world, humans make meanings, interpret the meanings created by others, communicate their meanings to and share them with others; as Yanow has put it: 'we act; we have intentions about our actions; we interpret others' actions. We make sense of the world: we are meaning-making creatures'.⁶⁸⁸

While there is now a growing body of work exploring the ideologies and values of second language policy⁶⁸⁹, the literature on second language education has traditionally focused on objective assumptions and quantifiable indicators. As a result, our appreciation of the ambiguity inherent in second language education has been limited. As Chapter 3 indicated, scholars have been broadly concerned with three key areas of the field, namely second language legislation, multicultural schooling and the phenomenon of English language globalisation. When studying such issues though, analysts have mainly addressed the actualities of second language education as opposed to the ideologies behind this policy. Only anthropological studies such as Zentella's *Growing Up Bilingual* or political accounts of second language legislation such as Crawford's *Hold Your Tongue* have revealed the views and beliefs of those involved in second language education policy.⁶⁹⁰ Notwithstanding current research developments in this direction, the literature on the subject has by and large been unperceptive of the 'deeper ideological forces' that give shape to second language policy.⁶⁹¹

Although long established in social research, concern with an interpretive approach to the analysis of public policy has only recently come to light, as the works of Yanow, Hajer, Fisher and Forrester, among others, reflect. Hofmann claims that interpretative analysts

⁶⁸⁷ Hajer, *City Politics*, p. 38.

⁶⁸⁸ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 5.

⁶⁸⁹ See Schmidt, R., *Language Policy and Identity Politics in the United States*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), 2000; and Watkins-Goffman, L., *Lives in Two Languages: An Exploration of Identity and Culture*, (Michigan: University of Michigan Press), 2001; and Gillherme, M., *Critical Citizens for an Intercultural World: Foreign Language Education as Cultural Politics*, (Clevendon: Multilingual Matters), 2002.

⁶⁹⁰ See Zentella, *Growing Up Bilingual*; and Crawford, *Hold Your Tongue*.

⁶⁹¹ Fisher and Forrester (eds.), *The Argumentative Turn*, p. 21.

deal 'with a dimension of the political which has been widely neglected or misunderstood in policy studies, namely the perception and interpretation of reality'.⁶⁹² By recognising the human quality of policies, these authors have helped us to appreciate that second language education and its study are subjective activities, and that our perceptions of this policy are not mirror images of the actual world, but only interpretations of it.⁶⁹³ Hajer has pointed out that 'the individual is influenced in his thinking by discourses. Individuals observe, think, speak and act according to their perceptions of 'what is the case''.⁶⁹⁴ Rein and Schön have furthermore argued that 'if people see the world as different and act on their different views, then the world itself becomes different. Expectations, beliefs and interpretations shape the world in which we live'.⁶⁹⁵ It follows that there is no such a thing as a single correct solution to a policy problem, any more than there is a single correct understanding of what the problem is. The contrasting narratives of the assimilationists, exclusivists and social integrationists have clearly illustrated this point. Against this background, the thesis' interpretive analysis of second language education has served to decode the hidden meanings underlying this policy, and consequently it has provided us with a more complete picture of this social phenomenon. By including subjective interpretations of language and identity, without disregarding the actualities of second language programmes, the thesis has contributed to broaden our understanding of this policy.

The hallmark of public policy studies should finally be to 'examine the relationship between meanings made within the organisation, and those made within the polity of which the organisation is a part, for the two are not separable'.⁶⁹⁶ In other words, attention ought to be focused on what Hajer has described as one of the key issues in the understanding of social processes, namely 'how do people interpret reality?'.⁶⁹⁷ Since the world of public policy entails human emotions, ambiguity as well as complexity, we certainly need analytical perspectives that can help us understand them all. The interpretive paradigm can be said to be one of those perspectives, for it looks in the direction of alternative modes of thought that ultimately explore how does a policy mean?

⁶⁹² Hofmann, 'Implicit Theories in Public Discourse', p. 127.

⁶⁹³ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. 3.

⁶⁹⁴ Hajer, *City Politics*, p. 42.

⁶⁹⁵ Rein and Schön, 'Reframing Policy Discourses', pp. 145-166.

⁶⁹⁶ Yanow, *How Does a Policy Mean?* p. x.

⁶⁹⁷ Hajer, *City Politics*, p. 40.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaires

SURVEY OF ESL PUPILS IN LONDON/NEW YORK CITY

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The study seeks to explore pupils' perceptions and views on language, identity and the English as a Second Language education programmes they are involved in.

As part of a PhD thesis on ESL education policy in London and New York City, this questionnaire is aimed at ESL students like yourself. The questionnaire comprises two sections. The first section asks you to provide brief responses on general information about yourself, your aspirations and the ESL programme you attend. The second section invites you to elaborate on your experience and thoughts on issues relating to language, identity and citizenship.

Your time and co-operation in this survey are very much appreciated. All information that you provide will be treated in the strictest confidence and only used for academic purposes, with no individual pupil being identified in the study. If you would like more information about the study, please do not hesitate to contact Christina Julios on (020) 7975-5003 (UK)/(212) 463-9407 (USA).

Thank you for your help.

SECTION ONE: ABOUT YOUR SELF

1. Are you (please tick):

Male	[]
Female	[]
2. What is your age? _____ years
3. What is your country of origin? _____
4. What is your nationality? _____
5. If you plan to live in Tower Hamlets/Manhattan permanently, in which area of the borough would you like to reside? _____
6. If you would prefer to live somewhere else outside Tower Hamlets/Manhattan, where would that place be? Please indicate either another area within London/New York City, a different city or a country: _____
7. Which do you think are the three most useful Modern Languages taught in the school curriculum? _____
8. On a scale of 1 to 10 (1 = 'not important' and 10 = 'very important), how important do you think that learning English is to getting a job? _____
9. Do you think that non English-speaking pupils should be taught in their mother tongues at school? _____
10. Do you think all immigrants coming into the UK/USA should learn English?

SECTION TWO: YOUR PERCEPTIONS

- 1. Where would you like to live in the future? Why? (please write your answers in the spaces below):**
- 2. Do you think that academic achievement is important for your future life prospects? Why?**
- 3. Do you think that learning English proficiently is necessary for finding employment in the UK/USA? Why?**
- 4. When you finish school, what kind of job would you like to do? Why?**
- 5. Do you think that being bilingual is an asset or a drawback? Why?**
- 6. 'All immigrants coming to Britain/USA must learn the English language'. Do you agree/disagree with this statement? Why?**

Appendix 2: Interviewees

LONDON

1) Central Government Officials

Blunkett MP, David, The Right Hon

Home Secretary

Home Office

London 8th April 2002.⁶⁹⁸

Chisholm, Ian

Head of Procedures and Victims Unit

Criminal Policy Directorate

Home Office

London, 19th September 1996.

Kingman FRS, John, Sir

Chair of the *Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of English Language 1987*

Vice-Chancellor

University of Bristol

Bristol, 18th January 2001.⁶⁹⁹

Morris MP, Estelle, The Right Hon

Secretary of State for Education

DfES

London 2nd May 2002.⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁸ David Blunkett provided the author with written answers to her questions.

⁶⁹⁹ Sir John Kingman provided the author with written answers her questions.

⁷⁰⁰ Estelle Morris provided the author with written answers to her questions.

Price, Sue

Director

Pupil Welfare Division

DfES

London, 18th October 1996.**Smith, Rob L.**

Director

Pupils, Parents and Youth Group

DfES

London, 3rd September 1996.**Wrench, Peter**

Deputy Director General

Immigration and Nationality Directorate

Home Office

London, 14th March 2002.**Wright, Rob A.**

Director

Community Relations Unit

Home Office

London, 10th September 1996.**2) Local Government Officials****Alon, Soyful, Cllr.**

Vice-Chair

Education and Community Services Committee

Tower Hamlets Council

London, 22nd November 1996.

Ferris, Anna

EMAG Co-ordinator

Tower Hamlets Council

London, 26th January 2000.**Guthrie, Belinda**

Language and Ethnic Minority Achievement (LEMA) Advisor

Richmond Council

London, 21st February 2000.**Harris, Belle, Cllr.**

Chair

Education and Community Services Committee

Tower Hamlets Council

London, 22nd November 1996.**Husain, Hasanat M., Dr.**

Director

Bilingualism

Education and Community Services

Tower Hamlets Council

London, 4th October 1996 and 26th January 2000.**Nathan, Peter**

Head

EMAG Services

Hackney Council

London, 28th January 2000.

Readding, Janet

Chair

Refugee Working Group

Refugee Council

London, 28th January 2000.

Vance, Michael

EMAG Co-ordinator

Hackney Council

London, 28th January 2000.

3) School Teachers and Educationalists**Bird, Sally**

ESL Adult Education Teacher

Tower Hamlets College

London, 18th April 1997.

Bradley, John

Modern Languages Teacher

Swanlea School

London, 2nd February 1997.

Fields, Elaine

ESL Adult Education Teacher

Tower Hamlets College

London, 18th April 1997.

Gooding, Jackie

ESL Adult Education Teacher

Tower Hamlets College

London, 18th April 1997.**Koraram, Josette**

Head

Languages Department

Swanlea School

London, 12th December 1996.**Lawrence, Jane**

ESL Teacher

Swanlea School

London, 17th December 1996.**MacManum, Martin**

ESL Teacher

Swanlea School

London, 2nd February 1997.**Mitchelmore, Tony**

EMAG Team Co-ordinator

Swanlea School

London, 13th December 1996 and 9th February 2000.**Ratclife, Philip**

ESL Teacher

Swanlea School

London, 22nd November 1996.

4) Community and Voluntary Groups

Haque, Hasina

ESL Adult Education Teacher

St. Hilda's East Community Centre

London, 9th December 1996.

Haque, Mainul

Project Manager

Bengali Elders Programme

St. Hilda's East Community Centre

London, 9th December 1996.

Khan, Jamal

ESL Adult Education Teacher

St. Hilda's Community Centre

London, 11th December 1996.

O'Brien, Jeff

Head

Tower Hamlets Adult Education Centre

Bethnal Green Community Centre

London, 27th November 1996.

5) Private Sector Partnerships

Mannan, Swalea

Administrator

JET (Jobs through English and Training) Project

Bethnal Green Training Centre

London, 12th December 1996.

NEW YORK CITY

1) Central Government Officials

Parisi, Patricia Herring

Regional Representative of the Secretary of State for Education

United States Department for Education

Region II: NJ, NY, PR and VI

New York City, 8th October 1997.

2) Local Government Officials

Arce, Betty

Special Assistant

New York City Board of Education

New York City, 21st October 1997.

Herendeen, Noemi Carrera

Director

Bilingual Curriculum and Instructional Services

New York City Board of Education

New York City, 23rd October 1997 and 28th March 2000.

Hernandez, Lilliam, Dr.

Executive Director

Office of Bilingual Education

New York City Board of Education

New York City, 23rd October 1997.

Horwitz, Coayle

Special Assistant

New York City Board of Education

New York City, 21st October 1997.**Kaufman, Natasha**

Director

New York City Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs and Language Services

New York City, 14th October 1997.**Reyes, Luis, Dr.**

Chair

New York City Board of Education

New York City, 21st October 1997.**Rivera, Carlos**

Senior Language Specialist

New York City Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs and Language Services

New York City, 14th October 1997.**Sanchez, Elba**

Assistant Director

New York City Office of High School Bilingual/ESL Programmes

New York City, 6th October 1997.**Underwood, Maria Garcia**

Special Assistant

New York City Board of Education

New York City, 21st October 1997 and 24th March 2000.

3) School Teachers, Educationalists and Children**Acevedo, Giselles**

17 year-old bilingual student

11th Grade Spanish Bilingual Education Programme

Seward Park High School

New York City, 15th October 1997.

Bhattacharyja, Dwijen

ESL Bengali Teacher

Seward Park High School

New York City, 23rd March 2000.

Cabat, Geoffrey, Dr.

Director

Spanish Bilingual Social Studies/ Government

Seward Park High School

New York City, 16th October 1997.

Cosquer, Armand, Dr.

Assistant Principal

Seward Park High School

New York City, 17th October 1997.

Davis, Awilda

20 year-old bilingual student

12th Grade Spanish Bilingual Education Programme

Seward Park High School

New York City, 15th October 1997.

Davis, Daniel

17 year-old bilingual student

10th Grade Spanish Bilingual Education Programme

Seward Park High School

New York City, 15th October 1997.

Fernandez, Yamilka

17 year-old bilingual student

12th Grade Spanish Bilingual Education Programme

Seward Park High School

New York City, 15th October 1997.

Gonzalez, Teodoro

Spanish Bilingual Maths Teacher

Seward Park High School

New York City, 23rd March 2000.

Muñoz-Feder, Elisa

Co-ordinator/Spanish Bilingual Teacher

Project ACCESS

Seward Park High School

New York City, 17th October 1997.

Pedraza, Pedro

Director

Centre for Puerto Rican Studies

Hunter College

CUNY (City University of New York)

New York City, 10th October 1997 and 27th March 2000.

Quintana, William

Spanish Bilingual Biology/Chemistry Teacher

Seward Park High School

New York City, 23rd October 1997.

Shimizu, Yoko

17 year-old bilingual student

12th Grade Chinese Cantonese Bilingual Education Programme

Seward Park High School

New York City, 23rd October 1997.

Torres-Guzman, Maria, Professor

Associate Professor Bilingual Education

Teachers College

Columbia University

New York City, 7th October 1997.

Zentella, Ana Celia, Professor

Director

Black and Puerto Rican Studies

Hunter College

CUNY (City University of New York)

New York City, 9th October 1997.

4) Community and Voluntary Groups**Falcon, Angelo**

President

Institute of Puerto Rican Policy

New York City, 9th October 1997.

Sierra, Roberto Gonzalez

Director

Community and Social Services

Borough of Manhattan Community College

New York City, 14th October 1997.

5) Private Sector Partnerships

Garcia, Frank

President

Association of Young Latino Entrepreneurs

New York City, 15th October 1997.

Appendix 3: Interviews Schedule

Individuals and their Organisations

Can you tell me a little about your school/organisation and your particular role within the school/organisation?

Do you work in partnership with other private/public/voluntary sector organisations? Why?

What are the school/organisation's aims regarding second language education? What are you trying to achieve?

What proportion of your overall annual student intake is taken up by ESL/bilingual pupils? What kind of ESL/bilingual programmes/services do you provide?

How much money do you currently spend on ESL/bilingual programmes in relation to your overall annual budget? Where does the money come from?

What criteria do you use to select your ESL/bilingual pupils? How do you monitor their progress?

What kind of and how many ESL/bilingual classes (i.e. nursery, primary and secondary, adult education) do you run? How often are they taught?

Do you have enough qualified ESL/bilingual teachers in your school to cope with the demand? If not, why?

What are the main obstacles you have encountered in delivering ESL/bilingual programmes/services?

How do you think the delivery of ESL/bilingual programmes/services could be improved?

Individuals and their Perceptions of Language, Identity and ESL/Bilingual Education:

Can you tell me a little bit about yourself and your family? Which is your country of origin? Why did you come to the UK/USA? Which language/s do you speak?

How long have you lived in the UK/USA? Do you enjoy living in the UK/USA? Why? For how long do you intend to live in the UK/USA? Why?

How do you define your own identity in terms of your ethnicity, language/s and nationality? Why?

How do you define your children/parents' identity in terms of their ethnicity, language/s and nationality? Why?

If your mother tongue is other than English, would you like your children to learn it? Why?

How do you think ESL/bilingual students living in the UK/USA should be best taught?

Do you think ESL/bilingual education is a good idea? Why?

Do you think ESL/bilingual education works? Why?

Why do you think some ESL/bilingual students underperform academically?

What do you think it should be done to improve the academic performance of non-English speakers?

