

**FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING AND
TECHNOLOGY IN ENGLAND
FROM THE
17TH to 21ST CENTURIES:**

An investigation into the functional and symbolic values attributed to
foreign languages in England, over four centuries of technological
change

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the dual practical and symbolic roles of foreign language learning. It argues that England's overt discourse has focused on the practical value of linguistic knowledge, but has concealed a political preoccupation with its symbolic value as a means of social differentiation. This has been facilitated by the serendipitous emergence of English as the international *lingua franca*. The researcher concludes that the model is failing to meet the practical needs of 21st century England, and is symbolically detrimental to the nation.

As an inter-disciplinary study, the work draws from various fields, though with a foundation in pedagogical theory and practice. The case is argued from a critical theory perspective which recognises that any interpretation is partial and hermeneutic. It assumes that change is characterised by an on-going struggle for power, which it explores through the relationship between technology and foreign language learning in England over a four-century period.

The researcher argues that a process of 'synoptic illusion' has led to the conflation of foreign language learning, the institutions in which languages are taught, and the socio-economic status of those attending the institutions. In time, foreign languages have become a symbol of social status and have served to sustain class differences. However, since they have appeared to have little practical value to lower socio-economic groups, an illusion of self-exclusion has developed, concealing this political role of linguistic knowledge.

An analytical framework is developed after Bourdieu which addresses five key factors that together explore the practical and symbolic functions of foreign language learning. Three case studies examine the innovative use of technology by linguists in different centuries. Their models challenge existing discourse and the researcher is led to conclude that political rather than pedagogical issues determine their degree of success in effecting change.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CACE	Central Advisory Council for Education
CALL	Computer Assisted Language Learning
CBI	Confederation for British Industry
C/T	Content/Transmission (curricular aim)
CILT	Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research
CMC	Computer Mediated Communications
CNN	Cable Network News
DES	Department for Education and Science
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DTI	Department for Trade and Industry
EC	European Commission
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ERA	Education Reform Act (1988)
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESRC	Economic and Science Research Council
EU	European Union
EYL	European Year of Languages
FE	Further Education
FLL	Foreign Language Learning
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GNVQ	General National Vocational Qualification
HE	Higher Education
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Agency
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate/Inspector
ICOGAD	Integration and Cognitive Change in Online Group Learning
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IET	Institute of Educational Technology
KS	Key Stage
LAD	Language Acquisition Device
LAN	Local Area Network
LEA	Local Education Authority
LNSG	Languages National Strategy Group
LNTO	Languages National Training Organisation
LTSN	Learning and Teaching Support Network
MFL	Modern Foreign Language
MOO	Multi-user domains, Object-Oriented
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
MT	Mother Tongue
NACELL	National Advisory Centre on Early Language Learning
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NBLT	Network Based Language Teaching
NGfL	National Guidelines for Languages
NIACE	National Institute for Adult and Continuing Education
NC	National Curriculum
NIACE	National Institute of Adult Continuing Education
TVEI	Technical Vocational Education Initiative
ODL	Open and Distance Learning
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
OU	Open University

PC	Personal Computer
P/D	Process/Development (curricular model)
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate in Education
P/I	Product/Instrument (curricular model)
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency for HE
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Agency
RI	Research Issue
RSA	Royal Society of Arts
TTA	Teacher Training Agency
UCAS	Universities and Colleges Admissions Service
UCML	University Council for Modern Languages
WAN	Wide Area Network

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PART I

SETTING THE CONTEXT

CHAPTER 1

THE RESEARCH ISSUES

1 The perceived value(s) of foreign language learning

Foreign language learning in England is dead; long live foreign language learning! Such was the contradictory message conveyed in February 2002 by the Green Paper *14-19: extending opportunities, raising standards* (DfES 2002a). After four short years, when the Nuffield Inquiry and its immediate aftermath appeared to have secured the identity that foreign languages had long sought (Hawkins 1987), the bubble of euphoria had burst.

In an amazing feat of *léger de main*, the Green Paper could declare that ‘unless our children learn languages earlier we will fail them’ (DfES 2002b: 1), whilst simultaneously downgrading their status to that of mere ‘statutory *entitlement*’ (writer’s emphasis) in Key Stage 4¹. Foreign languages would miraculously move from being a compulsory element of the secondary curriculum, to a ‘desirable’ subject in the *primary* sector, and a requirement only in Key Stage 3.

Why, though, would the nation’s children be failed if they were not taught foreign languages? What value did languages represent? Without addressing these questions directly or probing their complexity, the Green Paper simply reiterated the usual panoply of imprecise reasons for learning languages. Hence it talked nebulously of

the contribution of languages ... to the cultural and linguistic richness of our society, to personal fulfilment, commercial success, international trade and mutual understanding (DfES 0186/2002:1)

focusing on patent functional value whilst having little conception of how to achieve these aims (‘we would also welcome comments on how language teaching can be organised...’ [DfES 2002b: 6]).

Of course, languages were vital to economic competitiveness; undoubtedly, people were travelling more so had increased opportunities for using a foreign tongue; yes, knowledge of community languages was a means to cultural understanding, but, how could the country’s youth be convinced of their importance in such practical contexts when the subject was compulsory² for only three short years?

The researcher will argue that the latest government pronouncements were typical of a history of incremental planning in regard to foreign language learning in England.³ She will propose that this is not due solely to the multiplicity of functions the subject has been expected to fulfil, but that it is, rather, reflective of England’s elitist values.

These may not necessarily have been consciously articulated, but following a process which has led to self-exclusion (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) and, eventually, to legitimation of its restricted status, foreign language learning has become associated with an intellectual and social elite.

It will be suggested that successive governments have been able to conceal ideological assumptions for maintaining this elitism behind the more obvious functional reasons for learning foreign languages, and that this process has been facilitated by the rise of the country's mother tongue to the position of international *lingua franca*. Consequently, it will be argued, restricted access to foreign language learning has covertly supported social stratification, without exciting popular outrage, the average Englishman⁴ perceiving no pressing need to learn foreign languages in an increasingly anglophone world. A 'linguistic divide' comparable to the 'digital divide' will be seen to have grown, with its attendant questions of functional use facilitating reproduction of existing relationships.

Paradoxically, the thrust for greater national competence in foreign languages came now not from the public, but from politicians, who had recognised the functional and symbolic importance of bi- / plurilingualism⁵ if England was to participate actively in the European Community. This does not require total fluency in other languages but recognises

partial competence – both in the level achieved in each of the competencies and in the types of competencies involved. The partial character of plurilingual competence is thus to be understood in a qualitative and quantitative fashion. (European Language Council 2001: 6)

It appears that now, external interests for being bi/plurilingual superseded internal reasons for keeping the majority of the populace monolingual.

There are serious motivational and practical obstacles to realisation of this change. After centuries of habituation to languages being a minority subject, and in an increasingly anglophone world, how were the nation's citizens to be persuaded of the new need? And, even if individual learner motivation abounded, there were more practical problems: how did the government intend to conjure up recruits to the 170 places proposed for French in the primary teacher training allocation for 2002/03? In short, the Green Paper might express the cherished ideals of linguists (and others) but it was difficult to suppress a cynical sense of *déjà-vu* if one was old enough to recall the failed attempt to introduce primary French in the 1960s and 1970s⁶.

After all that had transpired since the passing of the Education Reform Act (1988) when modern languages became a compulsory element of the secondary curriculum, was language learning still in quest of an identity, as Hawkins (1987) had observed some fifteen years earlier? Was the Green Paper just the latest manifestation of the discontinuity of language discourse in England?

Those who have followed the contradictory expectations placed on foreign language learning in England will know that there has been a history of discontinuity, of no apparent long-term policy. Most readers will have experienced, whether as learners or as teachers, the incessant bombardment of new initiatives that have succeeded the Great Education Debate (Cox & Dyson 1969a and 1969b). Comprehensivisation (DES 10/65 and 10/66) and raising of the school leaving age (1973) together brought new pedagogical challenges, but reflected changing social and economic positions. Political concern focused on standards, accountability and vocationalism (Ball 1994).

In this climate, and preparing the way for the Education Reform Act (1988), Curriculum Matters 8, *Modern Foreign Languages to 16* (DES1987) gave five reasons for learning a foreign language: it

- allows pupils to explore life style and culture of another land through its language;
- introduces learners to language awareness;
- promotes social interaction in and beyond the classroom;
- develops individual skills e.g. memory;
- provides skills for adult life e.g. for work or travel.

In other words, languages had a functional role, essentially for the individual's personal enrichment, but entailing practical and cultural elements. By 1999, the DfEE had refined these and brought in two new dimensions: lifelong learning and citizenship:

Through the study of a foreign language, pupils understand and appreciate different countries, cultures people and communities – and as they do so, begin to think of themselves as citizens of the world as well as of the UK. Pupils also learn about the basic structures of language. Their listening, reading and memory skills improve, and their speaking and writing become more accurate ... (they) lay the foundations for future study of other languages. (DfEE 1999a)

These aims may be compared with those of Higher Education (Dearing, 1997 para. 23), to:

- contribute effectively to society and achieve personal fulfilment;
- increase knowledge and understanding for their own sake and to foster their application to the benefit of the economy and society;
- serve the needs of an adaptable, sustainable, knowledge-based economy at local, regional and national levels;
- play a major role in shaping a democratic, civilised, inclusive society

The emphasis remained functional, but it had moved to collective rather than individual needs. What was less obvious was the ideological role languages were to play, merely hinted at in the final bullet point.

For at the symbolic level, language contributes to a sense of communal and individual identity (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). It is implicitly inward looking, providing the means for internal communication within the community, and setting speakers apart from non-speakers. It is thus a symbolic representation of the community's identity, carrying 'cultural clout' (Edwards, 1995: 40) for those who speak it as well as being a practical tool for communication.

The question must therefore be asked, does the changed discourse represent a new sense of collective identity? Is England now being encouraged to embrace a symbol (bilingualism) of its European membership? This raises profound anxieties which strike at the heart of identity - personal and collective - and, the researcher will argue, must be openly confronted. As preparation for this discussion, chapter 2 will return to the symbolic role of language as it relates to individual, group and national identity.

2 Change in technology and its relationship with language learning

It is the researcher's professional experience as a teacher during the last decades of the twentieth century that has led to the present research. Within the space of twenty years, she had seen language learning justified as a means of cultural enlightenment, as a functional tool for vocational and leisure pursuits, as a process for developing transferable skills such as memorisation – the list is endless. Working in inner London over the period preceding - and arguably causing - the demise of the Inner London Education Authority and Greater London Council perhaps highlighted the intrinsically political nature of languages (see especially chapter 13, below), and the struggle between agents to deploy them for meta-linguistic purposes.

Indecipherably intertwined with different apparent values went the pedagogical application of one technological device after another, ostensibly designed to enhance the motivation of learners and improve learning outcomes, but inevitably altering the nature of language taught. The question arose, was technology curriculum led or leading the curriculum? Was it instrumentalist or determinist? (Ebersole 1995, Feenberg 1991)

Against this background, some key concerns were colliding: *what was the perceived value of foreign language learning?* (Why learn languages? Were the reasons functional or ideological or both?) *Once values had been determined, how were these translated into educational (specifically, language) discourse?* (What was the process involved in determining 'discourse' and 'policy' (see section 5, below), who made the decision, what was the source of their authority, who had access to foreign language learning?) *Why did discourse change? What was its relationship with 'developments' in technology?* (Was it instrumental or determinist?) *What, if any, significance did it make that English was the international lingua franca?*

The questions pointed to potential conflict in values, pitting individual against collective, and national against international needs. They cluster around three key issues:

- Values
- Change
- Technology

The research will explore the relationship between *change* in the perceived *value* of foreign languages and that in *technology*. It therefore brings together a number of disciplines, and encounters problems familiar to those engaged in interdisciplinary work. These are discussed in chapter 3, together with questions of academic validity as well as the practical management of such research.

3 The research issues

The researcher argues that the values underpinning foreign language learning in England have been discontinuous across time and between groups at any one time, with the result that formal language policy has appeared to be incremental and discontinuous. But does discontinuity imply absence of 'policy'?

Change in 'discourse' or 'policy' will be attributed to a complex relationship with technological change, wherein technology has both contributed to social and

ideological change and provided a practical tool which has enabled the nature of language learning to change, representing and in turn validating a new discourse. It will be proposed that the functional value of knowing another language has obfuscated, and been politically manipulated in order to obscure, other, symbolic and ideological values, and that discontinuity has therefore been a political intention at some point(s) in the subject's history.

It will be argued that the position of English as the international *lingua franca* has supported England's exclusive foreign language discourse but that, in the context of the twenty-first century and changing political conditions, this must move away from its elitist, predominantly monolingual, model to embrace one wherein bi/plurilingualism becomes the norm for all the nation's citizens.

In order to operationalise these arguments, three propositions are made:

1 FORMAL FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ENGLAND HAS BEEN CHARACTERISED BY A LACK OF COHERENT POLICY.

2 WHILST THIS LACK OF COHERENCE MAY, SUPERFICIALLY, APPEAR TO BE A QUESTION OF COMPETING FUNCTIONAL NEEDS, IT IS REALLY A CONSEQUENCE OF POLITICAL FACTORS.

3 FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING HAS CHANGED IN THE CONTEXT OF NEW TECHNOLOGY BUT THE FUNCTIONAL VALUE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES AS PEDAGOGICAL TOOLS HAS BOTH ORCHESTRATED A NEW DISCOURSE FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGES, AND PROVIDED A MASK FOR POLITICAL MANIPULATION.

4 A critical theory perspective

These hypotheses will be explored from a critical theory perspective (e.g. Kellner 1997, Bronner 1994, Hoy and McCarthy 1994). Chapter 3 introduces the methodological approach and the implications it has for the research methods. It considers the validity of research which takes a hermeneutic stance and so cannot call upon traditional criteria. This raises the question of academic capital. Viewed in terms of Bourdieu's (1998:270) conception of the field of power as having a 'chiasmatic' structure, the researcher envisages the political struggles for power within the teaching profession as a microcosmic form of the conflicts that occur at all levels of social relationships (national and international).

These struggles derive from different perceptions of what is valuable. Part II probes the nature of values and the forms of capital (power) which enable a dominant discourse to emerge. The principles are then applied to the field of education and onwards to that of foreign languages. Drawing largely from the work of critical theory, and particularly from Bourdieu and Warschauer, the researcher develops an analytical framework for examining the perceived value of foreign language learning in England, and the processes which have led to the dominant discourse of each period. Analytical tools are devised with which to compare periods and issues. This is not in quest of similarities, but rather to provide a common framework for discussion.

Part III then applies these tools to the history of foreign language learning in England, predominantly over the last four hundred years, but with a brief outline of its roots. This is in order to test research issue 1 (hereafter RI1), the coherence of 'policy' over time and within a single period. The role of technology (RI3) and the competition between functional and symbolic aims (RI2) will emerge at the national,

macro-political level, but so as to probe them more closely, three case studies are presented in Part IV. The rationale for these case studies and their related technological developments are explained in chapter 3.

The evidence collected in Parts III and IV will enable the researcher to draw some conclusions in respect of the three hypotheses. As a critical work, the aim is not only to stimulate debate but also to contribute to future action. Having examined the three issues, the researcher will propose a model for change in the nation's foreign language learning habits (Part V), which conceptualises the degree of change required if the nation is to move from mono- to bi-lingualism⁷. It acknowledges the political issues as well as the more tangible functional arguments for learning a foreign language, so includes consideration of the changes in social (hence power) relationships that are likely to result from new linguistic competence.

The model is first introduced in chapter 2. It is based upon the argument that a positive response to the notion of bilingualism is needed in contemporary England, despite English being the world's *lingua franca*. It will be argued that failure to make this adjustment from a position of monolingualistic complacency will be detrimental to the country's economy, its world status and the culture of its individual citizens. Success hinges upon the ability to overcome fear of change, and to appreciate bilingualism as an enriching experience.

At both functional and symbolic levels, knowledge of a second European Community language would bring the English into line with partners, most of whom have a working knowledge of at least one foreign language (Crystal 2001), and with the Council of the European Union's objectives (Lisbon 2000 and Barcelona 2002). These are outward looking reasons to support this change. However, a conflict exists between them and the inward-looking values that the researcher argues have contributed towards England's monolingualism.

The research will argue that bilingualism has not been encouraged within the political and educational culture of the country. This can be attributed to the lack of any coherent policy on language learning; more importantly, though, it will be suggested, it is a reflection of the political nature of linguistic knowledge which is fundamentally a matter of ideological, not functional, value. For with such knowledge comes symbolic power, and here two considerations have hitherto operated symbiotically, one at the national level, the other in terms of the country's international relations. These have been covert, and may or may not have been deliberate, but together they have bred a culture of monolingualism which it would be necessary to reverse if a language policy designed to encourage cultural tolerance were to succeed in England.

Underlying this dilemma are questions of symbolic power and identity (cf. section 1, above): this study will suggest that unless these political issues are addressed, as well as the practicalities of what, how, at what age, and so on, languages are taught, no significant change in attitude will be achieved. This failure would, it will be argued, be to the detriment of individual and country. In the words of the Nuffield Languages team, responding to the Green Paper, this would

... have a seriously damaging effect on national competitiveness and on the overall education levels of our children as they seek employment ... (it would be) incompatible with a vision of a world-class education system. (Nuffield 2002)

5 R11 FORMAL FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ENGLAND HAS BEEN CHARACTERISED BY A LACK OF COHERENT POLICY.

Aims, values, policy and discourse

The above sections have already revealed a difficulty in dealing with this subject: the distinction between policy and discourse. At one level is the formal policy, that is the textual expression (Ball 1994) of the policy maker's desired outcomes, based upon his political values. His ability to determine policy will come from the nature of legitimised or assumed power or authority that he holds. At this level, 'policies are the operational statements of values' (Kogan 1975:55). The researcher will therefore examine the nature of foreign language 'policy' and the processes involved in devising and managing one, in order to probe the different forms of capital that may contribute to its determination. Chapter 3 expands on these issues and they are subsequently developed into an analytical framework, in Part II.

At another level, policy may not be formalised, hence the term 'discourse' has been used in this introduction. In so doing, the researcher adopts the definition proposed by Mesthrie:

'Discourse' in social theory is a rather more slippery concept, denoting different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice. Discourses are manifested in particular ways of using language and other symbolic systems like visual images. They may be thought of as a system of rules implicated in specific kinds of power relations which make it possible for certain statements and ways of thinking to occur at particular times and places in history. (Mesthrie 2000: 323)

This definition, what Ball (1994) describes as 'policy as discourse' in contrast to 'policy as text', is more appropriate for discussion of foreign language learning in earlier centuries, when educational content was not formalised, but relied on traditional practice and unquestioning acceptance of this. It presupposes different forms of power relationships from those of 'policy'.

Access, subject content and institutional structures

It will also be apparent in Part III, the historical account of foreign language learning in England, that both overt and covert aims may exist: the discourse may differ from the policy. The difficulty for analysts lies in how to prove intent when it is not stated. This is a fundamental problem which the research addresses by looking for alternative indicators of expectation.

To this end, each period studied will identify not only the explicit policy (if it exists) but also which language is learnt, and the nature of language taught (e.g. Literature? Grammar?), who has access to the subject, where, and within which educational structure. The approach shares the notion that 'aims are values practicalised' (Garforth 1985:51), so the practical indicators are more reliable than overt policies.

In investigating the perceived value of foreign languages in the English curriculum and how perceptions of this have changed over time, the diversity of stakeholders, their potentially divergent values, and different forms of capital with which to barter, must be considered. By way of introduction to this, Part II considers some models of curriculum change and proposes a framework for analysis, inspired by the work of Kogan (1985), AV Kelly (1999), Dale (1986) and Archer (1985). This locates the assumed value of foreign language learning on a continuum, according to its individual or collective focus, and in terms of functional or symbolic aims.

Clearly, attribution of perceptions is a subjective matter and cannot be empirically proven. Once more, then, the validity of research such as this cannot be found in its ability to establish verifiable cause and effect, 'truth' as defined in the 'hard' sciences (Senge 1999, Kragh 1987). As noted above, chapter 3 will discuss these issues and propose an alternative which is more consistent with critical theory and embraces the notion of dynamic complexity and the ideals of 'catalytic validity' (Lather 1991).

6 RI2 WHILST THIS LACK OF COHERENCE MAY, SUPERFICIALLY, APPEAR TO BE A QUESTION OF COMPETING FUNCTIONAL NEEDS, IT IS REALLY A CONSEQUENCE OF POLITICAL FACTORS.

RI2 raises the respective value of functional and symbolic aims. The wide range of different roles that foreign language learning has been expected to play in recent years alone has already been noted. The researcher will analyse change in policy according to the practical (functional) and/or symbolic outcomes desired. This will entail investigation of language as a symbol of identity and here, conflict will be proposed between the elitist (exclusive) values of an internal group whose priority is to retain a symbol of their social position, and the practical (economic) and symbolic (European integration), inclusive, needs of the nation to become competent in the use of other languages (Weber 1978, Bourdieu 1984).

The researcher will suggest that monolingualism may once have sustained the cultural identity of the English people in both the nation's and the international community's eyes (though this is arguable, as will be discussed in Part II), but it has concealed the fact that bilingualism has been the domain of an elite minority, holding symbolic power for those possessing such knowledge (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). The history of language learning in England (Kelly 1969) supports this argument: languages were long the preserve of the grammar school and qualification in first Latin, later a modern language, was a prerequisite for university entrance – a then minority expectation, largely class-related (Floud, Halsey and Martin 1957, Ranson 1984). It is only since the Education Reform Act (1988) that they have been a statutory requirement in secondary schools - a requirement that has subsequently been diluted as the Green Paper 2002 proposes, though the new policy would advocate developing bilingualism from the early years of schooling (Part III, below).

What have been the political reasons for such legislative changes as these? The study will argue that languages have become essential to the economic health of the nation as well as to internal and international relations – particularly as the country has become allied to the European Community (Council of Europe 1539/2001). They are accorded functional *and* symbolic value. But for bilingual aims to be realised, a change in attitude is necessary on the part of the average Englishman. How, after centuries of being conditioned to the notion that foreign languages are unnecessary accomplishments, is the populace to be persuaded now of their vital, personal, importance? The task of persuasion is exacerbated by the wave of globalisation which continues to see the dominance of English as the *lingua franca*, despite the growth of some other major world languages (see chapter 2, below.) Paradoxically, in contemporary England, the individual's diminishing functional need for linguistic competence is in conflict with the nation's functional and symbolic (political) need for him to acquire such competence.

It is at this point that the third proposition for the research arises, the relationship between change in technology and that in foreign language learning.

7 RI3 FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING HAS CHANGED IN THE CONTEXT OF NEW TECHNOLOGY BUT THE FUNCTIONAL VALUE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES AS PEDAGOGICAL TOOLS HAS BOTH ORCHESTRATED A NEW DISCOURSE FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGES, AND PROVIDED A MASK FOR POLITICAL MANIPULATION.

The final proposition brings together all three key issues: foreign language *values*, *change* and *technology*.

Building on the previous chapters' exploration of values, Part II will investigate the two-way relationship between change in technology and changing social values, the determinist and instrumental nature of technology (Ebersole 1995, Feenberg 1991). Drawing from the work of critical theorists (e.g. Bourdieu 1998, Kincheloe & McLaren 1994, Althusser 1971), a conflict model will be proposed to explain apparent incremental change in England's foreign language learning habits over the last four hundred years.

It will be argued that language(s) is (are) inextricably intertwined with political power, but that this political power in turn relates to technology, and in a two-way, circular process. Technologies may contribute towards strength of an economic or military nature, but it is economic rather than military might that dominates today. Crystal (2001:11) illustrates the way in which the former has arisen in the contemporary world:

the growth of international contracts has been largely the result of two separate developments. The physicists would not be talking so conveniently to each other at all without the technology of modern communication. And the business contacts would be unable to meet so easily without the technology of air transportation.

Whether such developments are advantageous or detrimental is again a matter of perspective, as will be discussed in Part II.

The Green Paper (2002) also raised the technological context of language learning. But as so often, technology, was couched in functionalist terms: Information and Communications Technology (ICT) promised new tools in the form of 'high quality electronic learning materials', they offered 'the development of electronic links and arrangement of "e pals"' (DfES 2002b: 6). The researcher, also, was interested in the practical potential of new technologies for pedagogy, but the question went deeper than this: how did these new technologies impact on the *need* for languages? Technology has provided patent instrumental support in teaching and learning foreign languages, so it is readily understandable how the focus has been on instrumental use ('what?' and 'how?') rather than on the more complex, ideological, question ('why?'), but this has perpetuated an evasion of the crucial issue: what expectations underpin language learning?

There is a second inadequacy in this technicist approach: preoccupation with functional application of technology infers a linear, instrumental relationship between the development of a new technology and its subsequent use. This fails to recognise the potential for technology to have a deterministic role, changing the nature of social structures and relationships, which in turn produce new developments, in a spiral process.

The present research will suggest that technology has perversely encouraged a functional, technicist, emphasis when what was demanded was a clearer perception of the values underlying the acquisition of linguistic knowledge/skills and awareness

of the non-linear relationship between development and application. This requires recognition that

These new technologies do not only serve the new teaching/learning paradigms, they also help shape the new paradigms. (Kern & Warschauer [eds] 2002)

Part IV will illustrate this proposition by examining three innovators, each practising at a time of immense technological change: JA Comenius, in the seventeenth century context of the printed word; Henry Sweet, in the late nineteenth century period of industrialisation and recorded sound; and an Open University team project which seeks to make use of the new technologies of the third millennium. These case studies will weigh the relative importance of functional and symbolic factors behind the innovations and consider the degree of innovators' success in their political context, using the framework described in Table 1.1, below.

8 Some preliminary boundaries

All three research issues relate to the assumed value of foreign languages, but a framework is necessary for the issues to be explored methodically.

In order to trace the nature of change, an analytical model will be used in Parts III and IV, based on seven issues that have recurred in the discussion above, viz.

- the broad 'philosophy' (value system) of the policy makers, from which derive their
- educational aims. These are revealed through the
- foreign language they advocate,
- the content of that curriculum,
- and the learners who have access to the subject.
- Finally, the system within which languages are taught, where
- and by whom,

These questions have been found to correspond with five factors identified separately by the socio-linguist, Mark Warschauer (2001, 2002) as having importance in supporting or overcoming the 'digital divide': **social capital, access, human capital, institutional structure and content**. The precise meaning and significance of these five terms will be probed in Part II, but the compatibility between the factors found to be relevant to a digital divide and those that have emerged as significant in the 'linguistic divide' proposed by the researcher will be apparent.

The factors are therefore collated, as indicated in Table 1.1 and will provide a common framework for discussion of each historical period and the case studies (Parts III and IV.)

Table 1.1

Key factors for change in England's language curriculum

Researcher's question	Warschauer's factor
General values]	
Educational aims]	= SOCIAL CAPITAL
For whom?	= ACCESS
By whom?	= HUMAN CAPITAL
Where?	= INSTITUTION STRUCTURE
What?]	
Which language?]	= CONTENT

Just as Warschauer argues that these factors may act in favour of, as well as against, a digital divide, so, too, will the researcher suggests that they must all be addressed if language learning policy in England is to remove the 'linguistic divide.'

Parts III and IV will provide data to illustrate the process of conflation that has occurred between social, academic and economic capital to produce a norm whereby languages have become a symbol of socio-economic status. A cycle of reproduction has sustained this through emphasis on their functional use, ignoring the symbolic role they play. Part V will explain the process of conflation and the existence of parallel social, academic and linguistic hierarchies before setting out some strategies for removing the divide.

9 Structure of the thesis

To summarise the discussion, the structure of this thesis is as follows:

- Part I The research arguments, their linguistic and epistemological background.
- Part II The conceptual framework: values and change, from a conflict perspective; the relationship between foreign language learning and technology; derivation of some analytical tools.
- Part III The macrocosmic history of foreign language learning in the context of technological change in England, focused on the 17th to 21st centuries, and addressing the five key factors outlined in table 1.1.
- Part IV Three case studies of change in foreign language learning in the context of specific technological developments, providing a microcosmic examination of the five key factors.
- Part V Analysis of the data and conflation of social, economic and education capital; proposal of a model for moving the English nation from a predominant state of monolingualism to that of bi/plurilingualism.

Chapter 2 will now take up the question of motivation for foreign language learning in England, by examining the current status of the subject and the impact of English,

the nation's mother tongue, being the global *lingua franca*. The researcher's model of mono- and bi-lingualism will be introduced against a background of the symbolic as well as functional role of language, and its association with power and status.

¹ Key Stage 3: years 7-9 (ages 11-13); Key Stage 4: years 10 and 11 (ages 14-16)

² Compulsory only in state funded schools subject to the National Curriculum

³ For accuracy, the article refers solely to policy in England, recognising that both linguistic and legislative differences are to be found in other parts of the United Kingdom

⁴ For the stylistic reasons explained in the preface, the masculine noun and pronoun are used

⁵ The discussion of bilingualism does not ignore the linguistic enrichment that has accompanied multicultural diversification of the nation, but once again, questions of symbolic power arise. For the 'community languages' have not generally been recognised as valuable skills by either their native speakers or the community at large. Furthermore, the writer's professional experience of attempting to introduce such languages as Arabic and Gujarati into the curriculum of an inner London comprehensive school in the 1980s was greeted with suspicion and fear on the part of mother-tongue speakers. In referring to language learning, this study alludes, therefore to the traditional curricular fare of French, German and so on, and when it proposes bilingualism, a combination of English plus one of the major world languages, as discussed below, is implied rather than the bilingualism that results from informal acquisition of two or more languages. The equal importance of this form of bilingualism is readily accepted, but must remain beyond the scope of the present thesis.

Further discussion of the term follows in chapter 4.

⁶ NFER experimental introduction of French into the primary curriculum, 1964-1974

⁷ For the purposes of this study, the researcher adopts the definition of the terms bi- and pluri-lingual proposed by Jones, S in the Consultative Report of the Nuffield Language Inquiry, 1998
'.. there is no 'perfectly bilingual' condition to be aimed for, or an ideal balance between ability in native and other languages, but (...) a competence that is individual, evolving, heterogeneous and out of balance. A learner could therefore show a range of partial competences in a number of languages, without mastery of any.'

CHAPTER 2

THE LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

1 Introduction

Chapter 2 aims to set the linguistic context for foreign language learning in contemporary England. It will trace the processes involved in the rise of English to its international role, as one explanation for the nation's suggested apathy towards language learning. The dual internal and external (functional) roles of language for communication and also as a (symbolic) marker of identity will be considered, in order to provide a conceptual background to the researcher's proposition that England must change its language discourse if it is to participate equitably on the international stage. A model for envisaging these different roles will be introduced and used to underpin the ensuing thesis.

It must be repeated that, for the social and political reasons set out in chapter 1 footnote 5, the study focuses on the essentially monolingual indigenous people of England. This is not to underestimate the rich linguistic and cultural vein brought to the country by a growing number of newer communities, nor to ignore the potential impact of these upon attitudes and customs in the wider community. Indeed, these changing conditions offer an exciting source of further linguistic study with which the present work may one day be compared. However, for the purposes of this study, the term 'monolingual English' alludes to the indigenous people, and those only of England. Footnote 3, above, explains the educational justification for distinguishing between England and the other parts of Britain, a point which is implicitly shared in the title of the recently published *Languages for All: Languages for Life, A Strategy for England* (DfES December 2002).

2 Motivation for learning a foreign language and the global lingua franca

It has been suggested in chapter 1, that the relevance of foreign language learning is liable to be underrated in a country whose mother tongue is the global lingua franca. Since language discourse derives from the assumed value of the subject (RI1), the international role of English cannot be ignored when addressing the research propositions.

The global role of English may explain a common caricature of the insular Englishman as a person who takes no trouble to learn a foreign tongue, arrogantly assuming his to be the most important language in the world. So true to life was the image that, in 1978 and already fearing the detrimental consequences of this attitude for the country's economy, the British Overseas Trade Board, the University of Surrey and the Royal Society of Arts set up a Study Group to look into the dearth of linguistic competence in British industry.

Over two decades later, it would seem that little had changed and that government intervention was called for if the nation was 'to challenge the myth that monolingualism is somehow "cool"' (Ferney, 2000). Corroborative evidence was shortly provided, in December 2000, when a poll of 16,000 European citizens found that 66% of British respondents had no knowledge of any language other than English (European Council 2001, Guardian 20 February 2001), in contrast to only 2%

of Luxembourg's population being monolingual, and between 40% and 50% of French and German nationals speaking their mother tongue alone.

The motivation for English mother-tongue speakers to learn another language is increasingly undermined (Ezard 1999) as technology forces countries inexorably towards the use of 'global English' (Crystal 1997, Council of Europe 2002) despite valiant attempts to preserve their own languages for the purpose of international communication. Not only are other countries using English, but the language is impacting upon their own mother tongues in much the same way as did Latin and French on the evolution of English itself. In vain, for instance, does the Académie Française¹ insist that '*courrier électronique*' is the correct term for the message mailers send on the Internet: everyday French users persist in preferring the hybrid '*mél*', in phonetic imitation of its English counterpart.

There are, then, two inter-related issues which must be clarified when examining broad English attitudes towards language learning:

- Linguistic interference of the *lingua franca* on other languages and *vice versa*
- The global role of English as the *lingua franca*.

3 Linguistic interference

One consequence of linguistic interference is that a diversity of forms of English is found across the world. Obtaining precise statistics on the use of languages is notoriously difficult (Crystal 2000:55), but Graddol (1998) has listed, amongst others, the following varieties of English in use today:

- British English, as taught worldwide, especially in former British colonies
- US English, also taught worldwide as a result of American economic and popular cultural influence
- New Englishes, as for example those of Singapore and Nigeria, which are formally recognised through their own grammar books and dictionaries
- International English, which is not standardised and varies according to contextual need
- English as a Second Language (ESL), where English is the medium of communication but it is not the speaker's first language
- English as a Foreign Language (EFL), learnt and used for a host of purposes and at all degrees of competence worldwide.

To talk, then, of 'the' *lingua franca* is somewhat misleading, 'English' in effect being a flexible concept.

The processes which have led to the language becoming global (point 2 above) are predominantly political and therefore of importance to this study of policy and change. The next section will trace the rise of English and examine the connection between symbolic power, conquest and invasion, setting a model for future linguistic changes.

4 Conquest and the development of English

'English' is, in fact, a relatively young language, deriving from the fifth century A.D. Prior to that time, the Roman invaders of 'England' would have found an indigenous population composed of different ethnic groups and speaking various Celtic tongues (Crystal 2001). With the invasion launched by Claudius, in 43 A.D. (Kelly 1969), Latin was established alongside these as the language of administration and legislation, and hence had to be learnt by any of the local population who wished to work in these domains and to communicate with the invader.

The need for foreign language learning in England was thus implicitly associated with power, initially that linked with foreign invasion, as well as having a functional value. This process would be repeated with French for, just as Latin was the language of administration and of Christianity, so French became the language of Court, following defeat of the English by William of Normandy (Lawson and Silver 1973). In each of these periods, knowledge of the foreign language had a clear functional value, and was a necessity for certain groups, whether for vocational or social needs and simultaneously acquired a symbolic association with power (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), through a process which will be discussed below.

Table 1.2 illustrates the key events and contributory languages which would lead gradually to the development of English as a result of repeated invasion, up to the point when, in around the year 1000 A.D., it was given its present name, after the Anglo-Saxon word for the country, *Englaland* (McCrum, Cran and MacNeil 1986:61). Hand in hand with the development of English went a functional need for formal foreign language learning, initially Latin, later French.

Table 1.2
The linguistic impact of invasion in England

DATE	EVENT	LANGUAGE (S) in use
55 BC	Invasion, Julius Caesar	Latin, little impact on existing Celtic languages – Gaelic, Cornish, Welsh
43 AD	Invasion by Aulus Plautinus for Emperor Claudius	Coexistence of: Latin for administration Celtic for social use
449	Invasions of Angles, Saxons, Jutes	Germanic languages – came to form Anglo-Saxon
597	Arrival of Augustine to convert country to Roman Catholicism	Latin for administration and religion Anglo-Saxon for vernacular
750	Viking invasions	Old Norse (Germanic, similar to Anglo-Saxon)
1066	Invasion William of Normandy, defeat King Harold (last English speaking monarch for 300 years)	Ordinary social use: Anglo-Saxon; fashionable 'ruling' class: French; government, law, literature: Latin

Distinct political, pedagogical and linguistic consequences result from these incursions by different peoples:

- Firstly, because the mother tongue of the invader acquired symbolic status through being the language of the political rulers, knowledge of the language became, albeit perhaps implicitly, both a symbol of, and practical tool for, accessing power. Here was an early example of the dual symbolic and functional values (Warschauer 2000, Bourdieu 1998. See also section 6 below) associated with the possession of linguistic knowledge. [RI1]
- For the first time, formal language learning was required by those in, or aspiring to, positions of social or professional authority. A pedagogy of formal foreign language learning (one aspect of foreign language discourse [RI1]) was necessary to meet this need (Kelly 1999).
- Finally, the evolution of 'English' as a language which would draw from the tongues of invaders then in turn go on to become the language of invaders and ultimately a global *lingua franca*, had begun (Crystal, 1997).

The duality of language as an internal symbol of collective identity, and as a functional tool for external communication was thus forming, and with it the association of language with political power. The context was developing for there to be a need for formal foreign language learning, but with conflicting factors for and against its desirability (RI1 and 2).

The role of technology (RI3) in the political and social change that had seen change also in the linguistic conditions of England and the international rise of English will now be explored.

5 Technological development and the globalisation of English

Before examining the reasons for the spread of English, what, precisely, is the extent of its 'globalisation'?

The actual number of native speakers for whom English is now the first language was in 1996 estimated (Crystal 2001) to be a relatively modest figure of 337 million in a then total world population of 2,025 million². Clearly, it is not the raw number of speakers that matters, but *who* those speakers are and *for what purposes* the language is used.

In terms of *usefulness* around the world, English is paramount. A decade ago, it was the official language of 34 countries (Garson et al. 1989) and, in 1998, it was calculated (Graddol 1998) that, in addition to those for whom it was the mother tongue, there were some 375 million speakers of English as a second language, and 750 million speakers of English as a foreign language. In practical terms,

English is the lingua franca of international business, pop music, computer technology, airline travel and much else besides ... And in more and more countries, English is becoming the language of science and higher education too, replacing Latin as the lingua franca of learning. (Buruma 2001)

Accepting that 'English' may designate any one or more of the varieties listed in section 3, above, why has the language achieved such global expansion? One explanation lies in the growth of new technologies, initially centred on American (anglophone) providers.

To cite the figures for a single year, in July 2000, 54% of all Internet communication took place in English, though it has been anticipated (Global Reach 2000) that this proportion will decline with the advent of new software which enables the use of mother tongues that use a written script not based upon the Roman alphabet. Nevertheless, the comparative percentages of language use on the web at the current time, illustrated in Figure 1.1, below, confirm the immensely powerful position potentially held by speakers of English, and can account for any reluctance on the part of native speakers of English to learn a foreign language.

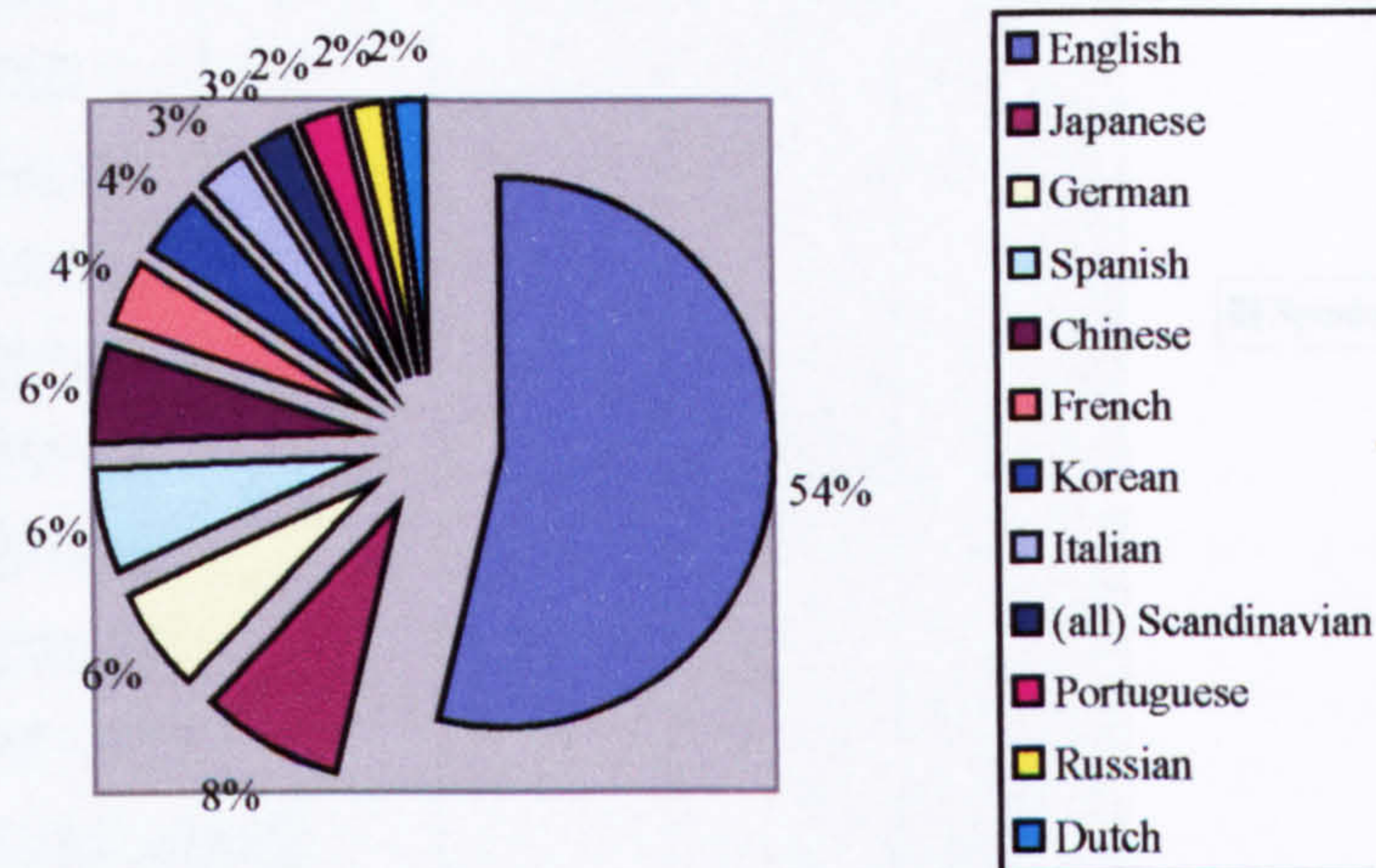


Figure 1.1

Internet use of languages, at July 2000 (Data source: www.glreach.com/globalstats)

If Figure 1.1 is compared with figure 1.2, below, which lists the twenty most widely spoken world languages as at the year 2000³, it is clear that there is a discrepancy between the quantity of speakers a language has and its global value. As figure 1.2 shows, English is numerically second to Mandarin, the two having 430 and 900 million speakers respectively, yet Mandarin is low in the statistical league of languages used for Internet communication. The difference in geographical distribution of speakers, their economic status, and the use to which these languages are put provide a rational account for their inverse impact on the world, once again revealing the political importance of language.

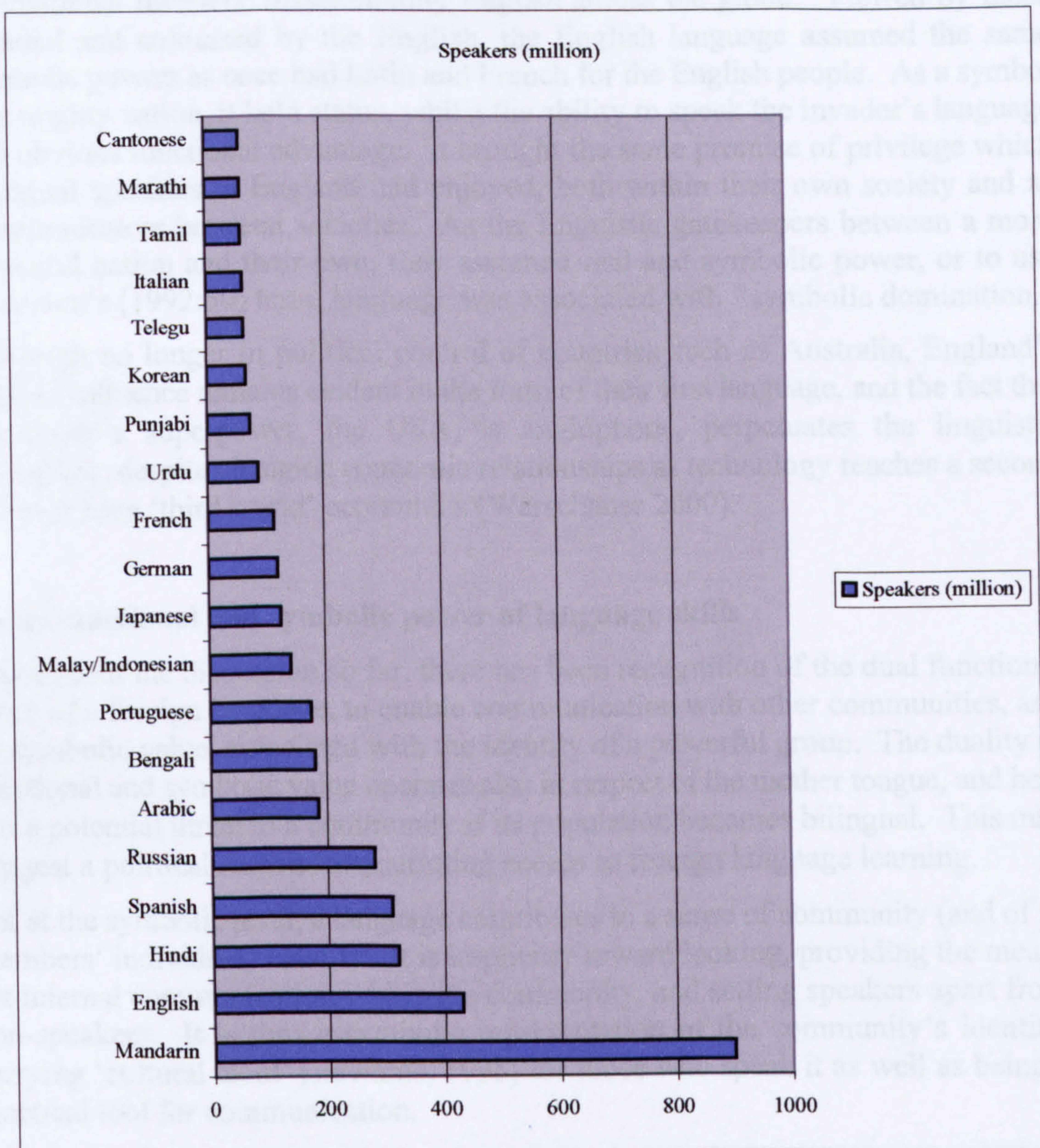


Figure 1.2

The twenty most widely spoken languages, at year 2000

(Data source: www.gleach.com/globalstats)

At the beginning of the third millennium, English is the key to international economic and political power, and is even encroaching on academia, replicating the hierarchies once accessed by those with knowledge of Latin (see Part III, below). But as Buruma (2001) reminds readers, this is not the result of any intrinsic linguistic advantage; it is, rather, a reflection of the political strength of its native speakers:

English is the password language of an international elite, far larger in scale than French or Latin ever was. This is the result of history, of empire building, and the power of the United States. There is nothing about the English language itself that predestined it to dominate.

Once more, the researcher is brought back to the relationship between linguistic competence and power, be it at individual, social group or international level.

To track the source of English's rise, the discussion must return to the question of political invasion. Just like the Romans before them, the British had become the

international invaders, disseminating English across the globe. Viewed by those invaded and colonised by the English, the English language assumed the same symbolic powers as once had Latin and French for the English people. As a symbol of a mighty nation, it held status, whilst the ability to speak the invader's language had obvious functional advantage. It brought the same promise of privilege which bilingual speakers in England had enjoyed, both within their own society and as communicators between societies. As the linguistic gatekeepers between a more powerful nation and their own, they assumed real and symbolic power, or to use Bourdieu's (1992:50) term, language was associated with 'symbolic domination.'

Although no longer in political control of countries such as Australia, England's cultural influence remains evident in the form of their first language, and the fact that the world's superpower, the USA, is anglophone, perpetuates the linguistic hegemony, despite changing economic relationships as technology reaches a second cycle in once 'third world' economies (Warschauer 2000).

6 The functional and symbolic power of language skills

Throughout the discussion so far, there has been recognition of the dual functional value of a foreign language, to enable communication with other communities, and its symbolic value, associated with the identity of a powerful group. The duality of functional and symbolic value operates also in respect of the mother tongue, and here lies a potential threat to a community if its population becomes bilingual. This may suggest a political reason for restricting access to foreign language learning.

For at the symbolic level, a language contributes to a sense of community (and of its members' individual) identity. It is implicitly inward looking, providing the means for internal communication within the community, and setting speakers apart from non-speakers. It is thus a symbolic representation of the community's identity, carrying 'cultural clout' (Edwards, 1995) for those who speak it as well as being a practical tool for communication.

The ability to speak the language of another community provides an instrument which allows access to their culture; conversely, if other communities can speak your language, they have a powerful tool for accessing your community. Language therefore has both an inward- and an outward-looking functional value, and a symbolic value within the community. Figure 1.3 illustrates these three elements, the arrows indicating the direction of communication available. One possible source of tension derives from these dual internal and external roles, which may produce ambivalence on the part of monolingual English speakers towards the notion of bilingualism, since it requires a changed sense of identity. How is this so?

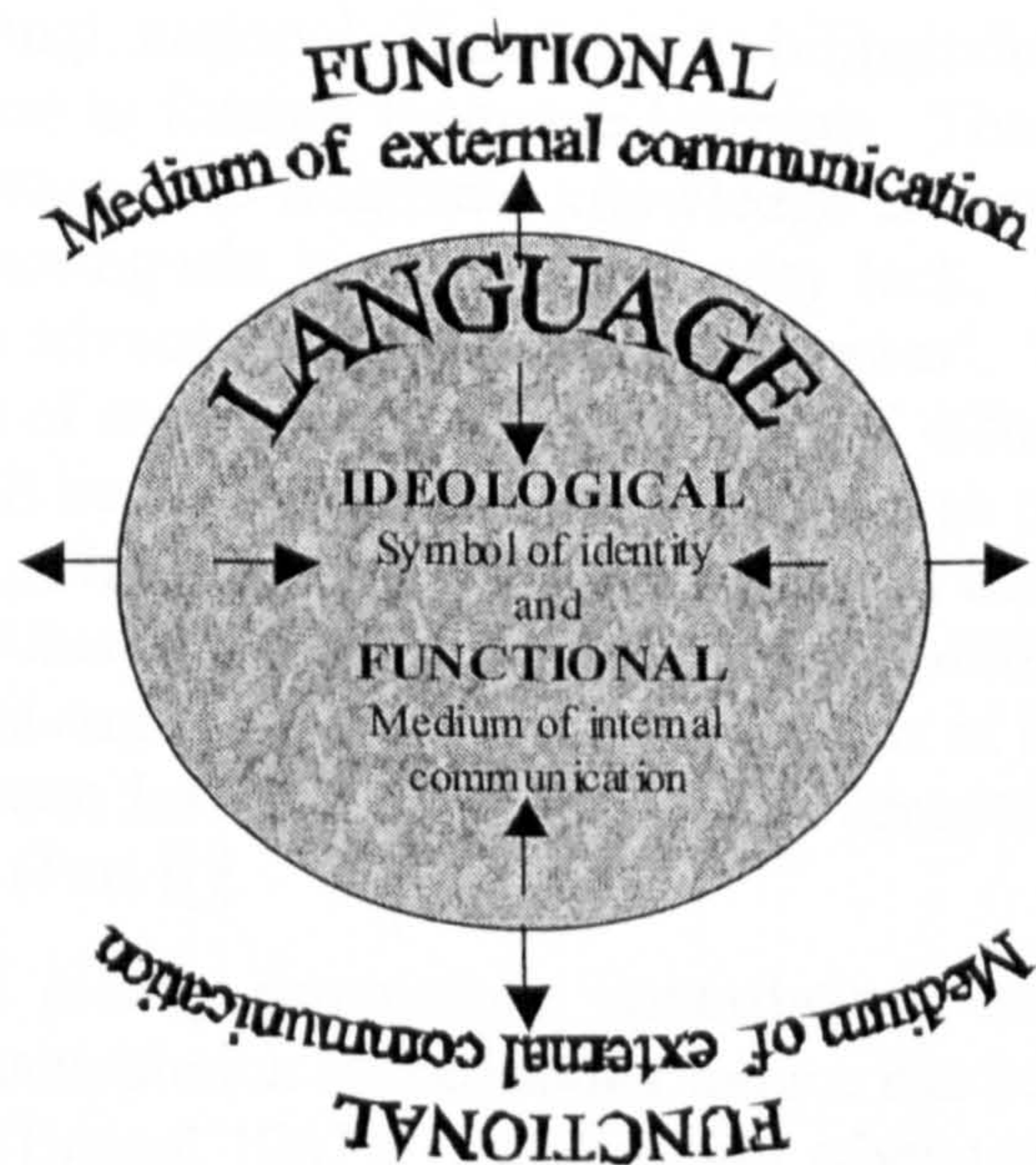


Figure 1.3

Functional and ideological roles of language

The potential for communication outside the community will have both negative and positive elements, related respectively with internal and external needs. Notwithstanding a practical, functional, value of speaking another language, and the political and economic need to communicate with other nations (Connell 2002), access to knowledge of another language is potentially socially dangerous in that it gives access to another culture, from which 'subversive' notions may be borrowed. Here, external functional (economic) need is in conflict with internal ideological need to reproduce the cultural heritage (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), but also creates a dilemma for the individual, whose personal identity is partially related to his language.

In terms of external relations, those who speak the foreign language have the power to communicate beyond their own community and to *initiate* that communication, when the other community is monolingual/does not speak a common language. Bilingualism is here a potential source of political power not only for functional reasons: being able to communicate with the other community invades one symbol of their social identity (a source of power in relation to that community) and also potentially exposes the community to cultural influences which may undermine its own identity.

The dilemma, then, is that any language has these dual functional and symbolic values, which may become problematic once bilingualism allows penetration of either one's own or another's community. On these grounds alone, it might be felt politically desirable to restrict access to foreign language learning to a minority of 'select' individuals who are not likely to undermine national unity by diluting cultural values. These functional and ideological, inward- and outward-looking roles are not inevitably contradictory, but the potential for conflict exists by reason of the power implicit in each party, as has been seen in the historical development of English.

But there is an additional, national, dimension to bilingualism if only some of the community have access to foreign language learning. Then, a source of internal division is created because the linguistic knowledge endows one section with an advantage which monolinguals in their community lack. At the personal level, bilingualism becomes advantageous (a source of 'power', 'capital'), whilst being detrimental to notions of social equality. Such internal differentiation need not be problematic, but it will be argued in this thesis that it was politically expedient to restrict access to foreign language learning in England of earlier centuries, and that these subjects were deliberately manipulated for micro political purposes in order to maintain existing social stratification. Through a process of habituation (Bourdieu), the political act has been lost and monolingualism accepted as the norm for the majority of the nation (Part II).

To prove intention is clearly impossible; nevertheless, an example of political interference through manipulation of the mother tongue can be found in the linguistic unification of France (Brunot 1967). This brought advantages and disadvantages, those who spoke 'standard' French being 'included' in the collective identity, whilst non-standard speakers were effectively 'excluded'. Issues of class were concealed by the apparently (neutral) linguistic source of differentiation, though, as Bourdieu cautions (1991:48) events did not occur in a rational process of cause and effect. The researcher will argue that similar issues of class underlie England's foreign language discourse.

Coming from an opposite perspective and proposing social and linguistic 'inclusion', The European Union, through its various committees, overtly seeks to produce a community where everyone would

be able to acquire and keep up their ability to communicate in at least two Community languages in addition to their mother tongue (Brussels 1995).

Here lies a new political problem for a monolingual England which is, at best, ambivalent about its identification with Europe.

There are, then, both internal and external dimensions to 'bilingualism'. The principle the researcher proposes is that, if 'bilingualism' is, for whatever reason, politically restricted, the minority possessed of second language skills acquires a potential advantage over the majority of his monolingual community. This is because the bilingual group has the power to communicate both internally and externally, and the monolingual majority can communicate only internally. The 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu 1992) that this conceals is exacerbated when access to foreign language learning is constrained by social class. Part II will examine the process by which class-related self-exclusion operates and, in time, intellectual ability and social class become merged, apparently justifying foreign languages being seen as the preserve of a social elite (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), but, the researcher will argue, symbolising academic capital and compounded by the dominance of functional values.

Figure 1.4 illustrates such a situation, at the stage where bilinguals (in red) are a minority group and it is through them that any *proactive* communication with the outside world occurs. In relation to their monolingual compatriots, they possess greater functional powers which, it will be shown, become conflated with symbolic power, in a cycle which sustains and reproduces socio-economic differentiation. This

model will be crucial to the researcher's subsequent argument for change in England's foreign language learning habits.

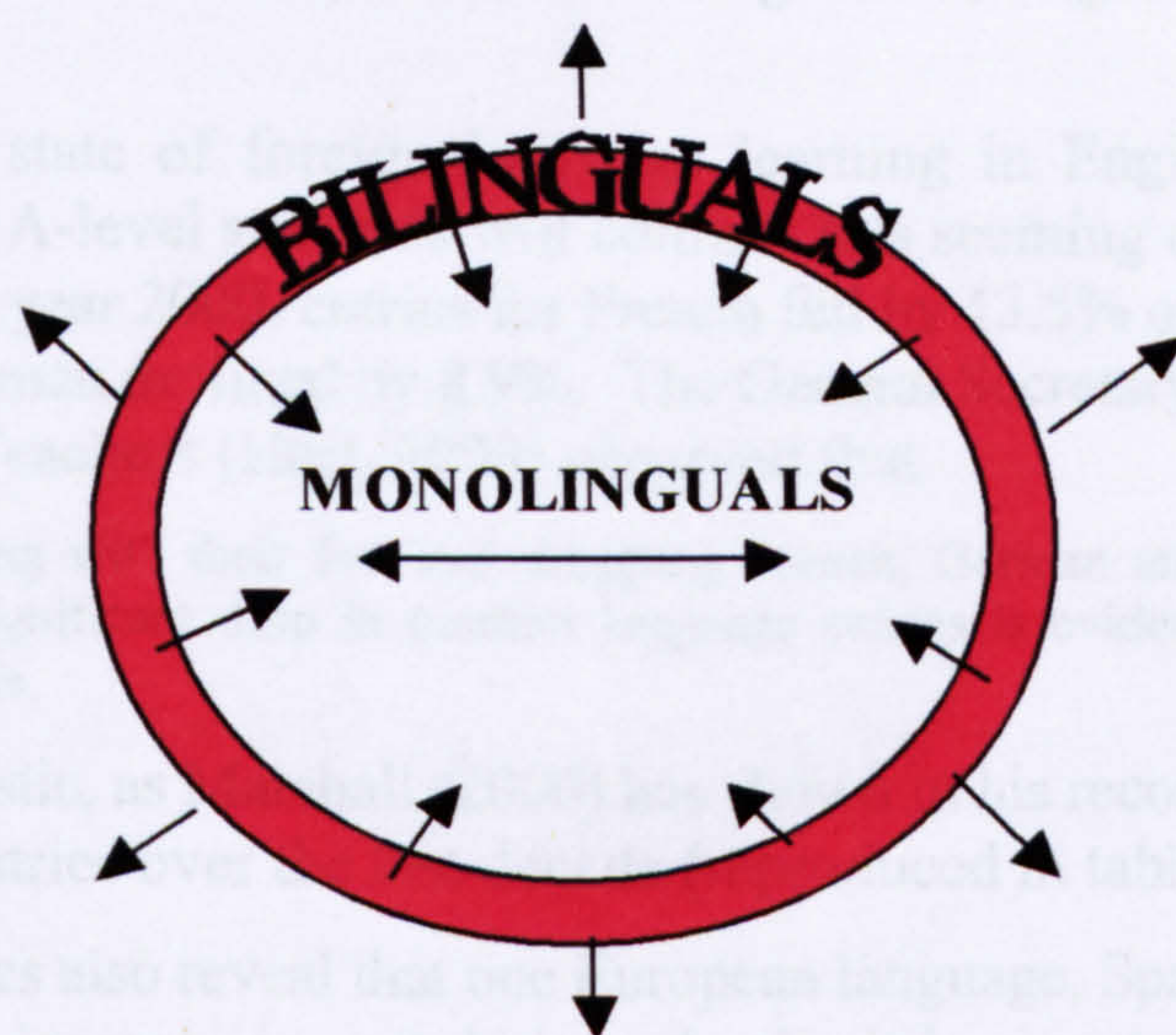


Figure 1.4

The communication effects of mono-, bi- and pluri-lingualism

7 The value of foreign language learning in contemporary England

In view of the present international dominance of English, it is understandable why native speakers may consider it functionally unnecessary to learn a foreign language, suggesting that the earlier caricature of the monolingual Englishman may not be entirely fictitious: the mother tongue suffices for communication both internally and externally, so what need is there for speakers to learn a foreign language? The researcher will argue that the justification lies largely in the potential empowerment of linguistic knowledge, both practically and symbolically and that this symbolic level of the question has generally gone unrecognised, permitting the 'violence' (Bourdieu 1992) at the root of this situation to be concealed.

The special position of foreign language learning in England has been seen to stem from the nation's erstwhile success as a major world power, first as a coloniser of territory and subsequently as a leading industrial force. The greater the nation's external power, the more English assumed an international, practical, value for other nations and gave them a symbol which enabled them to share in the status of a powerful nation.

This has had both functional and ideological implications for England, affecting its citizens' need and willingness to learn other languages. While non-English speaking nations have embraced a bilingual model, looking outward to functional need for, and symbolic gains from, communicating with other peoples (despite the potential threat bilingualism may pose to their symbolic unity), England has preferred monolingualism. At the functional level, this has been reinforced by the absence of any apparent practical need to learn foreign languages so long as other nations have been willing to learn English. Ideologically, monolingualism has simultaneously enabled the country to maintain one element of its identity, its language, and to adhere to the inward-looking model (Figure 1.4). The researcher suggests that this

has been to the detriment of the nation, since it has left it unable to communicate *proactively* with the outside world. Whilst other nations have been willing to risk loss of one element of their identity, their monolingualism, England has remained bound to its.

What, though, is the state of foreign language learning in England today? A consideration of some A-level statistics will confirm this seeming disinclination to learn languages: in the year 2000, entries for French fell by 13.5% over the previous year, and those for German declined by 8.9%. The General Secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers (Hart, 2000) observed that

Students are voting with their feet and dropping French, German and other traditional subjects. This significant drop in modern language entries is evidence of a European isolationist attitude.

This was no freak statistic, as Marshall (2000) has shown in his record of the decline in A-level language entries over the last decade (reproduced in table 1.3, below).

However, these statistics also reveal that one European language, Spanish, is bucking the trend, showing an increase in popularity. Again, it is easy to hypothesise an explanation, when Spain and its territories have become popular holiday destinations. This explanation would presuppose that one of the reasons for learning a language is for its practical usefulness not, as proposed above, for collective, economic, purposes, but rather for personal – here leisure and travel - needs. In fact, a Eurobarometer survey of fifteen EU member states (February 2001) supports this individual functional perception of language learning: it found that 47% of respondents thought the main purpose of foreign language learning was for holiday use.

Table 1.3

Trends in A/AS level language entries over the 1990s

(Source: Marshall, University of Wales, Bangor, 2000)

Language	1993	1999	Change/%
French	33,037	22,902	-10,135 (-31%)
German	12,072	10,317	-1,755 (- 15%)
Spanish	5,329	6,399	+ 1,070 (+20%)

But there are diverse expectations underlying foreign language learning. Whilst personal functional goals obtain for at least some learners, industrialists and politicians may be pursuing a functional need that has as its end product economic, and probably collective, outcomes. A desire to meet these diverse ends may clearly explain why foreign language discourse might seem discontinuous (RI1) and incremental.

The statistics in table 1.3 may, however, give a misleadingly pessimistic impression of the interest shown towards language learning in contemporary England. It is not a straightforward, black and white, situation for, whilst languages are of apparently low appeal at A-level, their subsequent value to university students is increasing. The point has not gone unnoticed, as the Chair of the Council for Modern Languages indicated:

There is a paradox here in that there is clearly under-recruitment in terms of A-level students coming forward to study languages, yet most universities find themselves choc-a-bloc with students, once there, wanting to learn a language [as an option]. (Footitt 2000)

Higher Education Statistics Association (HESA) data support this claim. Statistics for the year 1998/9 show that there were 61,123 students (undergraduate plus postgraduate) then studying for a degree which included a modern foreign language⁴.

And it is not only at university that languages appear to be gaining popularity: a survey conducted by the National Organisation for Adult Learning (NIACE, 1999) revealed that 41% of its adult respondents wished, or intended, to learn a foreign language – though, in practice, financial constraints have often prevented their so doing, once more reflecting the socio-economic constraints on access.

Why, though, should interest in languages be growing in some quarters?

8 Diversity of needs and values: lack of coherent policy

The functional role of foreign languages has already been seen to encompass different expectations, ranging from economic to social, and addressing the needs of nations, groups and individuals. So, to talk of ‘a’ functional end may, in reality, mask these diverse expectations, and it would be wrong to assume that learners, providers, and policy makers all share a common definition of ‘usefulness’. Latterly, concentration on the practical, functional, value of languages has, in fact, exposed the apparent consensus as false and forced parties to be explicit in what may hitherto have been only implicit aims.

However, the implication that languages are ‘merely’ instrumental has led some policy-makers to equate them with a skill. This has raised professional hackles as academic capital is challenged, and had financial repercussions, as

university decision-makers have begun to argue that if languages are merely a skill, they must therefore be easy to learn and cheap to teach. (Kelly 2000)

Whether the angry reaction of linguists is attributed to professional hubris, financial loss through such downgrading, or any other motive, it has manifested itself in the call for

a more inclusive agenda, offering a blend of skills and socio-cultural knowledge that will stimulate students, whether or not they have chosen to specialise in languages at degree level. To achieve this requires a resource allocation regime that makes it possible for them to sustain effective teaching programmes with sufficient academic breadth to deliver both high-quality skills and cutting-edge knowledge in languages, cultures and societies. (Kelly 2000)

Here is an explicit statement of the profession’s perception of the role that language learning should play, and it is patently different from those hitherto attributed to industrialists and students: language learning is being charged with more than a functional role. It is being expected to socialise students, to sensitise them to other cultures, in other words, to contribute towards ideological values. This is, of course, not a novel aim, but it may not accord with the expectations of students looking for practical skills, university managers for economic savings, employers for workers who can communicate with markets and competitors, parents who may have other perceptions still; and so the list could continue.

It might be argued that it was advantageous to harmony between parties *not* to declare too overtly the desired aims of linguistic knowledge, but that the culture of

today demands much greater clarity and accountability – with the potential for more conflictual relationships. For in exposing differences, value systems are invoked. The researcher has suggested that the traditional constraints on foreign language learning are, in fact, abusive, the result of ‘symbolic violence’. Contemporary English society is less passive in its acceptance of traditional authority and custom, so less susceptible to another ‘act of violence’, one which would reverse monolingualism; there are nevertheless pressing political reasons to bring this about.

There is also an economic pressure for change in foreign language discourse: if the nation is to compete effectively for international business, its citizens need linguistic skills (Connell 2002). Competition between these diverse needs and demands provides a clear rationale to explain why discontinuity and incoherence of policy may arise (RI1).

Part III will demonstrate how foreign language learning in England has been torn between such competing expectations, the different actors driving policy, and the nature of power or authority they possess, as economic, social and academic capital struggle for dominance. It will be argued in Part V that a policy is needed which starts from the question of principles and recognises the conflictual character of social relationships.

9 Technology, globalisation and linguistic identity

One final issue must be noted before moving on to chapter 3 and the definition of some key terminology: a growing valorisation of mother tongues other than English. This has two important implications for the researcher’s preferred model of bilingualism.

Globalisation: localisation

Paradoxically, in an era of globalisation (see e.g. González-Gaudio 1997), when international communication is facilitated by technology, and is largely mediated through English, there is increasing national resistance to globalisation, including that of language (Warschauer, 2001). It is not such a paradox, though, if the symbolic role of language is recalled.

Effectively, other nations and individuals are recognising the value of their mother tongues as a symbol of their cultural identity (figure 1.3, above). In celebrating their mother tongues, they are exhibiting an attempt to reassert their social uniqueness. Does this mean that, having loosened their hold on one symbol of their identity they are now seeking to retrieve it? The researcher replies, no; they have, rather, sufficient confidence in their new relations with other countries that they feel able to celebrate their mother tongues and culture without these being perceived as a threat to their new partners.

But whilst other nations may possess a linguistic symbol of their identity, England does not. The researcher argues that it is totally misguided for the English nation to invoke its mother tongue as a symbol of collective identity, since it long since lost ownership of its language. This leads her to suggest that it is illogical to resist bilingualism on grounds of preserving the cultural identity. But just as England has lost a linguistic symbol of its identity, so, too, has it lost its mono-culture: plurilingual Britain is multi-cultural. The argument that the nation as a whole must

embrace bilingualism (Part V) cannot avoid the (for some) uncomfortable political implications of this changed cultural identity: the old identity, 'Englishness', is effectively defunct.

Technology and world languages

Warschauer (2000:151-170) attributes linguistic nationalism and localisation to a second wave of technological development:

.. in more recent waves, a process of re-localisation is occurring, as corporations seek to maximise their market share by shaping products for local conditions. Thus while CNN and MTV first broadcast around the world in English, they are now producing editions in Hindi, Spanish, and other languages in order to compete with other international and regional media outlets.

Whilst the diversification of languages used by the new technologies may be driven by economic factors on the part of corporations, it has patently social repercussions for the communities concerned and, ultimately, for the whole world. This is significant for RI3, the relationship between technological and linguistic change, and for the direction of social change in the context of new technologies. It is also an important factor in the researcher's call for a bilingual England, as traditional identities are change by the 'battering ram' (Warschauer 2001) of globalisation.

An explanation for this expansion lies in the consequences of the increased use of such languages as Spanish, Arabic and Japanese. For, following the same process as previously occurred through military invasion, taking Latin and English to positions of global usage, now, technological invasion is propelling these other major languages to a global status. In other words, in time, English will not be the sole *lingua franca* and those who are monolingual will be ill equipped for this new world.

For there is hard evidence (Graddol 1998) that, even though its status as *lingua franca* is likely to remain, English will be joined by a small group of other world languages and it may be anticipated that globalisation of a few leading languages will occur. Where the common medium in a region is Spanish, Hindi, Mandarin or any other major tongue, its practical value over local dialects or lesser known languages of the region is obvious for communication across borders, and economies of scale are responsible for increasing ICT use of these languages: it would clearly not be economically viable to run many parallel services in languages which are spoken by only small numbers. A consequence of this is that the minority languages ultimately become endangered (Brody 1999, the Independent 2000)⁵ and the common language will proliferate regionally in much the same way as has English. This illustrates clearly how questions of economic and political capital affect language discourse.

The ultimate consequences for a monolingual England will be linguistic disenfranchisement, the nation being unable to initiate communication with non-English speakers, while its competitors speak English, their mother tongue and possibly other languages too. This adds further weight to the call for a bilingual England (e.g. Kelly 2001).

And therein lies the dual linguistic and technological interest for this research. The communication technologies of today no longer support a monopoly on knowledge (Kellner 2002) - language included, and English (or its varieties) has become a common property. It is suggested that the country has therefore lost out doubly: it has tried to hold on to its monolingual attitude towards language, which now proves neither to sustain the ideological, unifying role at home, nor to meet the outward-

looking need to communicate in the international context of the third millennium. The country's role abroad is damaged, at least economically, by this lack of linguistic skill, as Hagen (1998:16) reminds readers:

There is a significant body of published research, much of it based on the findings of empirical studies, which indicate that appropriate use of the customer's language and knowledge of the culture can influence economic performance.

The implication of this is that, if England is to compete internationally, it must adjust to the bilingual model, to be outward rather than inward looking. To do so requires cultural change at different levels: inwardly, it demands a loosening of social hierarchies which have traditionally conflated foreign language learning with education and hence class (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), an acceptance that access to linguistic knowledge should not be exclusive; outwardly, it calls for a change in attitude on the part of a nation whose language is spoken by so many others that it has little inclination to acquire another. The researcher argues that the nation will retain its internal and external linguistic divide at the expense of its international political standing.

Change entails new power relations both within English society and between England and other nations; change of this magnitude is fraught with anxiety and must be managed sensitively. Part II therefore explores the process of change, moving from the general to the specific context of language learning and uses the five-factor model introduced in table 1.1, above, as a framework for moving towards bilingualism.

Figure 1.5 illustrates the attitudinal reversal required if this is to be realised. Here, England would become a bilingual nation where monolingualism is the exception and bilingualism the norm, in contrast with figure 1.4, which presents the converse situation. The sphere represents the nation as a whole, the shaded area the proportion of its citizens who are bilingual. As the arrows indicate, inward and outward communication is made available to the majority, whilst only a minority are unable now to *initiate* communication with the outside world.

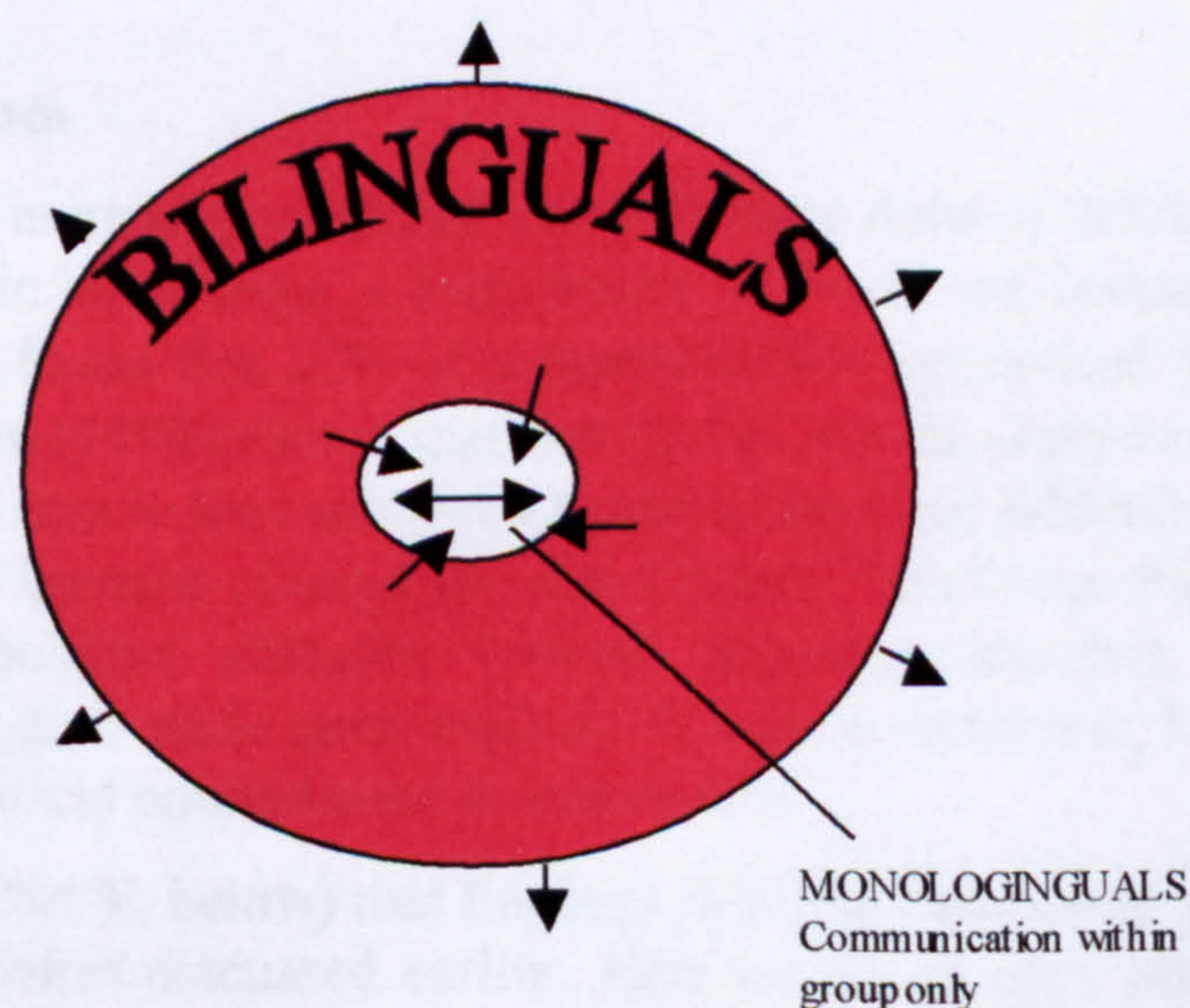


Figure 1.5

From monolingual to bilingual norm

An alternative visualisation of the change advocated is offered in figure 1.6. By placing the degree of symbolic (national) identity on the x-axis of a continuum from low to high power, and that of proactive linguistic functionality on the y-axis, it is possible to plot the differences between the existent monolingual state (A) against that feared by those who oppose bilingualism (B), and that which the researcher argues would actually occur (C) if the nation took the risk of renouncing today's position. It is suggested that fear of social change both within England and regarding its international image is preventing the nation moving towards point C, where greater functional competence in languages would be internationally beneficial and would not undermine national identity. The arguments to support this will be probed in following chapters.

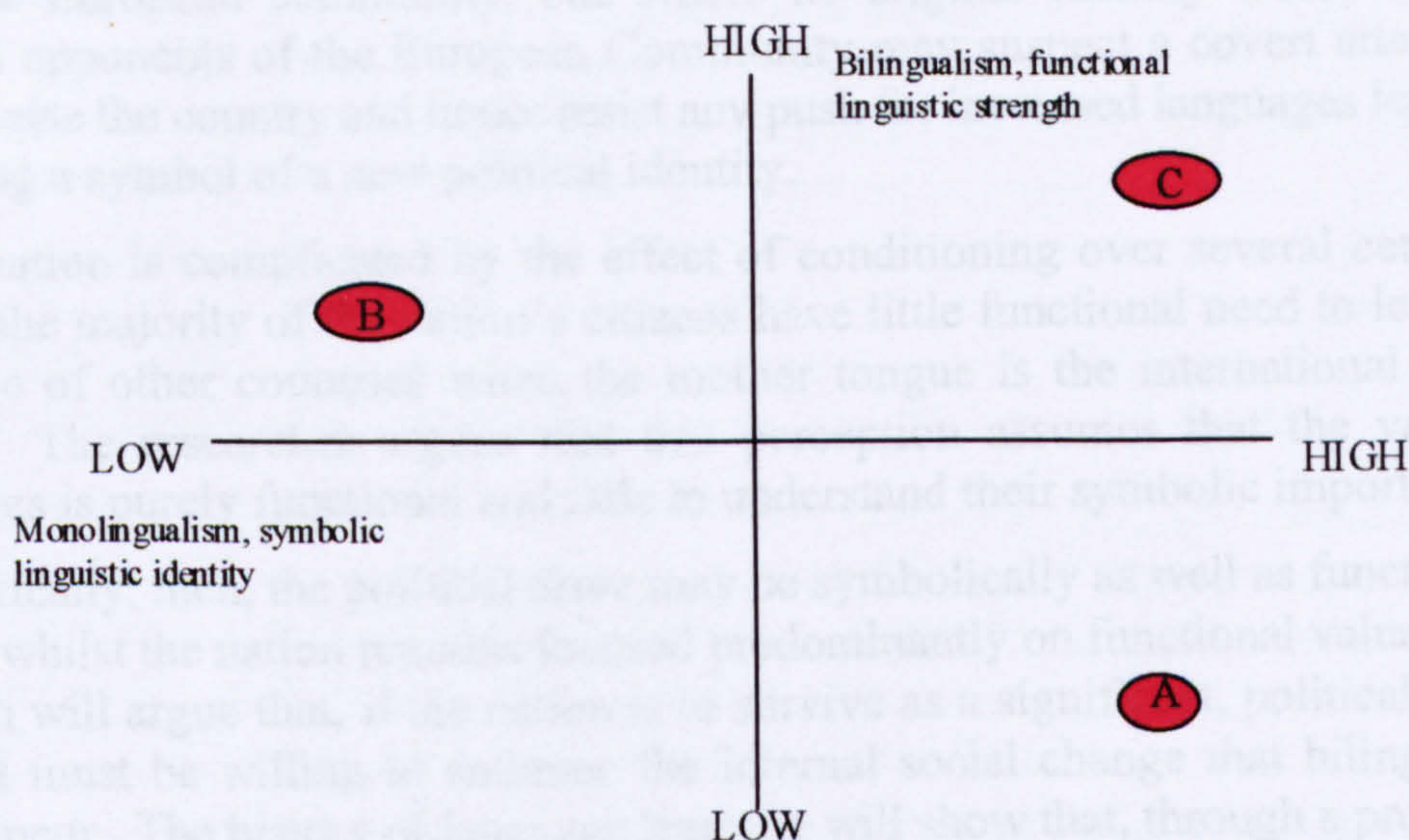


Figure 1.6

Actual and potential symbolic and practical power from mono- and bilingualism

10 Summary of the issues

Practically, there is ever-increasing evidence of the damage done to British industry by the dearth of linguistic knowledge: a Department of Trade and Industry report, Language Study (1997), found that 20% of companies had experienced difficulties as a result of this. Hagen (1998) claims that one in five British companies faces a cultural barrier, between one in four and five has had a language difficulty, and one in eight has lost business because of linguistic deficiencies. The Green Paper (2002) therefore encourages positive attitudes towards language learning, with the government's economic goal made quite explicit. It will, nevertheless, be found in Parts III and IV that political commitment is ambivalent.

It will be suggested (in Part V, below) that England is falling behind the speakers of those 'alternative' Englishes discussed earlier, who are bi- or even pluri-lingual. Despite having a National Curriculum which includes a modern foreign language in Key Stage 3, the country lags behind its European partners in linguistic competence (European Commission 1997) and this has two vital implications, one practical, the other symbolic.

The practical value of foreign languages in a globalised world is self-evident. The symbolic issues associated with promotion of foreign language learning are more complex, and may arouse fears of loss of national and individual identity. The researcher proposes that the nation needs to be persuaded that 'future citizens .. be brought to view diversity and difference as enriching rather than threatening' (Jones 1998).

Some may fear that a political reshaping of the nation's identity is afoot. They may interpret recent political discourse on languages as motivated purely by the desire to subsume the nation's identity with a European state. From this perspective, the loss of cultural identity implicit in globalisation of the country's mother tongue and its increasingly multi-cultural and multi-lingual populace will be seen as evidence of the nation's identity being eroded. There are fears that this is leading to its absorption into new European community, one where its original identity would be lost. Political opponents of the European Community may suspect a covert attempt to Europeanise the country and hence resist any push for increased languages learning, this being a symbol of a new political identity.

The situation is complicated by the effect of conditioning over several centuries. Today, the majority of the nation's citizens have little functional need to learn the language of other countries when the mother tongue is the international *lingua franca*. The researcher argues that this perception assumes that the value of languages is purely functional and fails to understand their symbolic importance.

Paradoxically, then, the political drive may be symbolically as well as functionally driven, whilst the nation remains focused predominantly on functional values. The research will argue that, if the nation is to survive as a significant, political, world force, it must be willing to embrace the internal social change that bilingualism would incur. The history of language learning will show that, through a process of self-exclusion (Bourdieu 1992), foreign language learning has become associated with socio-economic power and perceived functional relevance. The researcher suggests that there was, initially, a manipulation of access to foreign language learning for purposes of social stratification. This has become so assimilated into popular expectations that the sense of manipulation has long since been lost. It will be argued that the nation needs to be re-educated into the symbolic as well as functional value of languages if the question of motivation for learning is to be resolved.

Chapter 3 will now consider the researcher's perspective and methodology, hints of which will have been evident in these last two chapters.

¹ The Académie Française, established in 1634, oversees the preservation of the French language

² Updated world population, as of 18/08/00: 6,090,390,275:

<http://www.census.gov/main/www/popclock.html>

³ See <http://www.krysstal.com/lang.fams.html>, 14/08/00

⁴ See <http://www.lang.ltsn.ac.uk/resources>

⁵ In a recent study, Brody (1999) reported that, during the last thirty years, more than 1000 languages in the Americas alone have become extinct or are on the brink of extinction. It is estimated by such linguists that the twentieth century witnessed the disappearance of some 5000 languages (including dialects). Graddol (1998) records that the last speaker of a minority language dies every two weeks. By May 2000, scientists were warning that between one half and three quarters of the extant 6000 – 8000 identifiable languages would become extinct before the end of the century (Independent 2000).

CHAPTER 3

THE RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

1 Evolution of the research interests and their multidisciplinary

Although the questions of values and change have run throughout the above chapters, the research does not fall within any single disciplinary boundary; this reflects the varied professional experience from which it derives and which underpins the methodological approach. In the interests of credibility (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, Kerlinger 1992, Cohen and Manion 1987), some clarification of this eclectic stance is called for.

The researcher writes primarily as an educationalist: from teaching *foreign languages* in the *secondary sector*, her career took her over a period of twenty-five years to senior *management*, whence her interest in *policy-making and staff development*; through to *adult and distance education* as a teacher and *researcher* with the Open University, before taking up her current employment in quality assurance in *higher education*. During these decades, education had been revolutionised as *new technologies* became everyday pedagogical and administrative items. So accumulated an interest in policy across different sectors of England's education system, curiosity about the reasons for change, and the role of technology.

For a researcher, these diverse experiences offered a heady mix and culminated in questions about the relationship between technology and social change. The researcher's original specialist area offered a particularly rich field for exploring these connections, and, in view of the multiple expectations placed upon language learning (RI1 and 2), investigating how conflict is resolved.

As a teacher who had witnessed one technology after another apparently offering the latest 'panacea' (Hawkins 1987) for popularising foreign language learning, the researcher began from the very functionalist perspective of which she is now critical (RI3). However, as the work progressed, it became clear that issues were far more complex than the simple, practical, adaptation and application of new technological tools to the teaching and learning of foreign languages: an understanding was needed of the social and political context in which foreign language learning takes place, of the values that foreign languages were assumed to hold. Which came first, the pedagogical aim or the technological development? To address these issues demanded an awareness of theoretical perspectives not only pedagogical and linguistic, but across broader sociological and political disciplines, what has been described as 'a toolbox of diverse concepts and theories – an applied sociology rather than a pure one.' (Ball 1994:14)

Figure 1.7, below, locates the research interest (represented by the shaded area), at the intersection of these various issues: as a study of language learning and teaching, it lies within the domain of educational policy-making, of which curriculum is one dimension. Its focus on technology draws from one of the fields of science, whilst language discourse is also informed by developments in linguistic theory. Arguably, psychology and child development could also be included. All of these disciplines are, of course, located within the social context of England's cultural values, represented by the largest circle. By increasing the outer circles further to include wider geographical and historical dimensions, the conceptualisation could be

continued, to place the national within the international context, and across the four centuries embraced by the research. Together and over centuries when policy was not formalised, the topic moves from one of 'discourse' to that of 'policy' (as defined in chapter 1, above).

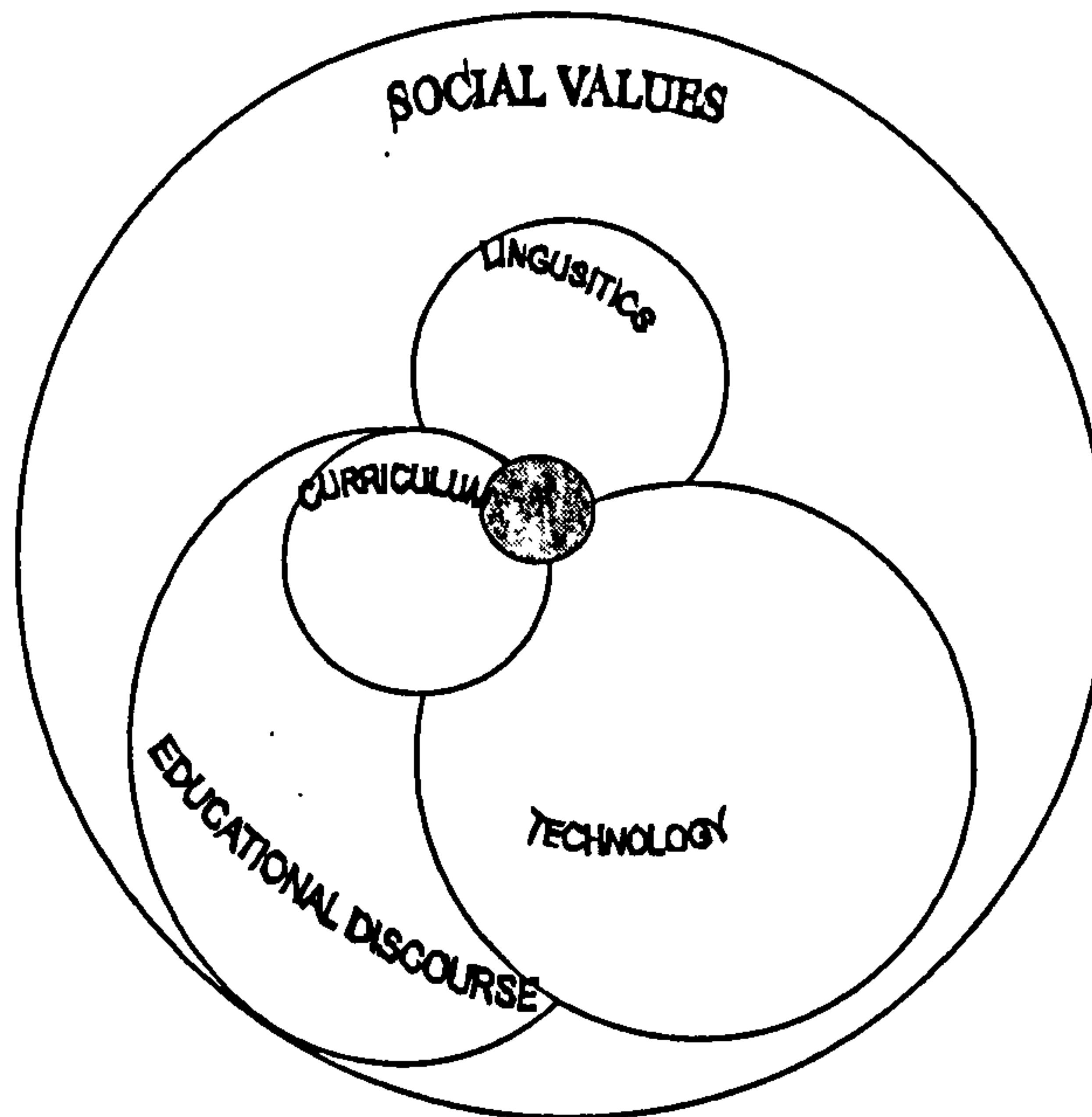


Figure 1.7

The research locus (not to scale)

2 The theoretical position: some problems for interdisciplinary research

This multidisciplinary approach was a major source of anxiety for the researcher, and she suspects, for supervisors more familiar with traditional academic boundaries. It led to a voluminous accumulation of data, many avenues of interest and over complexity. The researcher's greatest problem lay not in these practical issues but in the academic insecurities the approach aroused: how could she demonstrate to the academic community the value of a study which seemed to challenge the traditions of that community? Was she justified in her belief that breadth of excavation was equally, if not more valuable than, tunnelling down into a single seam of interest? What right had she to make this assumption?

Some three years of heartache and stumbling in the dark finally came to an end with her discovery of the Frankfurt School of critical theory¹ (see e.g. Bronner 1994). The researcher experienced the selfsame sense of relief and regret as expressed by Foucault, who told an interviewer

if I had been familiar with the Frankfurt School, if I had been aware of it at the time, I would not have said a number of stupid things that I did say and I would have avoided many of the detours which I made. (Interview by G Raulet, in Hoy and McCarthy 1994)

Through a long process of working backwards from her interest in the work of Mark Warschauer (see Bibliography), the discovery was made and the researcher instantly recognised that she had found her epistemological identity. Six or seven earlier drafts of the thesis might have been pre-empted had her enlightenment come sooner, but the experience of self-discovery was enriching and inspired the self-confidence

necessary to challenge academic orthodoxy. For here were the very issues with which she had been grappling: the Frankfurt School

focused intently on technology and culture, indicating how technology was becoming a major force of production and formative mode of social organisation and control. (McGuigan 1997)

Its successors were operating in critical theory

with a transdisciplinary conception that draws on social theory, economics, politics, history, communications studies, literary and cultural theory, philosophy and other theoretical discourses – an approach shared by the Frankfurt School, British cultural studies and French post-modern theory. (Kellner 1997: 25)

Here, then, were researchers with a common interest in the impact of technology and the competing forms of capital involved in social change. But the *coup de foudre* was double edged: if the researcher had found her theoretical identity and would be understood by cultural theorists, this very label added to the stigma of which she was already conscious, when viewed through the eyes of ‘institutionalised academicism’ (Green 1997:193).

The reasons for this stigmatisation are well known. Because

critical researchers understand that individual identity and human agency form such a chaotic knot of intertwined articulations that no social theorist can ever completely disentangle them (Kincheloe and McLaren 1994:146)

they challenge traditional notions of scientific validity, recognising instead the relativity and temporal nature of phenomena. Consequently,

meta-theoretical debates are detested by many on the grounds that they appear to be wastes of time. (Hoy and McCarthy 1994:104)

The approach not only defies post-Enlightenment methodologies, it also implicitly threatens the academic capital of those who embrace them. In other words, resistance to critical theory can be traced back to the same conflict between stasis and change as that being investigated within the field of languages.

For critical theory assumes that

all thought is fundamentally mediated by *power relations* that are social and *historically* constituted; that facts can never be isolated from the domain of *values* or removed from some form of *ideological* inscription; that the relationship between concept and object and between signifier and signified is *never stable* or fixed ... (Kincheloe and McLaren 1994:139)

Furthermore, such research will have a proactive role in policy change (Young 1998). The researcher proposes that this politicisation of academe is a source of academic resistance to the methodology as it changes their traditional notion of academic capital. Fears are expressed, though, through claims that the approach devalues academic value, recalling a popular theme of the present: ‘dumbing down’.

Critical theory’s desire for change shares with policy research the view that

applied social research is a central component of a modern society, which by its very nature is continually attempting innovations as solutions to problems. The role of research is both to provide information that can lead to appropriate innovations and to evaluate past innovations, thereby preparing the way for future policy. (Hammersley 1995:126)

but the two approaches part company in their respective views of rationalisation. The former rejects this notion, believing that issues are so multi-factorial that any view

can be nothing more than partial and subjective. This gives rise to another source of academic dispute: the validity of data which are not empirically demonstrable.

Attempts to solve this problem are varied. For some, departure from the traditional quest for credibility (Strauss and Corbin 1990, Kerlinger 1992, Cohen and Manion 1987) can be redressed through adherence to a rigorous methodology (e.g. Kragh, 1987:51). Others seek to redefine the problem. So, for instance, Senge proposes that such studies be seen as an examination of the '*dynamic complexity*' of change,

the real territory of change: when "cause and effect" are not close in time and space and obvious interventions do not produce expected outcomes. (Senge 1990)

This recognises the multiplicity of potential factors involved in the process of change, and the irrationality of their relationships to one another, which is consistent with the researcher's approach. It also accepts that no single study can be entirely comprehensive, selection of dimensions being both necessary in the interests of manageability and inevitable given the inexhaustible range of potential elements involved.

Although at least one leading figure (Patton 1990:55) has gone so far as to question the desirability of absolute objectivity on the grounds that it ignores the human (i.e. imperfect) nature of research, it remains 'unorthodox'. It is argued, with some justification, that any selection of dimensions opens the possibility of researcher bias, whether conscious or not. Critical theorists would respond that this can never be totally eliminated, and so turn this to an overt advantage: such work makes no claim to be other than partial and personal.

The notion of complexity is taken up by Lather (1991) who provides another justification supportive of the present research: she suggests that research of this type should be judged according to its '*catalytic complexity*', by which she means

the degree to which research moves those it studies to understand the world and the way it is shaped in order for them to transform it.

As figure 1.6 illustrates, this study is concerned with the interactions of various fields and seeks to understand how and why change occurred in foreign language discourse. It therefore assumes a *hermeneutic*² interest in the

Conditions under which a human act took place or a product was produced that makes it possible to interpret its meanings. (Patton 1990:88)

Unlike empirical work, its aim is that of

illumination, understanding, and extrapolation rather than causal determination, prediction and generalisation. (Patton 1990:424)

It does not attempt to prove cause and effect, a task which would clearly be unrealistic, nor does it claim to be representative of other situations or other perceptions of this one. To judge it in these terms would be erroneous. Instead, the researcher proposes that the work should be assessed against the criterion of its being an opportunity for

- Seeing interrelationships rather than linear cause – effect chains, and
- Seeing processes of change rather than snapshots. (Senge 1990:73)

In the words of Ball (1994:15),

The challenge is to relate together analytically the ad hocery of the macro with the ad hocery of the micro without losing sight of the systematic bases and effects of ad hoc social actions: to look for the iterations embedded within chaos.

A natural broad affiliation has been found with such contemporary descendants of the Frankfurt School of critical theory as those cited above, but particularly relevant to the research subject have been Pierre Bourdieu and Mark Warschauer, whose writings on power and authority in the spheres of education and language will contribute greatly to the discussion that follows. The researcher's argument will, indeed, be founded upon a notion of reproductive strategies,

implemented by the bearers of different forms of capital in their efforts to preserve or increase their patrimony, and, correlatively, to maintain or better their position in social space (Bourdieu 1998:265)

This is applied to foreign languages, which, as figure 1.6 illustrated, have dual functional and symbolic uses which can both contribute to change and be manipulated to sustain existing positions of power. Part II will explore the nature of these forms of capital and the impact of Bourdieu's theories upon the research. It will be helpful, though, to set out at this stage, some of his key concepts which inform the researcher's analysis.

Essential Bourdieusian concepts

Arguably the late twentieth century's counterpart to Sartre in the history of great philosophers (Passeron 2003), Bourdieu has made an immense contribution to contemporary social science, seeking a

dialectal middle and third path between the thesis and antithesis of objectivism and subjectivism (Jenkins 1992:51).

A similar concern with identity, at individual and collective levels, has been seen to be central to the present thesis, hence Bourdieu has provided an invaluable frame of reference.

Chapters 4 and 5 will define and discuss abstract issues relating to values and power. The researcher's own affiliations and use of some terminology borrowed from Bourdieu demand that a preliminary account of these be given here.

Discussion of identity inevitably raises questions of relationships with others and the structure of society: how is the world perceived? What is valued? How are those values perpetuated or replaced? Who has the power to determine them and why?

The first term to clarify is that used by Bourdieu to describe social relationships: these he calls *fields*. These are

bounded spheres identifiable in terms of shared areas of activities and contain and connect with other fields at various levels. Each is lubricated by forms of knowledge which are only partially consciously known, have their own self-referential legitimacy, and, to a large extent, operate in a tacit manner. (Grenfell and James 1998: 24)

Throughout this analysis, the researcher will refer to the '*chiasmatic structure*' of fields, meaning the nature of power relationships between them. For Bourdieu, a hierarchy exists according to the form of capital possessed, be it economic, social, or cultural (education being one element of the latter). The research will demonstrate that the history of foreign language learning does, indeed, reveal a hierarchical interplay between these, with high economic and social capital alternating for dominance.

Three forms of *capital* are thus in competition: *economic*, financial wealth; *social* capital, a network of lasting relations; and *cultural* capital, the product of education. Whilst the former and latter are more readily understood, the nature of social capital continues to provoke widespread debate. One leading authority on Bourdieu has suggested that the terms has been a victim of 'nominal appropriation' (Robbins 2003).

How each is valued is not determined by any intrinsic worth; instead, it is the result of socially sanctioned judgement. That which becomes dominant is no more than the '*cultural arbitrary*', the object of worth to the most powerful field(s).

What an individual values appears to be a matter of free choice. So, for instance, Parts III and IV will reveal how foreign languages have been perceived as having little value to and by those whose functional roles in society did not require linguistic knowledge. Bourdieu would describe this as misrecognition, *méconnaissance*, on the part of those who think it is a matter of their free choice to reject language learning. It is, rather, the result of blind recognition, *reconnaissance*, of the values of the field, without understanding, *connaissance*, of the social implications of this.

In effect, individuals are not exercising their free choice but responding to the unconscious effect of conditioning. Over time, a complex process of normalisation occurs, to establish the *habitus*. This is not simply a matter of reproducing values and structures through habit. As Bourdieu explains,

On the one side, it is a relation of conditioning: the field structures the habitus, which is the embodiment of immanent necessity of a field (or of a hierarchically intersecting set of fields). On the other, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive construction: habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and with value, in which it is worth investing one's patience. (Bourdieu 1989c: 44)

In other words, it is a two-way process and so the potential for change exists.

However, the potential also exists for exploitation of the situation: it will be proposed that the history of foreign language learning shows how the curriculum was deliberately constructed in such a way as to lead individuals to appear to exclude themselves from wishing to learn languages. Through *méconnaissance*, they did not realise that they were thereby contributing towards a social stratification which was detrimental to them. The researcher attributes this to an act of *symbolic violence*.

Bourdieu's own definition of symbolic violence is as follows:

Symbolic violence, of which the realization *par excellence* is probably law, is a violence exercised so to speak, in formal terms, and paying due respect to forms. Paying due respect to forms means giving an action or a discourse the form which is recognised as suitable, legitimate, approved, that is, a form of a kind that allows the open production, in public view, of a wish or a practice that, if presented in any other way, would be unacceptable (this is the function of euphemism). (Bourdieu 1990: 84/5)

Given the pressures of the habitus to conform with expected norms, breaking out of the 'abusive' situation is difficult but possible. Perhaps the most powerful means of so doing is by undergoing a complete *metanoia*, or personal conversion, not in its original religious sense, but in terms of personal values.

These, then, are the key elements which the researcher develops from Bourdieu, and they underpin the conceptual framework. They are complemented by a pedagogical framework, based on curricular models, and developed in chapter 7, as well as a

linguistic concept: that of linguistic divide, similar to digital divide, and discussed more fully in chapter 6.

Contemporary validity

The study, begun in 1997, pre-dated many of the issues that are of contemporary concern in the field of foreign languages, and unwittingly addressed the profession's call to

Co-ordinate research in the field of technology and languages to ensure that the benefits of investments in one sector are widely felt beyond that sector. (Nuffield 2000 §1.3.1)

It aims to contribute to this endeavour and to suggest a model for change (Part V) that is founded on values and seeks coherence. It assumes that curriculum-related research's

prime purpose must be to achieve conceptual clarity in thinking about the curriculum as a basis for ensuring practical coherence in the implementation of that thinking. (Kelly 1999:22)

Although many of its findings have been pre-empted by the creation and report of a National Languages Strategy Group (DfES 2002c), Part V will nevertheless offer an alternative approach to realisation of these shared ideals, one which recognises the continued conflict between academic and other forms of capital.

Having overcome the epistemological difficulties of multi-disciplinary research the researcher still had to deal with its practical ones. Such work is notoriously problematic and

the subject matter is continually being found to be too complex and multi-aspectual to lend itself to uniform, let alone widely accepted, representation or models. (Dakowska 1996:5)

In crossing so many boundaries, there was a real danger of treating these fields only superficially. Conversely, in attempting to understand sufficiently the main concepts and theories of each, an over-abundance of material was gathered, obscuring what had originally been a straightforward question of educational values. A delicate balance was necessary, and long periods of reflection required in order to regain a hold on the 'wood' amongst the 'trees'.

How were these difficulties resolved and what were the methods selected?

3 The research methods and data sources

Qualitative and quantitative data

Although the methods employed are predominantly qualitative, the research adopts a principle of 'methodological appropriateness' (Patton 1990:39), being guided by what seems most likely to provide data relevant to its focus on curricular (foreign language) values (RI1), processes of change (RI2) and new technologies (RI3). Consequently, quantitative data such as examination statistics, the number of speakers of a language, and foreign language courses available, are also drawn upon in order to identify national and international trends as in chapter 2 and later in Part III. Qualitative methods are subsequently used to examine issues in greater depth at the individual level of innovation in foreign language theory and pedagogy and its relationship with technological development (Part IV). These mixed methods enable greater triangulation, and recognise that

No single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors ... because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observations must be employed. (Denzin 1978:28)

They also have the dual advantage of allowing an in-depth and flexible study of the issues, whilst potentially gathering more empirical data than can qualitative methods alone. The last point recalls the question of academic capital (e.g. Ball 1994): so long as a perception of scientific hierarchies obtains, which places lower value on 'soft data' that cannot be verified in the same way as quantitative, 'hard data,' qualitative research must, inherently, run the gauntlet of appearing less 'valuable' than its less subjective counterparts.

Again, the researcher's instinctive choice of methods was retrospectively found to be consistent with critical theory. She had naturally adopted a longitudinal approach in order to trace change over time, and, given the globalisation related to today's technologies, boundaries were recognised as extending beyond the values and practices of England alone. It is becoming increasingly apparent to anthropologists that there is a need

to pay greater attention to the heterogeneities within wider spaces and over longer periods than personal observation allows. (Asad 1994:74)

This touches on two aspects of the researcher's approach: its historical nature, and the data sources. Both of these have bearing on academic credibility, for the reasons discussed above.

Longitudinal study

A longitudinal study is required if change is to be traced, but change in language discourse cannot be discussed in isolation from its cultural context. This means that an historical account of the social conditions surrounding language learning must first be drawn. Inevitably, that raises both practical and academic issues: which periods and aspects of the context should be addressed, but, more importantly, how valid is the work of a non-historian? The researcher has, indeed, been challenged throughout this research by the fact that she is not a specialist in the field. From a critical theorist perspective, this is acceptable, and historians are reminded that

interdisciplinarity does not take the form of an alternative to or a transcendence of those disciplines (history, sociology, literary studies, linguistics) which may lay claim to similar interests. (Bennett 1997:51)

But to accept this requires a change in academic values, it demands a loosening of academic hold over 'their' property. Those unwilling to do so will conceal (albeit unconsciously) their anxieties of loss of power in accusations that such work is 'dumbing down' their subject.

As seen above, the researcher has overcome such ideological opposition so the next problem for the study was that of scope: which periods to cover? The choice was determined partly by the nature of technological development, but also by the focus on *formal* language learning, which was not needed in earlier centuries of England's history (chapter 2, above). Nevertheless, there was a constant temptation to continue delving further and further back into the subject, so as to understand the source of each stage of its evolution. Finally, it was technology that decided the matter: a boundary of 400 years was set, the in-depth study beginning in the seventeenth and extending to the early twenty-first century.

The four-century span includes three periods of special technological significance (Ozga 1990, Ball 1994): those of the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and present day globalisation facilitated by ICTs. Part III will therefore set the contextual social background and examine foreign language discourse in England across these centuries. This will enable the researcher to address RI1, the degree of coherence and continuity, and it will set the macrocosmic (national and international) scene. Values and structures will be identified at this broad level, using the framework of key factors proposed in Table 1.1 as being significant in a 'linguistic divide'.

Three case studies

But the macrocosmic level is not best suited to study of competing values, and the researcher had again instinctively embraced an aim of critical theory in her decision to follow Part III with case studies of individual innovators. This recognised the need for studies

that stress disorganisation and reorganisation within the present order, and that combine macro and micro perspectives. (Kellner 1997)

To this end, Part IV brings together the national and the individual levels of change in the values attributed to foreign languages (RI2) and examines their relationship with technology (RI3). This permits an increasingly focused investigation of

structural, macro-level analysis of education policies and micro-level investigation, especially that which takes account of people's perception and experiences. (Ozga 1990:359)

The three case studies were selected according to their potential richness in relation to technology (RI3). They present an innovator of the seventeenth, nineteenth and late twentieth centuries respectively, in the context of three very different technologies: printing, the recorded word, and computer assisted technologies. Given their socially different contexts, they are inevitably diverse, and some readers may oppose such 'purposeful sampling' (Patton 1990) on grounds of bias. The obverse of this objection is that the researcher has been able deliberately to choose case studies that are different and thus enrich the work. Readers are also reminded that the aim of this study is not to seek rules, but, rather, to explore the conflicting values which form foreign language discourse, and the relationship of these to technological change.

Primary and secondary sources

Since an historical approach was being taken, the researcher was naturally drawn to the use of literature, and, in more recent times, such audio-visual resources as may have been archived. Predominantly, though the data sources were to be literary. This led to another controversial issue: the relative academic validity of primary and secondary sources.

In order to examine each period diachronically, wherever contemporaneous sources have been readily available, they have been drawn upon, in the belief that

studying (..) from the viewpoint – usually very different from that of modern science – that gives (subjects) the maximum internal coherence and the closest fit to nature. (Kuhn 1962:3)

But clearly these would not always exist, and those that did may be inaccessible to the researcher.

The nature of literature drawn on in Part III is both *primary and secondary*, including legislation and treatises (e.g. Education Acts, Parliamentary Inquiries), historical works (e.g. Curtis 1968, Barnard 1971, Lawson & Silver 1973, Simon 1969), political analyses (e.g. Young, 1998, Bourdieu 1998), linguistic analyses (e.g. Ellis 1994, Hawkins 1987, Kelly 1969), works written contemporaneously and retrospectively, journal articles, and websites. This openness again enables new avenues to appear without being constrained by predetermined boundaries, and also gives voice to different perspectives on an issue.

Initially, a broad range of secondary sources in each of the areas of interest was explored in order to sensitise the researcher to the issues. Open reading around the three key themes (values, change and technology) led to a process of 'axial coding' (Patton 1990), followed by 'densification' of the emergent issues through focused reading on each. The whole process enabled the researcher to formulate the three research propositions (chapter 1).

Having formulated these and determined the scope of the study, it was necessary to draw the broad historical canvas required for Part III so as to trace the coherence or incoherence of policy (RI1). This part is largely descriptive, accepting the view that

qualitative data must include a great deal of pure description of people, activities, interactions and settings. (Patton 1990:32)

However, description alone is not enough:

the discipline and rigor of qualitative analysis depend on presenting solid descriptive data, what is often called 'thick description' (Geertz 1973; Denzin 1989) in such a way that others reading the results can understand and draw their own interpretations. (Patton 1990: 375)

As preparation for analysis as well as 'story telling', theoretical reading was needed. Earlier sections of this chapter have noted the process of discovery which led to the researcher's adoption of Bourdieu and Warschauer as models. Part II develops the conceptual themes introduced above, and formulates them into a number of frameworks, each designed to facilitate comparison and analysis of the data (Parts III and IV), without seeking to constrain it.

The frameworks relate respectively to:

- The values underpinning foreign language curricular expectations. These will range from functional to ideological, and from social control objectives to a liberal conception of personal development. [RI1 and 2] (Garforth 1985, Peters 1972, Kincheloe 1994, Lawton 1992, Ball 1994).
- The nature of authority and power possessed by those responsible for determination of the foreign language curriculum. This will favour an exchange theory approach (Archer 1985, Bourdieu 1998, Dale 1986). [RI 2]
- The relationship between technology and change in foreign language learning. Here, the researcher will develop a model based on the five factors of Table 1, above, against which the congruence between innovators' proposals and existing systems may be gauged (Thomas 1987, Warschauer 2000). [RI3]

As the historical account progresses, these frameworks are used to summarise and compare periods in respect particularly of RI1, coherence.

If the contextual chapters could make use of both primary and secondary sources, this would not suffice for the case studies, Part IV. Here, since the focus was on an individual's (or team's) perspective, primary sources were essential. They develop the 'thick description' of Part III and, again using the conceptual models introduced in Part II, aim to progress to a stage of 'thick interpretation' (Patton 1990:375) so as to

insert history into experience. [They establish] the significance of an experience, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard. (Denzin 1989:83)

The use of primary literature permits the innovators' own voices to emerge through citation of their words, though as always the potential for researcher bias arises from the process of selection. Here, the researcher risks falling between two contrary methodologies: she draws from three different forms of primary data in these case studies, permitting triangulation of sources, one traditional means of enhancing reliability, whilst embracing a critical theorist stance. The researcher does so on the grounds that this permits differing values to be identified, thereby contributing to an understanding of the conflictual nature of discourse, the issues underpinning RI2 and RI3. The sources used in each case study include:

- (1) contemporary (educational) legislation/report
- (2) recent professional (languages) theory
- (3) the work of the innovator

Three stakeholder levels are thereby considered, those of policy-makers, pedagogues and innovators (who may be teachers and/or theorists) and this allows the question of values to be examined from each perspective. So, if superficially antipathetic to the chosen methodology, they are consistent with it; the approach has been anticipated by Lawton's (1992) identification of three levels of interest (General/Political, Interest Group, and Education/Teaching or Pedagogical level), and with Ball's (1994:26) 'context of influence, the context of policy text production and the context(s) of practice.'

Who, then, are the subjects of the case studies and what are their data sources?

Case studies 1 and 2 adopt a similar approach. As shown in Table 1.4, they focus respectively on J A Comenius in the seventeenth century and Henry Sweet in the nineteenth. In both cases their own writings are used as the primary data source. The researcher acknowledges that, as case studies of innovation in England, the choice of Comenius may seem ill conceived, his being of Bohemian origin. To those objectors the researcher offers in justification the immense influence he has had on England's education, an influence which lives on in the name given to the UK's network for language training established in 1992 (see www.cilt.org.uk/comenius). Part IV chapter will further explain this choice.

A different approach is taken for case study 3. Clearly, technology of today offers a greater range of recording mechanisms, as well as pedagogical tools, and research methods have changed since the days of Comenius and Sweet. The third case study is therefore able to introduce different primary sources, including audio and visual materials from the web, and involves a team of researchers as opposed to a single innovator. This difference, too, can be attributed to change in practice over time.

Case study 3 focuses on longitudinal research conducted by the Open University over the last four years, and traces its development through a series of projects (Lamy 1998, Goodfellow 1997), which explore on-line methods for teaching French to adult distance learners. This work is widely recognised (Footitt 2002a) as being at the cutting edge of on-line teaching and learning, and has been selected as the subject of the case study because it represents perhaps the most advanced thinking in the field to be found in this country. Furthermore, the researcher has been involved in three phases of the work and can therefore bring to the analysis an additional dimension. In sum, the literature has served three purposes (cf. Patton 1990:60 *discovery and verification*):

- Sensitisation and densification of the diverse fields in order to formulate the research hypotheses and analytical models;
- Provision of broad contextual data against which to explore the three research issues;
- Provision of primary sources, to provide the perspective of different parties, particularly necessary for the detailed case studies.

The bibliography is testament to the breadth of reading involved and contributing to the work as a whole. Table 1.4 summarises the key resources used in each of the cases studies to be examined in Part III.

Table 1.4

The case study data sources

	STUDY 1	STUDY 2	STUDY 3
Innovator	J Comenius	H Sweet	Open University
Professional theory	Rational grammar, 'homo trilinguis'	Natural method, Direct method, Grammar/translation Phonetics	Nuffield Inquiry 1998-2000
Legislation/ Report	Clarendon Code 1662-1673	Newcastle 1861 Clarendon 1864 Taunton 1868	Green Paper 2002

It has been stated that the researcher is seeking to apply a diachronical approach to this longitudinal account. But as Kragh (1987:107) memorably reminds readers,

The historian of science has to be a person with the head of Janus who, at the same time, is able to respect the conflicting diachronical and anachronical point of view.

The researcher is thus brought back to the principles of critical theory: it is not enough simply to tell the story. Part V will need to take this leap forward and, though a synthesis of retrospective data, make recommendations for improving future language learning practice in England.

4 Summary of the methodology

In short, the researcher adopts a critical theory approach, in full awareness of its controversial academic status. This has not been an easy decision in so far as she is

seeking admission to the academic community, but it was the only one which is true to her personal values. As Bourdieu so perceptively wrote:

disciplines choose their students as much as students choose their disciplines. (Bourdieu 1998:19)

The research finds its natural home in the traditions of critical theory, sharing both its ideals and its methods, the two being interdependent.

Interdisciplinary research is recognised as posing serious challenges to post-modern methodologies. It demands a new conceptualisation of academic validity as well as of different methods.

This work is presented as a hermeneutic study which aims to raise questions and stimulate further arguments, in the hope of playing some small part in the process of the evolving discourse for foreign language learning in England.

Chapter 4 will now define some of the key terminology used in this discussion, before Part II expands the theoretical dimensions raised above, and which underpin the researcher's analytical models.

¹ The term 'critical theory' was coined by Max Horkheimer, Director of the Institute of Social Research, Frankfurt, in 1930. The approach reached its zenith in the 1960s and 1970s.

² 'A term deriving from the Greek god Hermes, whose job it was to interpret and communicate the ideas of gods to mankind. Key notions here are individual understanding, subjective interpretation and the acceptance of multiple realities in the world'. (Grenfell & James 1998: 8)

CHAPTER 4

SOME KEY CONCEPTS

The previous chapters have used loosely a number of terms which demand clarification before the conceptual framework itself can be discussed (Part II, below). The question of policy and discourse has already been raised (chapter 1); closely related are those, for example, of 'formal' learning, distinctions between 'teaching' and 'learning', the assumed definition of 'ideology' and 'functionalism'. Chapter 4 will now consider some of these meanings in conclusion to Part I.

Policy and discourse, formal and informal learning

It is difficult to speak of 'formal' learning without relating this to *policy*, since it presupposes a deliberate structure. The term implies an overt expression of values and a programme designed to realise them, but, as chapter 1 has observed, 'not all policies derive from conscious motives' (Kogan 1985:22). So, if foreign language *policy* is readily understood to be the expressed ideals formalised through the legislative system of England of the last century or more, such a definition would be inappropriate for the nature of 'policy' more generally found in the educational provision of earlier periods. At that stage of its evolution, *policy* was frequently the unarticulated expression of values, and reflected unquestioning acceptance of traditional practice (Callahan, 1972, Goody and Watt, 1962, Whitty and Young 1976). Chapter 1 has described this as, rather, the '*discourse*' of foreign language learning.

In effect, the distinction reflects what some theorists term policy 'as text' and policy 'as discourse' (Foucault 1974, Ball 1994). The researcher will provide evidence to support the suggestion that policies

are typically the cannibalised products of multiple (but circumscribed) influences and agendas. There is ad hocery, negotiation and serendipity within the state, within the policy formulation process. (Ball 1994:16)

To this end, Part II will examine these concepts in greater detail, and develop a framework for analysis of language learning objectives (RI1). This will enable investigation of conflict between objectives and their adherents (RI2 and 3).

Whether language learning is part of a consciously planned curriculum or derives from traditional practice, this research deals only with that provided in an institutional structure (for reasons discussed below), hence RI1 refers uniquely to '*formal* learning'. Clearly, learning can take place in many ways, and is arguably an inherent component of all social experience. Those readers interested in the distinction between formal and informal learning might consult, for instance, Young 1998, or Gibbons et al. 1994.

Bearing in mind this duality of 'policy', both as 'text' and as 'discourse', Parts III and IV will explore the nature of language learning in very different social structures. Nevertheless, it will become apparent that differing values obtain, and the form of capital possessed by respective groups will be crucial to both the form of language learning provided and the parties who have access to it. This will contribute to what

the researcher describes as a 'linguistic divide', representative of socio-economic divides.

Curriculum

Formal learning implies that the subject is part of a planned curriculum, but what is meant by 'curriculum'? Definitions abound; perhaps one of the most comprehensive is that:

A curriculum is taken to be all those activities designed or encouraged within the school's organisational framework to promote the intellectual, personal, social and physical development of its pupils. It includes not only the formal programme of lessons but also the 'informal' programme of so-called extra-curricular activities as well as those features which produce the school's ethos. (Morrison and Ridley 1994)

The definition nevertheless remains insufficient for the present study, this on several counts. Firstly, discussion of foreign language aims (chapter 1) has shown that this one subject has been expected, variously and alone, to achieve these intellectual, personal and social goals. Secondly, the distinction between 'text' and 'discourse' draws attention to the fact that the curriculum may be a matter of tradition, not of conscious selection. Typically, the nature of education and policy making in the seventeenth century was very different from that of today, and there is a range of others between. Definitions of 'curriculum' will therefore change, as will the formal structure within which languages are taught (see e.g. Kelly 1999, Hawkins 1987).

A third issue is that of educational level, or age range, school, college or university? It would have been prejudicial to investigation of values to have restricted the research to one educational sector or another. As will emerge in Part III, the stage and age at which foreign languages have been learnt have varied according to their assumed value and function (RI2). Accordingly, both what would today be called *secondary* and *tertiary* levels of the curriculum are discussed, and, in contemporary times, it will be necessary to include the *primary* sector, recently re-appearing on the political agenda (Smith 2000) (chapters 13, 16 and 17 will explain this).

The use of the term 'curriculum' is recognised to be unusual when applied to the university sector, where programme choice is a matter of individual student selection, not predetermined by other agents. It offers a convenient label, but readers will be aware of the differences of scale and choice between sectors. In order to consider continuity or discontinuity of discourse between institutions within a given period as well as over time, it is important to include schools, further and higher educational provision of languages. 'Curriculum' is therefore adopted as a shorthand term for all levels, but with the firm understanding that these are not the same, and that different relationships are involved between learners and providers.

While most chapters of Part III are able to consider language learning across the sectors, when it reaches the late 20th century, language learning and the nature of technological change are such vast fields that some refinement of the boundaries is necessary, given the constraints of a thesis, and to avoid imbalancing the work. Chapter 13 is therefore structured differently and assumes that readers will bring to the work their personal knowledge of educational change over the more recent decades.

Education and training, knowledge and skills

One of the reasons why a comprehensive account of 'curriculum' is needed is that it will reveal indicators of the reasons how and why values change. These will be exposed not only through overt statements, but also covertly through the nature of foreign languages offered and, again, to whom. There are two indicators of particular significance in this respect: the uses of 'education' or 'training' and of 'knowledge' or 'skills'. These implicitly represent different values, and have been the source of much academic dispute.

Characteristic of *education* in general, Parts III, IV and V will reveal how languages have been edged away from symbolic objectives where they are deemed part of a liberal education, without necessarily having any practical application, to the position where, today, economic imperatives demand that education of all forms should have a functional value. The focus has moved from individual development to social responsibility. Functionalism is related to both practical skills and cultural (ideological) reproduction, which issues are also explored in greater depth in Part II.

Bound up in this change is another challenge to academic traditions as national and industrial needs have forced 'education' away from its *quondam* meaning increasingly towards that of '*training*'. Part II will discuss the differences between academic, social and economic capital as preparation for analysis of this change. It will be seen that conflict centres on the perceived devaluation of 'education' (knowledge) the more practical it becomes, in other words, the more it serves as 'training' for a vocational occupation.

Part II will relate these differences to three forms of learning. A model will be derived for tracking historical change through Part III. In particular, chapter 13 will illustrate the transition from content-based 'knowledge' to 'training', with the latter's emphasis on skills, and follow it through initiatives such as the Technical Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI 1983), through the merging of the Department of Education first with that for *Employment* (as the DfEE) and lately its redesignation as the Department for Education and *Skills* (DfES) (see, e.g. Crombie White et al 1995, or Young, 1998).

As these changes in title imply, the different expectations placed on education have been accompanied by a different form of learning, in simple terms, a move from acquisition of '*knowledge*' to development of '*skills*'. In the field of language learning, this can be illustrated through the changes that have occurred within the lifetime of the researcher: as a student at both A-level and undergraduate degree level in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it was possible to acquire a profound *knowledge* of a language e.g. its phonetic construction, medieval development, centuries of its literature, the history of its associated society, and yet have little *skill* in speaking the language spontaneously and with an authentic accent. Today, the situation might be reversed: at the extreme, students may have a perfect command of the spoken language (a *skill*), with no *knowledge* whatsoever – of, for instance, the community in which it is spoken. These changes have not been effected without resistance from some parts of the academic community, who, it will be argued, are exhibiting the 'institutionalised academicism' (Green 1997) discussed in chapter 3.

The reasons for this changed emphasis will become clear in chapter 13: the Great Educational Debate, begun in the late 1960s (Cox and Dyson 1969a and b, Lawton 1989), would set in motion a drive for strict accountability to providers – including

the tax payer – and expectations that educational outcomes would be supportive of the collective interest, not least its economic strength. The conflicting forms of capital that bring about this change will enable the researcher to address RI2, functional and symbolic values, and RI3, the relationship between technological change and foreign languages' perceived value.

Specific to foreign language learning, Parts III and IV will show that aims move between the two models. The implications that different forms of education have on academic roles and relationships will be illustrated by case study 3 where new technologies are seen to demand different pedagogical styles, and the role of 'teacher' moves through those of 'trainer' and 'facilitator'. This extended role also produces a potential source of conflict between professional and other parties, reflecting different values (RI1).

Readers are reminded, then, that the researcher's use of both terms (education and training) is quite deliberate, and does not suggest that the two possible learning outcomes are synonymous, even if the same person may fulfil the roles of both teacher and trainer. As one of education's great philosophers observed,

Teaching is a complex activity which unites together processes, such as instructing and training, by the overall intention of getting pupils not only to acquire knowledge, skills and modes of conduct, but to acquire them in a manner which involves understanding and an evaluation of the rationale underlying them. (Peters 1972:39-40)

Language skills

Linguist readers will be aware of the longstanding, special, significance of 'skills' in the field of languages. For here, interest in skills long preceded contemporary focus on them across disciplines (DfES 2002, Ball 1991). Linguists have overtly distinguished between four specific skills, those of listening, speaking, reading and writing. Throughout their history, languages will be seen to have been tugged between assumptions that they provide training in 'transferable' skills such as analytical thinking, one earlier justification for the learning of Latin, and the suggestion that they are valuable in their own right as the medium for accessing the cultural and literary heritage of another community. Part III will reveal these different expectations, and it will be seen that a hierarchy of both languages and skills develops, with language learning of a non-practical form being attributed greater academic prestige (Ball 1994), thereby dividing professionals within the field in much the same way as are academics at large. The principles of a hierarchy of power are reflected at every level of social, national and international, which is seen as organised in a 'chiasmatic structure' (Bourdieu 1998:270).

Learning and teaching

Questions of power are inherent then in the formal learning situation. The terms 'learning' and 'teaching' may appear to have been used interchangeably in earlier chapters. This is not to imply that the two processes are synonymous, nor that the received (learnt) message corresponds necessarily with the one ostensibly transmitted (taught). The dual usage does recognise that the two are part of a shared process, but as the third case study will illustrate, change in educational objectives and technology brings change in the relationship between learner and 'teacher'. Readers will be aware of contemporary developments as today's technologies facilitate greater

individual learning, at a time and place convenient to the learner, moving the model from one that is teacher-centred to one centred on the learner (see e.g., Young 1994, Shackleton 1988).

In other words, greater learner autonomy is possible. This can be problematic both for 'teachers' whose role is altered, and for learners who have come through a different educational experience. As noted above, case study 3 will be particularly helpful in explaining this process, and will offer some indicators for overcoming the conflict it may cause between the expectations of providers and learners. These will be taken up in the analysis and recommendations of Part V.

It is for these reasons of power that the research focuses on formal learning within a 'system.' As will be demonstrated through the historical account (Parts III and IV), the forms of institution where foreign languages are taught will vary over time, as will the social groups who have access to them. These factors will be indicative of learning aims but will also reveal changes in the power attributed to different forms of capital, in turn enabling social change. The relevance of technological development (RI3) will be explored in this context.

Authority and power

These points lead to questions of power, and to the assumptions built into social relationships. They are crucial to the researcher's investigation of functional and symbolic aims (RI2) and the forms of capital which determine the languages discourse (RI3). Change in policy (RI1) and in desired outcomes (RI2) may derive from change in who is responsible for policy (Archer 1994, Kogan 1985), in other words, from their differing values; the processes they can engage in will be affected by the nature of power or authority attributed to and assumed by agents. Part II will therefore investigate these conceptual issues of power and capital, drawing largely from the ideology of Bourdieu. The abstract notions will then be applied to the field of education and, specifically, to language learning.

This will lead to the researcher's contention that a 'linguistic divide' was sustained for political purposes. It will be argued that the same factors that Warschauer relates to a 'digital divide' obtain: subject content, access, institutional structures, human capital and social capital. Following Bourdieu, Part II will propose that an early act of 'symbolic violence' denied access to foreign language learning to most social groups. The act has in time become obscured through the working of tradition, and class expectations. These are closely determined by functional needs, hence the act of exclusion has not been experienced as such. The role of English as the international *lingua franca* has serendipitously supported the establishment of these traditions.

Technology and change

The question of change in forms of capital and hence social status cannot be examined without reference to scientific and technological development. RI3 posits a connection between foreign language learning and developments in technology, though it does not assume this necessarily to be linear. Two points must be clarified: first, what is intended by 'technology', particularly in the contemporary context of

case study 3, and second, what are the possible instrumental and determinist connections between technology and foreign language learning?

ICTs

The discussion has referred to communications technology and Information and Communication Technology (ICT), and case study 3 will examine some experimental work using these for foreign language learning at the turn of the millennium, but what exactly are they? Attempts to define ICTs are notoriously difficult. After reviewing the voluminous data that already existed, Thomas (1987:1) was forced to conclude that

even those who specialise in the field as a professional pursuit have failed to concur on what exactly should be encompassed by the term.

He had rejected the 'official definition' of the day, provided by the Association of Educational Communications and Technology in the USA (1981), namely that

Educational technology is a complex, integrated process involving people, ideas, devices and organisation, for analysing problems and devising, implementing, evaluating, and managing solutions to those problems, involved in all aspects of learning.

That definition seems even more inappropriate two decades later for, while it describes the broad process and aims of technology, it does little to explain the tools themselves or the agents involved in developing or using them. In other words, it may recognise the functional role of technology, but it avoids the more political, determinist issues such as why they are developed and how they are employed.

Problems are exacerbated by the preponderance of acronyms and subtle differences between technologies: what, for instance, distinguishes ICT from Computer Mediated Communication (CMC)? Kern and Warschauer (2000:1-19) offer a comprehensive definition of the latter:

CMC allows language learners with network access to communicate with other learners or speakers of the target language in either asynchronous (not simultaneous) or synchronous (simultaneous, in real time) modes. Through tools such as electronic mail (e-mail), which allows each participant to compose messages whenever they choose, or Internet Relay Chat or MOOs, which allow individuals all around the world to have a simultaneous conversation by typing at their keyboards, CMC permits not only one-to-one communication, but also one-to-many communication. It therefore allows a teacher or student to share a message with a small group, the whole class, a partner class, or an international discussion list involving hundreds or thousands of people. Participants can share not only brief messages, but also lengthy documents thus facilitating collaborative reading and writing.

This description is an improvement on the earlier definition, in so far as it addresses process issues, but, in order to appreciate the pace of change in the technologies it mentions, a short reminder of developments since World War II follows. This will provide the background to case study 3, but it will also illustrate the fundamentally political and economic reasons for change. It is essential to the researcher's investigation of a linguistic divide (RIs 2 and 3) since it will be argued that the same factors that operate for and against a digital divide are present in England's history of foreign language discourse.

Technological development and change in values

Stand-alone computers have been in existence since 1940, and were initially used for data processing. Clarke (2001) suggests that 'the impact of stand-alone computing was to reinforce centralisation, hierarchy, authority and supplier power', at a time of

the Cold War between the USA and USSR. In other words, technology had an instrumental, macro political, role which was used both for internal control and for external penetration. This recalls the dual roles of foreign language learning proposed in the researcher's model (figure 1.3).

By the mid 1960s, electronic communications had converged with computing to produce a star-like system, with a central computer and 'dumb terminals' at the extreme of each connection. As technology enabled processors to be miniaturised, the personal computer (PC) emerged, changing again the structure of communication possible. From being initially stand-alone, these PCs could, in the 1980s, be networked into local area networks (LANs) and wide-area networks (WANs), but were again decentralised as

Centralisation gave way to dispersion, and hierarchy and authority were challenged. Supplier power migrated from the manufacturers of large computers (in particular, IBM) to the providers of software for small computers (primarily Microsoft).

A parallel diffusion of languages will be traced in Part III as the first new technology, printing, facilitates literacy and the growing substitution of mother tongues for Latin.

Chapter 2 has suggested that this same process has led latterly to increased use on the Internet of languages other than English. This shows that by this stage of development, technology was no longer used solely for macro political purposes, and it was being used for micro political control and administration in industry and organisations. It was applying similar processes in wider communities, and in so doing was changing the nature of relationships between individuals and groups, again reflecting the chiasmatic structure of society.

The next stage from LANs was to create interconnections between the networks, from which was born the Internet. So now, technology was becoming inclusive rather than exclusive and controlling, again recalling the researcher's model of language learning (figure 1.3). Just as new scientific and technological developments enabled international travel and communication, hence greater competence in foreign languages was needed in earlier times, today greater language skills permit nations to reach out to each other. However, it will be argued that England has experienced a conflict between internal and external needs: if foreign languages are a symbol of its social hierarchy, it is reluctant to increase access to them. The external practical needs are in conflict with internal symbolic ones. The dilemma has hitherto been avoided by the international use of English, but today's situation is such that the researcher will propose that the nation must confront the conflict between internal and external needs, not only on functional grounds: it is also a matter of symbolic status within the wider community.

Part IV's case studies will provide a closer examination of the relationship of technological development to foreign language learning. The technologies involved range from printing to today's ICTs. As Altbach (1987: 159) observes, 'the most powerful and pervasive educational technology is the textbook'. It must, of course, be remembered that today's 'old' technologies were yesterday's 'new' ones, hence the diachronical approach favoured above must consider innovations in their historical context.

Case study 3 is pitched against a background where the functional use of technology for language learning has seen the emergence of Computer Assisted Language

Learning (CALL) and, more recently, of network-based language teaching (NBLT). Kern and Warschauer (2000) explain the difference between these:

NBLT is language teaching that involves the use of computer connected to one another in either local or global networks. Whereas CALL has traditionally been associated with self-contained, programmed applications such as tutorials, drills, simulations, instructional games, tests, and so on, NBLT represents a new and different side of CALL, where human-to-human communication is the focus.

Functionalist and determinist influence

Part II will examine the conceptual relationship between change in technology and change in foreign language learning (RI3). It will propose that there is a dual, two-way influence, though this is not a straightforward, linear process of cause and effect. Technology will be seen to determine change, but also to be a result of change.

The potential for technology to change social values derives from the impact it has on differing forms of capital, which in turn alters social relationships and social conditions. A spiral of functional and ideological change occurs as societies become more 'advanced', leading to the situation of today where technology has expanded boundaries beyond those of local and national groups. Relationships between nations are now altered by the immediacy and breadth of ICTs. These changes are central to the researcher's model of language learning. They call for a decision to be made on whether the nation retains its predominantly monolingual state, to the detriment of its functional and symbolic status in the world, or whether it is willing to risk the change in internal relationships for the greater international need.

This leads back to questions of identity, and the impact of technology on individual, groups, nations and the globe. Part V will propose a model for change which recognises the threat to traditional identities but argues that, if the nation is not willing to risk this change, it will ultimately be to its detriment.

Neutrality

The possibility of technological neutrality will also be discussed in Part II. As a pedagogical tool, it will be important to remember that

the key to successful use of technology in language teaching lies not in hardware or software but in 'humanware', our human capacity as teachers to plan, design, and implement effective educational activity (Warschauer & Meskill 2000:303-318).

For

ICT does not exist as an external variable to be injected from the outside to bring about certain results. Rather, it is woven in a complex manner in social systems and processes. And, from a policy standpoint, the goal of using ICT with marginalised groups is not to overcome a digital divide, but rather to further a process of social inclusion. To accomplish this, it is necessary "to focus on the transformation, not the technology. (Warschauer 2002)

It is not 'what' is used but 'why' and 'by whom', that is crucial, and clearly these questions are operative at all levels.

It is particularly important to consider the need for language learning in contemporary England in the context of these new technologies. Functional and symbolic reasons are indecipherable, as will be revealed in Parts III-V. However, the technologies of today offer tools which can enhance the learning experience. But this very potential is setting up new rivalries, and provides another justification for research such as this work: innovators have recognised the opportunity these

technologies offer for the nation, as mother tongue speakers of the international *lingua franca*, to secure a global place in higher education:

the global spread of IT and the English language are now providing the conditions for the developing of a truly global market in teaching and learning in higher education. (Newby 2000)

There are, then, complex and urgent reasons to examine the relationship between foreign language learning and technology.

Foreign language learning and bilingualism

Finally, there are several definitions relating to language learning itself that must be clarified for the sake of non-linguist readers before the conceptual framework is introduced.

Language learning/language acquisition

The first distinction to make is that between foreign language *learning* and foreign language *acquisition*. As the former implies, there is a degree of intention, reflecting a positive action, whereas the latter implies a more passive process. The two processes are respectively termed Foreign Language Learning (FLL) and Foreign Language Acquisition (FLA¹).

Informal FLA would be typified by the example of a foreigner resident in another country, who absorbs the language of the host country through 'immersion' and everyday communication rather than through any systematic instruction (Johnson 1992, Cook 1993).

The present study focuses solely on (formal) foreign language *learning* (FLL), by reason of its concern with values and policy. It does not, therefore, include this informal type of learning, nor is formal language learning through self-tuition or tutoring addressed, since the conditions for policy-making and relationships between parties are different in the latter context (Young and Guile 1994).

Foreign language learning/second language learning

A technical distinction exists between *foreign* language learning (FLL) and *second* language learning (SLL) (Ellis 1994, Gass and Selinker 1993, McLaughlin 1987). The difference is easily demonstrated by taking an example that will be familiar to many readers: England's National Curriculum requires that children in Key Stage 3 learn one (or more) of the languages of Europe, which will, to most, be unknown, hence 'foreign.' The children of newly arrived immigrants to the country who have already learnt another mother tongue will, through both informal and formal processes, learn English as a second language, which they will use for everyday needs. They may continue to speak their mother tongue in certain circumstances, as well as using the second language as their main language. Crystal (1997) further refines the term 'second language', providing examples from around the world, and of different languages.

Foreign language learning derives from linguistic study of *mother tongue learning*, and is seen by some theorists as merely a sub-discipline of another field e.g. of psychology or pedagogy. In the words of Gass and Selinker (1994:xiv), the notion

of SLA is old and new at the same time. It is old in the sense that scholars for centuries have been fascinated by the questions posed by the nature of FLL and language teaching. It is new in the sense that the field, as it is now represented, only goes back about 30-40 years.

Theories of first language acquisition are beyond the scope of this study, though clearly their ideas will be found in foreign language learning ideology. Readers interested in exploring this background are referred to the works of some leading figures in the field, as listed in the bibliography².

The research focuses solely on foreign language learning in this country, but its call for a move towards a state of bilingualism would entail embracing the values of a second language learning model, as will be discussed next. In the international context, the disadvantageous position England currently occupies is reflected in the linguistic competence of numerous countries (see chapter 2), one of the nearest neighbours being Norway, where English is acquired from the age of six, hence the Norwegian people will speak at least two languages with a high degree of fluency in both (TES 2000).

'Bilingualism' / 'Plurilingualism' / 'Multilingualism'

What is the researcher's meaning of 'bilingualism'? For simplicity, the research treats formal acquisition of any foreign language as *second language* learning, be it the *first, second, third or any subsequent foreign language* studied. Where the order of acquisition is significant, this is made explicit in the text. An example would be where classics were concerned in the 18th century, when Latin preceded Greek, which preceded Hebrew, in those institutions where more than one was taught; otherwise, no overt distinction is made in this study. In such contexts, the order and number of languages to which different groups of learners have access will be significant for the question of social and academic hierarchies.

As a consequence of the researcher's conflation of competence in two or more foreign languages, when the term bilingual is employed in this discussion, it may refer to having knowledge of one or more languages in addition to the mother tongue. This use is adopted in order to avoid stylistic clumsiness, but readers should be aware of the differences, and are reminded also that bilingualism does not have to imply total fluency in another language. This represents a fairly recent change of definition, and is a point stressed by the Nuffield Inquiry team (2000). It arises in the context of the Common European Framework for Languages, agreed by the members of the Council of Europe (2001), which identifies six levels of competence as follows:

The proficient user:

C2 Mastery level

C1 Effective-proficiency level

The independent user:

B2 Vantage level

B1 Threshold level

The basic user:

A2 Waystage level

A1 Breakthrough level

The researcher therefore uses the term 'bilingual' to embrace

partial competence – both in the level achieved in each of the competencies and in the types of competencies involved. (European Language Council 2001)

The relevance of valuing different levels of competence will be crucial to the researcher's proposals for becoming 'bilingual' (Part V).

It should also be noted that the researcher's use of the term 'bi/pluri-lingualism' is a simplification of the distinction made by the European Union between *plurilingualism* and *multilingualism*, where the former refers to the individual, the latter to the society (Mackiewicz 2002). Readers are asked to accept this simplified usage in the interests of style, but to bear in mind the technical distinction.

A European model of plurilingualism

The European Union's desired model of linguistic competence, '1+2' (mother tongue, plus two other community languages). It requires that two foreign languages are learnt, without specifying which either should be, though in practice for 90% of learners outside the UK, English is one of these.

The researcher will argue that if the country is to gain equivalent fluency in a foreign language to that of other countries where English competence is high, it will be necessary for England to adopt a comparable model of learning: a first foreign language must be introduced in the primary school and followed through in a coherent way. The ideological, economic and professional factors that such a change would entail are already being addressed by the government, as will be seen in case study 3. Part V will propose a strategy for realising this change which focuses on the anxieties associated with changed local and international identity that the move would entail.

Dead and living languages

Finally, what is the scope of languages included in this study?

No differentiation is made between *dead* and *living* languages, for to do so would have been detrimental to the investigation of differing values. The replacement of dead (classical) languages by living (modern) languages will, itself, be found to be an indicator of changing values. The historical account of Part III will, therefore, include discussion of both *classical* and *modern* languages.

Parts III and IV will trace the evolution of a hierarchy of languages which reflects social and academic capital. The process of exclusion will enable the distinction between functional and symbolic values to grow and become normalised in individuals' expectations of which, if any, language they might learn. It is this tradition of access which will be seen to act in support of group identities within the nation, but which is now challenged by the impact of today's technologies, where, the researcher will argue, insularity is no longer tenable.

¹ Readers are reminded of the researcher's treatment of second or more language learning as 'foreign language learning.' The term SLA will also be found in the literature, to refer specifically to a language acquired after the mother tongue, as it is in the quotation cited here

² The research is unable to make more than brief mention of relevant work from other fields, but, as background to leading theorists, readers may wish to consult the work of Chomsky (1957, 1964, 1976, 1981) or of Krashen (1985) on human language learning devices. Alternatively, Ellis (1994) offers what is perhaps the most complete work of reference on theories of both acquisition and formal learning of language(s).

SUMMARY

Part I has traced the origins of this thesis back to the researcher's varied professional experience, in particular that as a teacher of foreign languages and educational policy maker, and to her academic interest in the impact of new technologies on social values. These different experiences and interests have come together at a time when modern foreign language learning in England is in a state of crisis, yet political response is ambivalent. The research is therefore timely, though its inception predated current political debate.

The crisis derives from conflict between collective and individual values and needs. Chapter 2 has considered some statistical evidence to confirm the shortfall between the nation's political and economic needs for foreign language learners, and the actual state of language provision and uptake. The researcher has proposed that political ambivalence derives from a conflict between the nation's internal and external needs: traditionally, restricted access to foreign languages has sustained social stratification within the nation. England must now decide whether to retain this exclusive model of foreign language learning or accept the internal consequences of extending learning. Whilst this would address the country's external needs in relation to other countries, it would implicitly change social relationships at home.

This is a decision for both politicians and the individual. As the data show, England's traditional response to foreign language learning has been largely negative. Individual perceptions of the value of learning another language are understandable when the nation's mother tongue is the international *lingua franca*, but the researcher has suggested that a sense of social responsibility demands that a change in attitude is effected. Failure to address the nation's competence in foreign languages will inevitably affect both the economic and political standing of the country.

Three hypotheses have been formulated to explain the conflict for policy makers and learners:

- 1 Formal foreign language learning in England has been characterised by a lack of coherent policy.
- 2 Whilst this lack of coherence may, superficially, appear to be a question of competing functional needs, it is really a consequence of political factors.
- 3 Foreign language learning has changed in the context of new technology but the functional value of new technologies as pedagogical tools has both orchestrated a new discourse for foreign languages, and provided a mask for political manipulation.

In order to examine these hypotheses, the researcher has identified five key issues which can operate either for or against change. They are:

- Access (to foreign language learning)
- Content (language, subject content and depth)
- Institutional structure
- Human capital (teacher and learner capacity)
- Social capital (as discussed above, values of dominant groups)

These factors are often related to notions of digital or social divide, but the researcher suggests that they are equally valuable in explaining the creation or avoidance of a linguistic divide.

Chapter 3 has provided the rationale for a longitudinal study of foreign language learning in England, within which to consider the degree of coherence and continuity in 'policy' (RI1). The periods to be studied have been identified as have the nature of resources to be used. Chapter 4 has set the immediate boundaries of this study and defined the use made of some important terms.

The practical and political difficulties of inter-disciplinary research have been discussed, and explanations given for the researcher's chosen methods. A natural ideological affinity has been found with the school of critical theory. The thesis will examine competition between different values and the nature of 'capital' possessed by actors (RI2). This will be analysed within a framework which borrows from the work of critical theorists; of particular impact has been that of Pierre Bourdieu.

The role of technology will be of dual interest: in terms of functionality, many new technologies have provided pedagogical instruments which languages teachers have used in order to raise learner motivation and to improve learning outcomes. But technology may also have a determinist relationship with language learning: its potential impact on social values, and the role of languages in addressing these, will be investigated.

Part IV will present three cases studies of innovation in foreign language theory and pedagogy at periods of extraordinary technological change, so that the relationship between values and instrumental development (RI3) may be examined in greater detail than is possible in the historical overviews of each century.

The significance of technology and change is directly related to the crisis in which foreign language finds itself today, for as the world has become increasingly globalised, national values have been changed. Traditional conceptions of identity have been challenged as sources of power have changed from that once invested in military strength and colonial possessions. In order to consider possible ways out of the crisis, the thesis seeks to understand the processes of change triggered by, and in turn triggering, technological 'development'. Based on the historical account of Part III and the case studies of Part IV, Part V will conclude with some recommendations for taking England forward into the third millennium.

Before this discussion can take place, the central issues that have emerged from these chapters must be further developed. These are:

Values

Technology and social change

Technology and educational change

Part II will therefore examine the nature of values and their expression through ideological positions. Their relationship with policy demands discussion of power and authority, who hold these resources and why. The general concepts must then be applied to the level of education and, moving inwards, to that of foreign languages.

The three chapters of Part II will now move from this broad level through the relationship of technology with social change, on to its relationship with change in the curriculum and foreign languages in particular.

PART II

VALUES IN SOCIETY, EDUCATION AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES

PREFACE

The recurrent theme of Part I has been the nature of values: those reflected in the prevailing political orthodoxy, which in turn are transformed into educational, and at the subject level of interest here, foreign language, policy or discourse. All three research issues (chapter 1) are concerned with values as they are expressed (or not) through foreign language learning policy, through its overt or implicit aims. The researcher has suggested that language learning in England has swung between functional and symbolic aims, producing an impression of incoherence and discontinuity.

In order to examine these claims, the values that have been invested in foreign language learning (RI1), and the relationship between these and technological change (RI3) are to be studied longitudinally over a period of four hundred years.

Several key theoretical elements have emerged from preliminary reading, and these must be probed before the history of foreign language learning is discussed in detail (in Parts III and IV, below). They are:

- The nature of values
- How values relate to ideology
- How ideology is formulated into policy
- The actors involved in policy making and the source of their power or authority
- How and why policy changes
- The relationship between change in policy and that in technology.

These issues are of a general character, and could be applied to policy of any sort. After examining them at the abstract level, in Chapters 5 and 6, five key issues will be explored more concretely (Chapter 7) as they affect educational policy at large, and language learning in particular.

To this end, Chapter 5 explores a range of issues relating to values. The discussion begins by tracing the relationship between values and the aims of a 'policy' (e.g. Peters 1966, Garforth 1985, Hirst 1965, Lawton 1992), as grounding for RI2 (functional and symbolic objectives) and RI3 (the role of technology in changed values). This leads to consideration of the potential for conflict between different assumptions and those who hold them, and of the need in society to weigh individual

against collective needs. The question of rights and responsibilities is then raised. Since values are a manifestation of a person's 'ideological' position, various definitions of 'ideology' are rehearsed (e.g. Eagleton 1991, Thompson 1984), and the researcher's use of the term identified.

The discussion returns to the researcher's preferred critical theorist perspective (e.g. Young 1998) and issues of conflict and power. Definitions of the meanings attached to essential terminology (e.g. 'group', 'class') are clarified. Distinctions are drawn between authority and power, and the processes of change and exchange compared (e.g. Archer 1994, Bourdieu 1991, Weber 1948).

Chapter 6 moves on to explore the role of technology in the social context of change (RI3). Its determinist and instrumental potentials are considered and the researcher proposes that changes in value and those in technology occur in a spiral process which is irrational and non-linear (Ball 1994).

The discussion returns to the five key factors introduced in chapter 1, and related to the researcher's notion of 'linguistic divide.' Warschauer's model of 'digital divide' is found to offer a parallel conception of social division. A hierarchy of languages is introduced which will be attributed to conflation of language, learner, and their socio-economic status. The five key factors can potentially be used to flatten this and bring about social inclusion. It is suggested that conflict exists between the nation's internal adherence to social division and its external needs (functionally and symbolically) to adopt an inclusive approach to foreign language learning. The chapter concludes that achievement of a 'bilingual' England depends upon management of these five key factors, but primarily requires changing perceptions and expectations, hence is first a matter of social capital.

Chapter 7 applies these abstract concepts to the task in hand: models of curricular analysis are examined (e.g. Schon 1971, Tyler 1949, Eisner 1979). From these the researcher derives a visual model for charting change in curricular values across a continuum of aims, from symbolic to functional. This model is applied in Parts III and IV, the history and case studies of foreign language learning, in order to test the claim of discontinuity (RI1) and to identify functional and ideological aims in foreign language 'policy' (RI2).

The chapter returns to issues of conflict (e.g. Young 1998, Ball 1994) in order to anticipate the actors and resources they have available to them for exchange or for forcing change in England's foreign language discourse. It concludes by returning to the proposition that a spiral of change exists between values and technology and that innovators anticipate the new values before technology makes these publicly acceptable.

CHAPTER 5

EXPLORING THE QUESTION OF VALUES

1 Aims and values, policy 'as text' and policy 'as discourse'

From values to aims

RI1-3 all concern the different *values* that foreign language learning has held in England, and which have been inherent in discourse, or formulated into overt curricular policy *aims*; a distinction is thereby made between values and aims. Effectively, it is that raised earlier: the difference between policy 'as discourse' and policy 'as text' (Ball 1994). Values underpin both, but in differing degrees of explicitness.

Before coming to the subject-specific level where RI1 and 2 will focus on the precise nature of aims in the field of languages, some further consideration is needed of the relationship of aims and values *per se*. This will support discussion of the 'cultural capital' (dominant values) of an era, one of the five factors attributed to 'linguistic divide' (table 1.1 above and chapter 6).

Although they commonly address aims and values when discussing policy making, writers use the term 'policy' in a variety of ways, indicating different perceptions of the relationship between the two.

Garforth establishes a difference between aims and values in terms of process: they each represent progressive stages in the development of formal policy (aims) from discourse (values), where

values and aims are closely related ... they might be two phases of the same process: one's aim is to realise what one desires or values; values give content and direction to aims and provide their motivation; values are made practicable by conversion into aims. (Garforth 1985:52)

But the researcher has already asked, does that imply that policy is of necessity a conscious attempt to achieve ones values? Is the policy maker necessarily aware of his values?

Conscious commitment to values

The historical account of educational policy in England that follows in Part III will illustrate that, in some periods, *laissez-faire* attitudes have prevailed, allowing the traditional curriculum to obtain. For writers such as RS Peters, this would not rank as policy, since he stresses the need for *conscious commitment* to one's values, and believes that education 'involves the *intentional* transmission of what is worthwhile' (Peters 1966:35) (researcher's emphasis). For critical theorists (e.g. Ball 1994), though, this would equate to 'policy *as discourse*'.

Commitment does not require that the aims of a policy are made explicit, and it has been noted that this leads to a difficulty for those studying curriculum: values and aims can often only be assumed. Furthermore, perceptions are subjective and hence interpretations of the same phenomena will differ. Intention cannot be proven empirically, so any scientific model of validation is inappropriate for such research. The writer has already pre-empted this point in her endorsement (chapter 3) of a critical approach which recognises the complexity of factors involved and the subjectivity of findings. It seeks not to prove cause and effect but, rather, to gain

an understanding and explaining which is both transformative and liberating. (Grenfell and James 1998: 178)

The problem for researchers lies in differentiating between conscious commitment to *laissez-faire* market forces (Hayek 1978), as exemplified by right wing governments of recent times (Lawton 1992) and apathy. The former is a chosen form of 'policy', that of discourse, and represents a particular perception of social relationships, whereas the latter suggests a lack of political interest. Both rely upon the compliance of other members of society, albeit unconscious on their part, and they break down once different values are embraced. This leads to the potentially conflictual character of policy, a potential which grows the greater the number of parties involved, making consensus more difficult to achieve.

From policy as discourse to that of text

It was asked above whether aims must formally precede values. The history of foreign language learning (Part III)

demonstrates how value issues emerge unsystematically from the beliefs entertained by individuals or groups of individuals or interest groups or parties. They become policies when power is gained and the values become authoritative. (Kogan 1985:18)

This suggests that there is an informal stage where values prevail by consensus or disaffection, but that they are not formalised into 'policy' until dissent arises and formal use of power or authority is needed in order to sustain the dominant discourse. This would indicate that policy 'as discourse' does precede that of 'text', though it is not an essential first step towards formal policy. Failure to address the ideological ground on which policy is enacted may, however, invite avoidable conflict. These issues will be relevant to RI1, the apparent lack of coherence or continuity in foreign language learning aims, and RI2 and 3, how any one value becomes dominant.

Parts III and IV will explore the overt issues determining policy, and also the less visible factors which create and sustain 'policy as discourse', that is,

the way in which policy ensembles, collections of related policies, exercise power through a *production* of 'truth' and 'knowledge', as discourses. (Ball 1994:21) (cf Foucault 1977:49)

The latter is particularly significant in the context of communications technology (RI3) which, by enhancing the ability to disseminate views (values) and to reach wider audiences, contributes to the creation of a new orthodoxy (chapter 6).

Aims and outcomes

A final point relating to values in general is the difficulty of distinguishing between intended and actual outcomes (Ball 1994). Realisation of educational outcomes is compounded by the multiplicity and unpredictability of factors involved, so what becomes established over time as practice, may not represent any original objective (hence value). This produces a further obstacle for those seeking to attribute intent and to define policy. It, too, may account for the apparent discontinuity of foreign language 'policy' (RI1).

To summarise the points so far, a policy articulates the aims (intended outcomes) of the policy maker(s), indicating their values. Aims may be unsystematic and unarticulated, representing policy 'as discourse', sometimes as a matter of political ideology, sometimes through apathy, but it will be seen in subsequent chapters that this allows (though does not necessarily use) political manipulation in order to

obfuscate principal values. Once informal consensus breaks down, policies require the backing of stronger degrees of authority or power than those accrued through traditional norms. These have been distinguished from the former by the term 'policy as text.' Policy 'as text' is not necessarily preceded by that 'of discourse.' Policies are not static nor even definable as single entities, since actors will each have their own interpretation of the values and intentions they represent. Formal policy is therefore a crucible for political conflict.

2 Policy and social capital

Part I has established the researcher's affinity with cultural studies and identified five critical factors for exploring change in foreign language 'policy.' One of these is the 'social capital', the dominant value system, of an era. By this is meant

the peculiar 'way of life' of the group or class, the meanings, values and ideas embodied in institutions, in social relations, in systems of belief, in *mores* and customs, in the uses of objects and material life. (Hall and Jefferson 1976:10)

If change in policy reflects differing values (RI1 and 2), it is not only the nature of those values that must be understood. The reasons for that change must also be explored: *why* did it occur? *Whose* values obtain? What gives that person/group *authority or power* for this to happen?

Conflicting values

The researcher takes a critical theorist stance, which perceives change as the result of conflict between competing agents. The conflict derives from differences in their values, as they compete to establish or sustain the 'cultural capital'. For, unlike facts, which are empirically verifiable, values imply an act of subjective commitment. As such, they are likely to conflict with those of others. What is desirable for X may be anathema to Y. How each perceives the issue is a reflection of his individual understanding of the world: a devout Christian would have a different perception of the value of spending curricular time on biblical study from an atheist. There is no objective justification for one value dominating others.

It must nevertheless be borne in mind that, if the co-existence of different value systems inherently risks bringing conflict between adherents, conflict may also be productive:

the clash of values is not necessarily unhealthy or undesirable; indeed, it can be positively fruitful in stimulating a serious re-examination of the premises of belief and commitment. (Garforth 1985:131)

However, this perception is consistent with contemporary notions of democracy, so must be used with caution if the work is to succeed in taking a diachronical approach (chapter 3 above).

In order to validate their views, policy makers may appeal to reason or intuition and employ tactics which range from exchange, bribery and aggression to, at the extreme, physical torture. Again, different tactics will emerge in the historical review of Part III: adherence to a chosen curriculum will be found to have been encouraged indirectly through the examination system (cf Bernstein (1971), through the competition of market forces (e.g. Young 1998, Lawton 1992), to the more

aggressive use of statutory requirement. The agents involved in making policy and the nature of the power or authority they possess will be explored shortly.

First, it should be remembered that the realisation of values is not only conflictual between agents: it may also be so for the individual himself. On occasion, the desired *ends* will demand acceptance even by the decision-maker, of undesirable *means*. A topical example might be where a parent who is politically opposed to the selective system sends his child to a local selective school because the comprehensive schools in his area are deemed 'failing', in order to achieve his aim that the child be 'well' educated. This illustrates what some writers (Kogan 1975, Garforth 1985) have described as a distinction between 'end values' and 'means values', and which the researcher suggests are a manifestation of compromise between pragmatism and ideology.

Individual and society, rights and responsibilities

Another area of potential conflict which must be resolved in establishing 'cultural capital' lies in the respective value of individual and collective interests, and closely related to this, the question of rights and responsibilities.

The above illustration of a failing school serves as a reminder that a decision affecting the *individual* will have repercussions for the *collectivity*. In this instance, if sufficient numbers of individuals boycott the comprehensive school, its ultimate demise is inescapable. To what extent should the needs or desires of the individual take precedence over those of the group? For the 'paradox of freedom' (Popper 1945:225) is that the individual must make choices and these will affect not only himself, but also his community:

among the decisions he must make (under guidance) two are of vital importance: what aspects of his potential to develop (for development is inevitably selective) and what attitude to adopt towards his own self and other selves. (Garforth 1985:96)

This is very pertinent to the state of language learning today: if, as the researcher has proposed in Part I, there are practical disincentives for the nation to learn foreign languages, yet conflicting economic and symbolic reasons are demanding that they do so. Should it be left to the individual sense of responsibility or should a policy be put in place and enforced which requires the individual to learn a foreign language?

How the individual resolves any potential conflict of interests will depend upon his own set of beliefs, his 'philosophy', but his decision will also be constrained by the conventions or laws of his community, by 'the impediments of nature and the constraints of men' (Peters 1966:184) or, as discussed above, by the form of authority or power wielded by the policy makers. When the individual has a sense of responsibility which shares the same values as those of dominant groups, there is no need for resort to formal policy, as noted above, but where values differ, a judgement is necessary on the part of those holding power, and they may need to employ aggressive means to implement it.

It has been argued that, to polarise the distinction between subjectivism and objectivism in this way is 'absurd' and 'ritual' (Bourdieu 1990), but the researcher proposes that there is a fundamental question of *rights* and *responsibilities*: at what point, for example, does the individual's right to refuse to learn foreign languages become an infringement of the rights of his nation to enjoy a symbolically strong

status within the international community? It is a matter for both individual and collective judgement; where views differ, power will determine the winner.

In order to persuade or coerce learning, the policy maker will need to use his authority or power, but the nature of that which he possesses may also temper the aims of policy: he would be unlikely, for instance, to propose a highly controversial policy if he did not have the means to enforce it. To take a contemporary example, it would be foolhardy to introduce compulsory language learning if the nation did not have sufficient 'human capital' in the form of teachers able and willing to deliver it.

How individuals and the nation collectively respond to any policy with which they are not wholly in favour will therefore depend both on a personal sense of responsibility and on the manner in which that policy is enacted: is it by encouragement, coercion or some mixture of the two?

One of the greatest problems for learning is motivation: how, in real terms, can learning be forced upon an individual? In this situation, the more successful route to establishing policy is by changing attitudes, in other words, by creating new cultural norms, a new orthodoxy.

Both power and authority may be used to establish 'policy' but what the researcher is suggesting is that to move from one of 'text' to one of commitment demands winning over 'the hearts and minds' of the public. That may be through developing a preliminary phase of 'policy as discourse', enabling values to become normalised. Indeed, it has been proposed that 'ideology is the prime means of manufacturing consent' (Fairclough 1995:4) to orthodoxies so, before examining the issues surrounding the process of policy making and enactment, clarification should be given of the term 'ideology'.

3 Ideology

If policy derives from, and relies on consent with, a set of values, this implies that it is representative of a view of the world, a philosophical position, an 'ideology'. However, in using the term 'ideology' yet more cautions are triggered. For the notion is itself contentious (Lawton 1992), the term holding no single meaning. Indeed, in order to illustrate the diversity, one writer gives a random list of some contemporary definitions. It is:

- (a) the process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life;
- (b) a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class;
- (c) ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;
- (d) false ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;
- (e) systematically distorted communication;
- (f) that which offers a position for a subject;
- (g) forms of thought motivated by social interests;
- (h) identity thinking;
- (i) socially necessary illusion;
- (j) the conjuncture of discourse and power;
- (k) the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world;

- (l) action-oriented sets of beliefs;
- (m) the confusion of linguistic and phenomenal reality;
- (n) semiotic closure;
- (o) the indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure;
- (p) the process whereby social life is converted to a natural reality.

(Eagleton 1991:1-2)

Clearly, these describe some of the issues raised within this discussion: making meaning of life (a), (f), (k), (o) and (p); relationships between individuals and groups (b), (g), (h); notions of power and its legitimation (c), (d) and (o). Some imply a judgement on the very concept cited: ‘false’ ideas (d), ‘socially necessary’ *illusion* (i), motivated by ‘social *interests*’ (g). Some carry a strong sense of negativity, reminiscent of the associations the word acquired in France once revolutionary zeal wore off during the Napoleonic era. In other words, ‘to characterise a view as “ideological” is already to criticise it, for “ideology” is not a neutral term’ (Thompson 1984:1-2).

To say this is, of course, falling into the very trap of subjective judgement: it is taking a stand for where, in the range of meanings, the writer places himself. For, as Thompson acknowledges, ‘ideology’ may be used in the neutral sense as a description of one’s system of beliefs or, alternatively, as used by ‘critical thinkers’ (e.g. Kellner 1989), it may be linked to a system which sustains ‘asymmetrical relations of power’.

The researcher favours the latter notion, and uses the word ‘ideology’ in the sense of (a) and (f), a set of positions which combine to form an individual’s philosophical stance. However, it has already been seen that she interprets this in terms of power, as conveyed in (c) and (d). So, in examining the values that underpin foreign language policy, she assumes that

Behind any educational enterprise there is an ideological or philosophical force or forces pushing it forward ... schooling and education are always embedded in a set of wider values and although they are often vague, implicit or even contradictory, it is important for us to realise their existence, because to some extent they control and inhibit our freedom of action and inevitably our purpose. (Reid et al. 1994:106)

Degrees of commitment to ideology vary; as has been seen above, it will at times be difficult to distinguish between an ideology based on *laissez-faire* values, as opposed to pure apathy. So, if ‘policies in education have sometimes been so weak that they hardly existed’ (Lawton 1992:21) interpretation of events in such periods (e.g. 18th century England of chapter 11) will be largely subjective, and hermeneutic.

Ideological positions

How individuals interpret the world will naturally impact upon the values they wish to see transmitted, hence ideology is central to the notion of cultural capital.

RI3 focuses upon changing values in the context of technological change, a theme that is explored further in chapter 6. As preparation for that discussion, what are the ideological positions that can be anticipated to lie behind any value but specifically those relating to foreign language learning (as expressed or indicated through policy aims [RI1 and 2])?

Leaving aside positions of religious faith, it is conventional to distinguish between two broad, post-Enlightenment, philosophical traditions: rationalism and empiricism. Part III will reveal the indivisibility of religious and philosophical values, those dependent upon faith and those deriving from scientific methodologies, and their omnipresence in educational policy. The point will be particularly evident in the seventeenth century (chapter 10), when scientific inquiry will be seen both to derive from, and in turn to reinforce, religious belief, polarising religious (and secular) groups.

Rationalism and empiricism are not mutually exclusive; it has even been suggested that

the combination of rationalism and empiricism which is so pronounced in the Puritan ethic forms the essence of the spirit of modern science. (Merton 1968:633)

Nevertheless, a brief reminder of their differences will help appreciation of the competing values that will vie for dominance of the social capital, and of how each leads to different educational assumptions.

The Rationalist Tradition

Descended from Plato, through philosophers such as Descartes (1637), Kant (1803) and Hegel (1953), Rationalists perceive knowledge to be independent of Man's senses, hence independent of the individual. It is accepted that it is beyond the ability of mankind to comprehend the reason for divine creation. There is therefore an acceptance of certain *a priori* 'facts'. Understanding is 'intuitive' or a matter of belief, but, adopting the mathematical model of there being certain 'truths' which cannot be apprehended, absolute moral values are also assumed to exist.

The relevance of such a stance for educational policy is that what is of value is perceived to be timeless, static, and discoverable through the application of rational analysis. The curricular implication of this view is that the transmission of subject knowledge (content) is central since it aims to reproduce social values, the 'cultural capital.' Subjects are accorded inherent value, some being more valued than others. The interests of the collectivity are considered more important than those of the individual; the approach may be exemplified by the National Curriculum (DES 1988) (chapter 13, below), which has been mocked as 'the discourse of derision' (Ball 1994), since

there is no doubt, no compromise, no relativism. This is curricular fundamentalism. Moral positions are clear, absolute and general. (Ball 1994:39)

Rationalist values will be found to underpin the researcher's model of curriculum as Content/Transmission (chapter 7): the subject matter will be determined by the political requirements of reproducing cultural values and social conditions.

The rationalist tradition will be seen throughout Part III to offer one explanation for the retention of Latin long after it had ceased to hold any functional value: the researcher has proposed that its covert aim was that of sustaining social stratification, effected through a process of habituation and supported by the international use of English (section 6 below).

The Empiricist Tradition

By contrast with rationalism, empirical views of the world are typified by Locke's (1692) notion of Man as a *tabula rasa*, having no prior knowledge and whose sole

understanding comes through his experiences – his senses. Contrary to the rationalist position, knowledge is considered to be more personal, and it is only through scientific hypothesising and testing that some degree of consensus can be reached on what is ‘truth.’

Through this scientific approach, knowledge can achieve some objectivity, but it is not static, being open instead to review and development. Dewey (1900) exemplifies the educational application of this tradition. The curriculum is dynamic and changes with the advance of science, and the needs of the individual as well as of the collectivity are addressed through flexibility. Chapter 7 will associate these values with Product/Instrument and Process/Development models of curriculum.

Parts III and IV will show how the Renaissance and subsequent scientific developments put pressure for change on the foreign language curriculum, the assumption being that the form of education should adapt to new needs and changed circumstances. It will be seen that this creates a spiral of developing knowledge and social change, providing evidence for RI3, the relationship between change in foreign language learning and in technology.

Within these two basic philosophical approaches, countless schools of thought have been spawned (see e.g. Kincheloe and McLaren 1994). Together they contribute to the multiplicity of values that may be operative at any one period studied. Integral to all is their perception of ‘truth’, whether this be seen as a matter of faith or for empirical demonstration.

The above chapters have recorded the researcher’s natural alliance with oppositional – or critical – postmodernism, in particular, with the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory (Kellner 1989, Jay 1973). This offers a conflict model of society which supports the analysis of Parts III-V, where functional and symbolic values will be found to be in constant competition, and the interests of the individuals and groups vying with those of local, national and international communities. The researcher has acknowledged that, like these critical theorists, she has a proactive ambition: through analysis of the past, a model for change in the nation’s foreign language learning habits will be proposed (Part V), with a view ‘to take part in a process of critical world making’ (Kincheloe and McLaren 1994:154).

4 Society and the nature of groups

It has been hypothesised that discontinuity of foreign language learning policy (RI1) may reflect actors’ differing expectations (values). Clearly, although ideologies may be more overt at the level of political parties, they obtain for every other group and individual. They are fundamental to the sense of identity each possesses, an issue which therefore has dual significance for the research: it brings together language and political values at both micro and macro levels of society.

Some definition is therefore necessary of who ‘groups’ may be and then of the nature of power (capital) they each possess. The discussion will begin at the collective level of ‘society’ and move inwards to sub-groups.

An immediate contradiction appears between the researcher’s notion of the relativity and subjectivity of ‘reality’ and any attempt to define it. It is a conundrum which she tries to resolve by adopting Bourdieu’s method of ‘objectification of the

objectification'. This requires that the researcher steps back from the situation to pose questions, and then steps out of the act of observation to imagine the situation through the eyes of the participant, with the aim of threading

a dialectal middle way or third path between the thesis and the antithesis of objectivism and subjectivism. (Jenkins 1992: 51)

It is a controversial approach that will provoke accusations of hypocrisy and may satisfy neither objectivists nor subjectivists, inviting the same criticisms as does Bourdieu himself (Grenfell and James 1998).

'Society'

Accepting this difficulty, and ignoring the thatcherite denial of society, it would be a truism to observe that there is no single identity for a '*society*'; there are, however, some common characteristics. A society is suggested to be:

a definite population living together in some kind of organised way within a particular geographical location. A society has some degree of permanence, an anchorage in the past which contributes to its present character and mode of life and gives it the confidence and stability necessary for forward planning. (Garforth 1985:108)

The key issues inherent in this definition are that a society has elements of organisation and permanence, both physically and in an accumulated cultural heritage. How it organises itself will require consideration of the respective rights and responsibilities of its members, which will, in turn, lead to stasis or change. It demands both institutional structures and ideological assumptions in order to reproduce itself or effect change. The means to achieve both ends may be formal or informal, ranging from legislation to custom and ritual, as noted above. It is a point taken up by Peters (1966:174), who suggests that the

concatenation of general empirical conditions makes a limited number of basic rules imperative, the acceptance of which is necessary for any form of social life, man and his environment being what they are. Indeed, acceptance of such rules by a number of individuals almost constitutes a definition of a '*society*'.

But as Bourdieu (1998: 272) reminds readers,

to speak of strategies of reproduction is not to say that the strategies through which dominants manifest their tendency to maintain the status quo are the result of rational calculation or even strategic intent.

This implies that the social group has an identity, evinced through its '*culture*' but the researcher has argued that there is an ongoing competition between subgroups to become dominant, to determine the '*social capital*'. They possess different forms of power making the collectivity

a field of power struggles among the holders of different forms of power, a gaming space in which those agents and institutions possessing enough specific capital (economic or cultural capital in particular) to be able to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields confront each other using strategies aimed at preserving or transforming these relations of power. (Bourdieu 1998:264-5)

Section 5 will explore the nature of power and authority.

Whilst each has its own identity, there is much in common between societies in how they acquire and modify their culture, so, beyond national boundaries, mankind as a whole has a '*psychic unity*' (Bourdieu 1990). The same principles of conflict can be found in each, and it has already been suggested that society has a chiasmatic

structure (Bourdieu 1998: 270) which reproduces the hierarchies of power throughout its macro and microcosmic levels.

As this indicates, a single society is composed of more than its whole and its individual members: it includes infinite types of grouping, which in turn may be formally or informally organised. Part I proposed that these groups and individuals will all possess their own value systems, so, before the nature of the power relations between them is discussed, the definition of some important types of group which will feature in Parts III and IV must be explored. Moving from the macrocosmic level downwards, these include:

'Community'

A *community* has been described as having

many of the features of a society: people, living together, with some degree of organisation, and sharing something in common. A community may come together for some very specific reason, for instance if its members share an ethical ideal or a religious belief which they wish to practise in daily life. (Garforth 1985:109)

According to this definition, a school would be a community, though it is arguable whether all of its members would share a common sense of purpose. Bourdieu (1998: 287) argues that disagreement is ultimately a question of social class, for

the *specific contradiction* of the scholastic mode of reproduction lies in the opposition between the interests of the class that the school serves *statistically* and the interests of the members of the class that it sacrifices.

Chapters 13 and 16 will illustrate the relevance of class distinctions in contemporary times, when functional needs are forcing changed perceptions of the respective value of skills (traditionally associated with the working classes) and of knowledge (assumed, for reasons that will be developed later, to be the preserve of higher social groups).

Family

One particular form of community is the *family*, which can be distinguished thus from society:

a family is a community, albeit a small one, but it is not a society. Families are the basic units of society and its primary instruments of initiation and education. A family is also a group, but of a special kind. (Garforth 1985:110)

But a family is also a form of *group* – for Peters (1966:223), an 'in-group' which, in Hobbesian terms, is the primary source of security for the individual. The family will have its own values, which it will seek to reproduce, but it has traditionally also provided a crucial means of cultural reproduction (Althusser 1971). The changed nature of the 'family' in recent decades has an important bearing on the production of individual and collective senses of identity, a central factor in the researcher's concern with the symbolic value of languages, and in the potential means of social reproduction. The latter is central to issues of collective status, crucial to the researcher's proposals for change in the nation's language learning habits.

Groups

Parts III and IV will examine the relationship between policy and the values embraced by different '*groups*', so what does this term imply?

A general definition proposes that

groups are not necessarily communities, for they do not share a common life or location but simply come together temporarily for a particular purpose. (Garforth 1985:110)

Typically, one might think, for instance, of political parties, religious sects, a debating society, a cookery class: their names and foci vary, as does the degree of social impact they are likely to have, but in all cases, their members have a common interest which brings them together. The influence of political groups, professional associations and industry are just some of the sources of pressure on policy formation, as the historical account of foreign language learning will reveal.

Class

The difficulties of distinguishing between groups and *classes* are well known:

class and culture also belong to the conceptual geography of society; the two concepts are closely related and equally difficult to invest with precise meaning; their boundaries are unclear and overlap between themselves and with other social groupings. (Garforth 1985:110)

It has been suggested that a class exists

when (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances in so far as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income and (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labour markets. (Weber 1948, 180-195)

This definition assumes that a class is associated with the economy and labour markets, with the possession of, at one extreme, property or, at the other, skills to provide services. In the historical account of Part III, such classes would be typified by the 'workers' or the *nouveaux riches*, for whom the value of foreign language learning varies. It will be argued that this distinction derived from an act of 'symbolic violence' which eventually became submerged to result in self-exclusion (Bourdieu 1984) by the working classes (section 6 below).

Affluence is not a wholly reliable indicator of class, and

since style of life depends partly on income and occupation, these two are sometimes taken as indicative of social class, but they are not wholly reliable (Garforth 1985:110),

as the example of the *nouveaux riches* will reveal. Part III will demonstrate the differing educational and foreign language learning needs of this 'class' from those of the nobility with whom they were educated, showing that with the concept of class, there emerge questions of status and power, which cut across affluence. Part V will demonstrate the conflation of social and economic status with a hierarchy of languages.

'Field'

All of the above groupings can be subsumed in a single term: field. For Bourdieu proposes a definition which does not differentiate between groups according to their size or domain. This offers a neat solution where

field is therefore a structured system of social relations at a micro and macro level. In other words, individuals, institutions and groupings, both large and small, all exist in relation to each other in some way. These relationships determine and reproduce social activity in its multifarious forms. (Grenfell and James 1998: 16)

The definition assumes that at both macro and micro levels, 'fields' will be engaged in the same principles of struggle for power, albeit with different impact on the wider community; in other words, this is the fundamental structure of 'chiasma'.

In Bourdieu's terms (1984:317), the struggle is over possession of, and the relationship between, 'temporal and spiritual powers,' which issues will be discussed in the next section. First, a summary of these groupings will be helpful.

It has been suggested in this discussion that the *individual* derives his sense of identity from being both different from others and yet belonging to groups. In the broadest sense, he may be a member of *society*, a group which has a degree of continuity, upheld by formal practices and structures, and generally with a fixed geographical and historical location; within that society, he may belong to any number of *groups*, each of which shares a common interest; he will be seen as a member of a social *class*, based partly upon his form of employment and hence economic status; ideally, he will have enjoyed the nurture of a *family*, which will have initiated him into the practices and values of both its own culture and that of the wider society. An alternative visualisation is to see the world as structured chiasmatically of micro and macro fields.

The research questions are concerned with how, given the diversity of interests embraced by these multifarious 'fields' and individuals, any single policy prevails. What is the nature of influence between actors, and how do the values of any constituency come to determine policy?

At the political level, values may be easily identifiable with specific parties, for, in general, it appears that

the privatisers and minimalists represent views which are predominantly found within Conservative ranks, whilst in the Labour Party the debate has tended to be between pluralists and comprehensive planners [...] there is also some overlap in the middle. (Lawton 1992:20)

But values are also operative at all levels and are central to the researcher's argument that foreign languages have been used for social stratification (RI2) for

there are powerful class factors operating as well: the rich and privileged have traditionally tended to be advocates of order and control without which they might be in danger of losing their property and privileges. (Lawton 1992:13)

Sharing Bourdieu's view that

the struggle over the power to dictate *the dominant principle of domination*, which leads to a constant state of equilibrium in the partition of power, in other words, to a *division in the labour of domination* ... is also a struggle over *the legitimate principle of legitimation* and, inseparably, the legitimate mode of reproduction of the foundations of domination (Bourdieu 1998:265),

section 5 will therefore examine the nature of power itself.

5 Authority and Power

Examples from the world of literature and social experimentation reveal the practical need for regulation in social environments, and the delicate line between this and abuse of the power: W Golding's (1954)¹ shipwrecked children quickly imposed their own rules on their community, which were equally promptly abused and disputed, while a recent television documentary² attempt arbitrarily to divide a random group into 'prisoners' and 'guards' degenerated into such violence that the experiment was terminated prematurely. If human kind is so inherently unruly, what enables regulation (through policy or discourse) ever to succeed?

The answer lies in a spectrum of measures and attitudes stretching from consensus, where authority reigns, to coercion, where power – legitimised or not – is exerted, backed up by legislation and sanctions.

It was suggested above that the most powerful means of achieving ‘consent’ is ideology, and the means to establishing that ideology as the dominant discourse may range from attribution of authority to assumption of power. The distinction between the two processes is that the former entails (passive) acceptance, the latter (active) endorsement.

Authority

Authority

presupposes some sort of normative order that has to be promulgated, maintained, and perpetuated. (Peters 1966:238)

A distinction is made between the ‘authority’ of tradition and that of moral law, but both assume observance of the group’s rules. These are typically enforced by means of legal systems, military bodies and religious communities. The process by which such authority prevails is a complex mix of acceptance of the normative order on the part of the individual, and fear of recourse to coercive power through legal systems and other sanctions. These may also be termed ‘formal’ and ‘actual’ authority, which derive from

a belief in the ‘legality’ of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rule to issue commands. (Weber 1947:300)

At this level, acceptance may be an unconscious process, not necessarily related to any conscious fear of sanctions. Again, Bourdieu can offer insight into the process. He describes the individual’s ‘system of habits’ as their ‘*habitus*’, which both derives from and contributes to the identity of his field:

the relation between the habitus and field operates in two ways. On the one side, it is a relation of conditioning: the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of immanent necessity of a field (or of a hierarchically intersecting set of fields). On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive construction: habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and with value, in which it is worth investing one’s patience’. (Bourdieu 1989: 44)

Authority may be legitimised, then, by the ideology of the individual, who accepts the rights of another to determine the way in which the community is organised. But implicitly, in accepting the rights of another, a distinction in *status* is assumed, which, it is argued, is realised in terms of ‘power’.

It will be recalled that some theorists (e.g. Weber) distinguish between classes on the basis of their economic status, which brings them temporal power; this form of status differs from that reliant upon something symbolic, nevertheless

the place of ‘status groups’ is within the social order, that is, within the sphere of the distribution of ‘honour’. (Weber 1947:223)

Symbolic status is ‘in the main conditioned as well as expressed through a specific style of life,’ (Weber 1947:229) and it may be either inherited or acquired. As noted above, striking examples of these different status groups will be found in eighteenth century England (chapter 11) with the emergence, alongside the landed gentry, of *nouveaux riches* landowners whose affluence enabled them to aspire to common symbols, one of which was to be educated – to know Latin. The difference is

between 'closed' status, that inherited, and 'open' status, that achieved by means of such symbols as qualifications, which exclude non-possessors from the status group. The researcher's model of exclusive and inclusive foreign language learning (figure 1.4) illustrates the distinction, and chapter 11 will show how those with closed status acted to prevent the *nouveaux riches* from gaining entry to their ranks.

Although distinct from one another, classes and status groups can have mutual influence and inform the legal order. This is the result of 'constructive tension' which is

flexibly and creatively responsive on the one hand to social needs, on the other to the individual's urge to self-realisation. (Garforth 1985:137)

Status groups are, nevertheless, socially divisive. Whilst they may remain held in a 'neutral' position, where the possession of status is not 'abusive', groups whose 'superior' position derives from economic or political standing may potentially become abusive, using their 'power' over those not in possession of such wealth or standing. The process is illustrated in the history of foreign language learning (Part III) by the assumed status brought by a classical education, albeit that such education had no practical value. The researcher proposes that languages became a symbolic of status and, after initially restricting access to the subject through an 'act of violence', with the passage of time and the equation of languages with functional need, self-exclusion appeared to operate because foreign languages were not perceived as relevant by or for the working classes (see section 6, below). The fortuitous rise of English to become the international *lingua franca* facilitated this situation.

The process illustrates how status groups gradually become closed *castes* (Weber 1947), which exclude or include members through rituals. Once again, they are not to be confused with 'classes' for castes can cut across economic distinctions:

whereas the genuine place of 'classes' is within the economic order, the place of 'status groups' is within the social order, that is, within the sphere of the distribution of 'honour'. The cast structure transforms the horizontal and unconnected co-existences of ethnically segregated groups into a vertical social system of super- and sub-ordination. (Garforth 1985:137)

The distinction is unnecessary if Bourdieu's notion of 'field' is adopted, where

each has its dominant and its dominated, its struggles for usurpation or exclusion, its mechanisms of reproduction. (Wacquant 1989:41)

In educational terms, status might belong to a closed, professional, group, rituals for entry being the possession of certain qualifications or types of knowledge. The historical account of Latin learning again provides a good example: until late in the twentieth century, qualification in this language was a prerequisite for entry to university. Since the grammar schools and their equivalents were the only institutions teaching the subject, and since access to the grammar schools was largely restricted to the middle classes, working class children were effectively excluded from breaking in to the highly educated 'caste' (chapter 13). This is typical of unconscious self-exclusion as custom gradually ingrains the level of expectation and aspiration (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), concealing the original act of political 'violence'. The focus is on functional value thus perpetuating the exclusion it brings. The research will trace the evolution of a hierarchy in language learning which

functions in parallel to that of socio-economic status, producing what she has termed 'a linguistic divide.'

The class/caste distinction, with its economic/skill versus symbolic/knowledge focus, is also found within the tripartite secondary modern/technical/grammar school system. In practical terms, the distinction is manifest in the polarisation of aims as 'training' or 'education', functional or liberal education, as will be seen in Part III, but the effect of specialism is to constrain the possibility of social mobility, whilst justifying this on grounds of 'fitness for task'. This will be seen to be supported by the struggle for academic status that occurs between different forms of 'knowledge', bringing professionals into an implicit alliance with those upholding traditional values.

This leads to a final point regarding authority, before the discussion moves on to consider the nature of power: the term 'authority' may also denote expertise in a particular area. In this instance, expertise is symbolic of status and recalls the assertion that 'reputation of power is power' (Hobbes). The educational implications of this are clear: the teacher's authority will lie both in his being assumed to possess special knowledge, as well as in the assumptions of respect that were once associated with his role. Those who possess this form of authority fit Garforth's (1985:126) dual definition of 'elites': "'elite" can be interpreted either as "most able, most skilled" or as "privileged and exclusive" in terms of power.' But even here, distinctions in status exist, and a hierarchy of knowledge is perceived (Jenkins 1992:152), with traditional subjects at the apex. This will be seen to obtain between languages, Latin retaining a higher status than modern languages, despite its lesser practical value, again reflecting the notion of chiasmatic structure.

The last paragraph twice refers to assumptions; this is a vital element of authority, for without an acceptance of the rules and the right of those charged with maintaining them so to do, authority breaks down. Hence the researcher's words 'once associated with': in contemporary England, many would assert that the traditional authority of teachers and other professionals is fast disappearing because other actors are no longer compliant. This is significant for the discussion of cultural reproduction, since it disempowers one of the traditional mechanisms for achieving that continuity (Althusser 1971), the educational system.

Already, definitions of *authority* are straying into the territory of *power*. How, then, do the two differ?

Power

Power essentially entails two elements, one ideological, the other operational. As used here, 'ideology' accords with Eagleton's (1996) definitions (c) and (f) (section 4, above):

- Ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power, and
- That which offers a position for a subject.

It was acknowledged above that freedom cannot be absolute unless all individuals share a common system of values, a utopian ideal that is patently unrealistic. It therefore follows that, in the interests of the collectivity, some degree of regulation is necessary, and

no society can allow unrestricted freedom to its members; freedom requires structure; environmental control requires a central authority. (Garforth 1985:165)

In other words, society needs procedures, together with sanctions for dealing with those who reject its norms, who do not share its ideology. The former may derive from social ideals, values, but these are by definition subjective. Values are therefore not neutral, but imply relations of power.

It has been suggested that

'Power' basically denotes ways in which an individual subjects others to his will by means of physical coercion (e.g. infliction of pain, restriction of movement), or by psychological coercion (e.g. withholding food, water, shelter, or access to means of attaining such necessities), or by the use of less dire forms of sanction and rewards (e.g. by manipulating access to material resources and rewards, sexual satisfaction, etc.), or by personal influences such as hypnotism or sexual attraction. (Peters 1966:239)

In benign terms, this recalls what has just been described as symbolic power and authority, where the exercise of such privilege is relatively uncontentious. However,

power, including economic power, may be valued 'for its own sake', very frequently the striving for power is also conditioned by the social power it entails (Weber 1948:211),

hence the potential arises for the pursuit of power to become abusive. As Bourdieu (1998: 265) observes,

no power can be satisfied with existing just as power, that is, as brute force, entirely devoid of justification – in a word, arbitrary – and it must thus justify its existence, as well as the form it takes.

Whether operationalised as power or authority, the phenomenon that this derives from is 'capital.' Capital is defined as

the social products of a field or system of relations through which individuals carry out social intercourse. (Grenfell and James 1998: 18)

Bourdieu identifies three forms of capital, which have already been alluded to in this work: they are

Economic, Social and Cultural. Economic Capital is literally money wealth: it can be 'cashed' in any part of society. Social Capital exists as a 'network of lasting social relations' ... Cultural Capital is the product of education, which B also often refers to as an 'academic market', and it exists in three distinct forms: connected to individuals in their general educated character – accent, dispositions, learning etc; connected to objects – books, qualifications, machines, dictionaries etc; and connected to institutions – places of learning, universities, libraries etc. (Grenfell and James 1998: 20-21)

Knowledge, too, is a form of capital

because, as a symbolic product of social fields, it has consequences which are more than simply symbolic; it 'buys' prestige, power, and consequent economic positioning. (Grenfell and James 1998: 22)

The history of foreign language learning will illustrate this through the symbolic and functional roles languages have been expected to play.

Parts III and IV will seek to identify the dominant forms of capital in each period, and the impact of these on foreign language learning, assuming that

the field of power is a field of forces structurally determined by the state of the relations of power among forms of power, or different forms of capital. It is also, and inseparably, a field of power struggles among the holders of different forms of power, a gaming space in which those agents and institutions possessing enough specific capital (economic or

cultural capital in particular) to be able to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields confront each other using strategies aimed at preserving or transforming these relations of power. The forces that can be enlisted in these struggles, and the orientation given to them, be it conservative or subversive, depend on what might be called the 'exchange rate' (or 'conversion rate'). (Bourdieu 1998: 264/5)

6 Strategies for assuming or maintaining power

The writer begins from the assumption that a society's primary aim is to maintain itself, whilst allowing for some change and development – an assumption which is recognised to be arguable – but how can this be achieved? For

the permanence ... does not just happen; it has to be sustained and protected by deliberate effort. In advanced societies this is achieved partly by devising a formal constitution and machinery of government; once established these are difficult to change and they endure beyond the lives of individuals. They are summed up in the concept of the state or body politic, which is an expression of a society's will to maintain itself and exercise authority over its members. In simpler societies ritual and custom, rigidly upheld and passed on through the generations, serve the same purpose. (Garforth 1985:108)

The concern of this section is with the nature of machinery and strategies employed to ensure 'the reproduction of the conditions of production' (Marx 1955:209), both practical and ideological.

For to function, the community requires not only a skilled labour force which will serve society's economic and administrative needs, but also a socially conditioned people, who will observe the values of the collectivity; it is the role of the 'machinery' to ensure that these structures and attitudes are in place, that the 'cultural capital' is reproduced.

Within each field, the same processes will operate. It is crucial to reproduction that everyone appears to have freedom to make choices. So,

it appears as if everyone is free to play, everything is negotiable. If it were not, the 'rules' of the games themselves would not be accepted. Everyone plays, but differential structures ensure that not everyone is equal. This *misrecognition* is an essential component of the legitimate and the social processes described. (Grenfell and James 1998: 25)

The earlier discussion of values and ideology has focused on what may be described as 'the objective of state power' (Althusser 1971) but there are many institutional structures for achieving it - in Althusser's terms, these are 'Ideological State Apparatuses' (ISAs). They are tasked with establishing/maintaining the dominant value system, and include the family, religious, educational, political and legal systems and institutions.

As has been seen, power can be maintained by gaining collective acceptance of values or, where consent is lacking, these institutions can fall back on the threat and use of sanctions:

Ideological State Apparatuses function massively and predominantly *by ideology*, but they also function secondarily by repression, even if ultimately, and only ultimately, this is very attenuated and concealed, even symbolic. (Althusser 1971:254)

It follows that, in order to control the ideology of a society, control of the ISAs is necessary. An illustration of this will be found in the Crown's need for a formal Church of England in order to move the country away from Roman Catholic to Protestant values (chapter 10). This is not to imply that agents were consciously

acting in this way (see section 6, below). The researcher does, though, suggest that there are some apparently eternal human tactics.

The reason why the ISAs themselves must be controlled lies in the potential power they wield. There is clearly a danger that they may not all share the same values as the ruling body. Hence arises the potential for conflict between them and with the ruling body. Division can be both disadvantageous and advantageous to the dominant orthodoxy. At the level of foreign language 'policy', chapter 12 will discover how the multiplicity of new linguistic theories in nineteenth century England prevented any one of them from becoming sufficiently powerful to challenge traditional values and practice.

Exchange

Despite the possibility of conflict, if individuals or groups have a commodity which is of essential value to the community, they, too, are in a position of power and can enter into *negotiation*. Such will be seen to be the position of education, whether the system is required for ideological transmission or for training in the skills needed for economic purposes.

How the struggle is resolved will be determined by the nature of resources held and their value to the dominant group. If one party has a commodity valued by the ruling group, and that group is willing to exchange a resource desired by the holder of the commodity in order to acquire it, a process of bartering can obtain which is not conflictual at the level of exchange, though, in the field of education, the commodity 'bought' may not be that desired by the 'client' (learner). A ready example is that of eighteenth and nineteenth century England (chapters 11 and 12), where Latin is the commodity offered to clients, contrary to their desire for 'modern' subjects. As before, the significance of such differing values will relate to RI2, functional aims, and it will be seen that a growing source of political and economic power derives from technological development (RI3).

Capital therefore has a 'purchasing power' in a market of social activity. Similarities will be found between the conflict model invoked hitherto and exchange theory (Archer 1985, Blau 1964). Although they use different terminology, theorists have overlapping perceptions. Where one conceptualises a chiasmatic structure wherein fields

may be drawn into fundamentally ambiguous and unstable alliances – such as those that develop between the dominated (relatively speaking) in the field of power and the dominated in the larger social fields. (Bourdieu 1998:271)

the other talks of resource holders being

superimposed, homogeneous and united, or they may be unlike one another, mutually antagonistic and in pursuit of independent goals. (Archer 1985:47)

Exchange: change

The difference between exchange and change lies in the degree of formal power the dominant group needs to exert in order to achieve or maintain its status.

Dependent upon the nature of this exchange, relations will range from those founded on trust to others responding to fear, implicitly reflecting the nature of authority or power involved. But, sometimes, unanticipated alliances may be found (Bourdieu 1998:271).

This will be demonstrated when, in the seventeenth century (chapter 10), the boundaries of class and international frontiers were superseded by the higher priority of groups' shared religious values as, for example, when Protestant utilitarianism brought together individuals and groups across Europe.

Exchange and conflict offer an explanation for policy being incremental (RI1), if policy makers are responsive to the competing demands of different groups in a 'market'. The approach assumes that values and needs are socially determined, not fixed, so rates of exchange will vary over time and between places. What rates as valuable has no intrinsic advantage

capital is arbitrary but has power through the recognised value field participants give it.
(Grenfell and James 1998: 25)

What is the relevance of this for the research? In less abstract terms, the actors involved in the market addressed here include:

- professional groups
- interest groups
- political groups.

Each will possess different forms of capital.

Professional groups

That owned by the teaching profession has already been touched upon at various points in the discussion: it is teachers' expertise, their authority deriving from specialist knowledge. So long as the expertise they possess is valued or needed by the ruling group, whether this be as a means of developing vocational skills, hence addressing the practical needs of the economy, or whether it lies in their ability to transmit the cultural values of the community, teachers have a bargaining power. What, though, is the nature of the commodity they seek in exchange? This can be either financial or symbolic, as represented by award of rights or status. Traditionally though, and still today, a notion of professional commitment obtains, whereby low pay is deemed to be counterbalanced by academic prestige.

But this in turn leads to a hierarchy within the field. As Parts III and IV will reveal, 'academic capital' is seen as descending from 'abstract knowledge' down to 'skills', leading to what the researcher has referred to in Part I as 'institutionalised academicism' (McGuigan 1997). There will therefore be a struggle within the professional community for dominance of sub-groups' preferred notion of academe.

Interest groups

The nature of exchange available between interest and dominant groups is different, though it, too, lies in two sources: for the former

it is possible to distinguish between the legitimised and the non-legitimised, or non-accepted, pressure groups. The legitimised groups are those which have an accepted right to be consulted by government and by local authorities, and by public organisations concerned with education such as universities, before policies are authorised. (Kogan 1975: 75)

Such groups must, of course, 'be able to evade or overcome any political resistance to these transactions taking place.' (Archer 1985:45)

A contemporary example might be that of industry pressing for more vocational education, and exchanging resources in the form of sponsorship for specialist

schools. This is politically acceptable since it produces workers who will enhance the nation's economy, and it supplements the government's financial role as educational provider. Industry, in return, buys the right to contribute to policy making in the schools, and will hope to produce the workforce necessary for its own profitability. Once more, though, the potential for learner disaffection must be recognised and no guarantee can be offered that aims will be realised.

Political groups

Finally comes political bargaining, which has emerged repeatedly in this discussion: it may be achieved through the consensual authority invested in the ruling party, or it may be reliant upon aggressive means, enforcing compliance through the threat or use of negative sanctions. The process is described as

the ability of political authorities to manipulate wealth and status aspects of power itself. Power partly consists in the capacity to withhold benefits, and two of the most important of these as far as education is concerned are the financial resources it receives from central and local government, and the status conferred on its practitioners, processes and products through formal approbation. (Archer 1985:46)

Part III will find examples of each of these tactics. Whichever process is involved, be it exchange of resources or imposition of power, a case may be argued for describing the situation as abusive. References have been made in earlier discussion to 'symbolic violence' which, in Bourdieu's terms, represents imposition of the 'cultural arbitrary', leading, over time, to creation of the '*habitus*'. The sequence of circumstances leading to this is:

(a) objective *conditions of existence* combine with *position* in social structure to produce (b) the *habitus*, 'a structured and structuring structure', which consists of (c) a 'system of schemes *generating* classifiable practices and works' and (d) a 'system of schemes of perception and appreciation' or *taste*, which between them produce (e) 'classifiable *practices and works*,' resulting in (f) a *life-style*, 'a system of classified and classifying practices' i.e. distinctive signs'. (Jenkins 1992:141-2)

The process is described as one of 'violence' because of the way in which the system and meaning are imposed: groups and classes are led to perceive these as legitimate since they appear to be founded on notions of equality of opportunity, and to offer the potential for social mobility. In reality, Bourdieu claims, they conceal their manipulative nature and merge notions of privilege and merit. Ultimately, this produces the self-selection discussed above, whereby

the weight of cultural heredity is such it is here possible to possess exclusively without even having to exclude others, since everything takes place as if the only people excluded were those who excluded themselves. (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990: 27)

This results in situations where 'absolute dispossession excludes awareness of being dispossessed (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990: 210). The argument underpins the researcher's contention that the English nation has become so accustomed to being monolingual that it does not recognise the poverty this entails. This provides an explanation for the apparently consensual norm within which a minority has been able to monopolise language learning and the symbolic privileges this has brought. The result appears to be self-exclusion from the market (Bourdieu 1991), but can also be interpreted as the consequences of an initial abuse of power.

*

The role of technology is central to the researcher's interest in the change process, and in fluctuations between change and exchange. What is the direction of influence: is it responsible for triggering the differing value systems (determinist) or is it developed and employed as a result of changed value systems (instrumental)? The research has made claims for the relationship between technology and foreign language learning which compare with those previously made for that between technology and English learnt as a foreign language: it

is best understood not only as a tool for language learning, but also more broadly as a tool for individual and social development. (Warschauer 2002b)

The difference is that, where the latter is proposed in the context of a digital divide, the researcher makes her proposal in the context of a 'linguistic divide'.

Chapter 6 will now return to the five key factors (table 1.1) which have been found to have significance in sustaining or obviating such social divides.

¹ Golding, W 1954 *Lord of the Flies*

² BBC May 1992 *The Experiment*

CHAPTER 6

TECHNOLOGY AND CHANGE

1 Introduction

RI3 proposes that technology has provided apparent pedagogical instruments for foreign language learning, which may increase motivation and improve learning outcomes. It has been suggested in chapter 3 that responding to the need for greater linguistic competence in England is undermined by centuries of conditioning into a position of general monolingualism, aided by the international role of English. Chapter 5 has described the process of 'symbolic violence' and habituation that, the researcher argues, has led to this situation.

The process was facilitated by a skewed focus on the practical value of foreign languages, and ignores the symbolic aspects of language. Chapter 5 ended with the assertion that technology is a major source of the present need for greater linguistic competence, but that there is a two-way relationship between technological and social change. Chapter 6 will therefore explore the possible directions of influence - instrumental and determinist - before the principles of social and technological change are applied to the subject specific level of curriculum and foreign language learning (chapter 7).

The discussion returns to the question of a 'language divide', and the proposed similarity between the 'digital divide' and 'linguistic divide' that have appeared as technology has 'advanced'. Before this hypothesis can be explored, thereby addressing RI3, functional and symbolic values, two further terminological precisions are required: the use of the word 'advance' and the distinction between science and technology.

By the former, the researcher is not making a value judgement on successive forms of technology. The term 'advance' is used in a purely chronological sense.

In respect of science and technology, although the distinction between them is blurred, the two should not be confused:

in spite of some efforts to tie the Industrial Revolution to the Scientific Revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the link would seem to have been an extremely diffuse one: both reflected a heightened interest in natural and material phenomena and a more systematic application of empirical searching. Indeed, if anything, the growth of scientific knowledge owed much to the concerns and achievements of technology; there was far less flow of ideas or methods the other way; and this was to continue to be the case well into the nineteenth century. (Landes 1969:61)

Furthermore, if there is a close connection between the two, there is no single direction of development or influence. As has already been suggested, the process of change is accepted here to be a spiral within which expanding knowledge and technology trigger further ideological change and the conditions in which more technology and scientific understanding can grow. It will also be found (e.g. in chapter 14, case study 1 [Comenius]), that an 'invention' may, in fact, already have been 'invented' by predecessors in the same or other fields, but that the latest stage of development sees it emerge definitively as a new innovation.

2 Perspectives on technology and social change

To investigate RI3, the functional and ideological roles of technology in relation to foreign language learning, the question of cause and effect must be confronted: does technology mould society (hence educational policy) or is it moulded by social (including educational) policy? There are two principal perspectives on this.

The determinist perspective

From the *determinist* view-point (e.g. Ebersole 1995), technology is imbued with certain values and is supported by organisational and social structures, so it will inevitably affect society. The perspective is illustrated by technological developments in the late twentieth century, when industrial use of ICTs has created different educational needs; the relationship is complex, as these very technologies reflect assumptions (new *values*) that workers will be flexible and will be working in different locations, possibly distant from one another (i.e. new institutional and social *structures* are required).

The overt consequence of technological change for education is that vocational preparation, training in skills, becomes more important than education for personal development and than education of a non-practical, liberal, form (Finegold and Soskice 1988, Ball 1998). As the discussion of Parts III and IV will reveal, this distinction is the source of conflict within the field of languages, throwing up hierarchies which mirror those of other macrocosmic and microcosmic levels.

The determinist approach therefore interprets ideological change (in education, society and other contexts) as being *technology led*. The production of instruments is followed by change in social values.

The instrumentalist perspective

In contrast to this, the *instrumentalist* perspective sees technologies as 'pure instrumentality' (Feenberg (1991)). An illustration from the history of foreign language learning is offered by the advent of sound recording and development of language laboratories (chapters 12 and 13). From an instrumental stance, the aims of foreign language learning already aspired to develop oral and aural skills but, until these new technologies provided the means of doing this, the focus of language learning remained grammatical and writing-based.

In other words, here, the curricular aims preceded technological development, hence technological use was *curriculum led*: ideology had changed before the technology existed to realise it. However, this does not happen in a linear, automatic, process: the history of foreign language pedagogy will reveal the conflictual nature of establishing change when subgroups did not share the same values.

At the broader level of society, it is the cultural capital that creates the ideological and structural conditions for producing new technology. But, just as within the academic field at large, tensions and struggles will exist between competing values and readiness to take the risks entailed in accepting change within the field of foreign languages.

The difference between instrumental and determinist perspectives can be attributed, then, to the assumed order of cause and effect, but the researcher argues that the two are more readily understood as a spiral of interaction. At both stages, questions of responsibility are raised.

Technology and neutrality

For the opposition of these two alternative conceptions of cause and effect invites discussion of the neutrality of technology: is it that ‘instruments are neutral; the uses they are put to depend on the values of those who wield them’ (Garforth 1985:133)? Does responsibility for the positive or negative results of technology lie with the individual or group who develops or employs it? Again, interpretations are subjective, deriving ultimately from personal ‘ideology.’

A recent example of this subjectivity of judgement is provided by Clarke (2001), who describes the ‘downsides’ of the digital era: sub-contracted tele-working; undermining of intellectual property; and difficulties of censorship control. Clearly, these same factors would represent its ‘upsides’ for many people, enabling them, for example, to work where and when they choose. Perhaps a more appropriate perception is that ‘technology is neither inherently good nor bad, neither is it neutral’ (Warschauer 2001a: 311), a claim which Warschauer illustrates through the unpredictable development of the Internet in Singapore.

Nevertheless, the arrival of new technology, or the potential consequences that developing new technology may hold, both pose an inherent threat to existing orthodoxies, as Clarke’s example shows. There will be those who are willing to embrace change, and those who fear the unknown effects it will have on their way of life. This is a matter of both personal and collective judgement and will therefore require a political decision at both levels.

The discussion return to the question of conflict between values, and the forms of power and authority which will be invoked in order to determine the collective ‘policy’ on technology. From the perspective of critical theory,

the more technologically complex and socially differentiated the society, the more fields – “relatively autonomous social microcosms” – there will be. (Jenkins 1992:85).

Which of these fields are important to a study of values and foreign language learning?

As Part I has argued, from this stance, there is no single or ‘correct’ answer to the question. A study of this sort seeks not to prove cause and effect but to examine the relationships that are involved in the process of change. This resembles the distinction some make between the ‘direct causes’ and ‘causal conditions’ of change (Thomas and Kobayashi 1987). Any choice of factors to study will be but a ‘convenience of analysis’ (Thomas 1987:11).

3 Technology and a linguistic divide

Chapter 1, table 1.1 introduced the factors that had emerged through the researcher’s reading as critical to her perception of a ‘linguistic divide’ based upon access to foreign language learning. They were found to correspond with those identified by the sociolinguist, Mark Warschauer (2001b), in his discussion of the ‘digital divide.’ They are:

- physical access
- content
- human capital

- social capital
- institutional structures

Warschauer explains how these factors can be manipulated so that technology either creates/sustains social divisions (in his discussion, the digital divide) or serves as a source of social equalising:

on the one hand, each of the 5 factors is a *contributor* to effective use of ICTs ... On the other hand, each of these factors is a result of effective use of ICTs ... if used well, these factors can thus serve as a virtual circle of providing social development and equality. (Warschauer 2001b)

If the term 'digital divide' is replaced with 'foreign language learning, the researcher's 'linguistic divide' can be more easily understood. The principle has already be touched upon in the course of this discussion when, for instance, it was suggested that the Latin curriculum could be manipulated to induce self-exclusion by those who would not need the subject for their vocational occupations. However, through the process of unconscious association of language functions, the institutions where they are taught, and the socio-economic status of those attending a given type of institution, social divisions are perpetuated (an important issue for RI3). The danger of increasing access to foreign language learning is effectively that 'division' is turned into 'inclusion', hence the question becomes highly political.

Before the evidence to support this assertion is examined, some discussion is needed of the five significant factors. This was begun in chapter 5, where values and social capital have been probed, but what of the remaining factors? As this chapter will reveal, they are highly iterative and it is difficult to separate their interaction.

The principles of technological/digital divide serve as a model for its suggested linguistic counterpart. But in using the conception of a divide, Warschauer himself points to some problematic issues. Perhaps the greatest of these is the danger of polarising society into those who have and those who do not have access (to IT or to foreign languages). Part III will, however, show that there are gradations of access, which will be examined within the micro and macropolitical levels of society.

In his more recent work (2002c), Warschauer has moved away from concentration on the 'divide' occurring as technology advances, to a more proactive position: he takes the five factors and seeks ways of using them to redress the divide, in other words, to flatten social hierarchies. This is clearly reminiscent of the researcher's model of inclusiveness (figure 1.4). The two writers have apparently come separately to a common appreciation of the potential of technology for enhancing social equality as well as of undermining it. Both, though, are drawn to political positions which will be unpalatable to some readers.

What, then, is the significance of their shared key factors?

4 Access

Just as access to technology is multi-aspectual, so is that to foreign language learning. To restrict the issues to merely physical access is simplistic: access depends upon economic means, as well as upon assumptions of value. The latter are both the individual's ascriptions of relevance to him, and the dominant group's perception of who should have access to the subject.

A comparison may be made with the 'literacy divide' which has been traced back to the advent of printing (e.g. McLuhan 1962, Eisenstein 1979). The repercussions are well known:

the multifaceted nature of literacy, the range of resources it requires, and the social nature of its practice and mastery all point to conclusion that the acquisition of literacy is a matter not only of cognition, or even, of culture, but also of power and politics. (Warschauer 2002c)

Similarly, Part III will demonstrate how, as technology and science advanced, attempts were made in seventeenth century England to control who had access to the knowledge mediated by the printed word, by using Latin as the language of higher levels of information. The research argues that restriction of access to such knowledge was intended to curtail social change, though, as will become apparent, other factors over-rode this and change did occur both in the language of mediation and in social relations.

Nevertheless, it will be suggested that the need for knowledge of Latin in order to access higher learning was politically manipulated so as to produce an illusion of choice and self-exclusion (chapter 5, section 6), whereby the dispossessed are ignorant of their dispossession and so 'the process of cultural reproduction reproduces the class relations of the social structure' (Jenkins 1992:113).

5 Content

As the last point implies, access is closely related to content. Chapter 10 will reveal attempts to restrict the range of information available once the printed word opened the way for widespread acquisition of knowledge and participation in debate. As literacy grew, the role of Latin in supporting social exclusion was vital. In the event, prescription of texts and control of the formal curriculum proved to be no match for the potential of the new technology (the printed word) to breach defined boundaries and contribute to/benefit from, the changing social environment, showing the immense power of technology to effect social change.

Which language is used for information transmission straddles issues of access and content. The language chosen and precise form taught (e.g. grammar, or literature) is inextricable from the question of aims (social capital): is it designed to provide for practical use (skills) or does it have a more esoteric value, such as informing the image of a gentleman? The distinction lies between being a practical tool (what will be described in chapter 7 as Product/Instrument aims) and being a symbol of identity (characteristic of what will be termed Process/Development forms of education).

Parts III and IV will show how the different aims become implicitly associated with different languages, with the mother tongue being the medium for development of cultural values (through a Content/Transmission model of education [chapter 7]), and access to a foreign language decreasing according to socio-economic status.

RI3 proposes that the potential exists for functionality to be played off against symbolic aims. It has been seen in the last chapter how self-exclusion will operate if individuals do not perceive any personal value in knowing foreign languages. It has been argued that, since exclusion prevents access to higher forms of employment, it reproduces social hierarchies. For this reason, the foreign language curriculum can be manipulated so that the language offered and form of language taught deter groups

from seeing its relevance, leading them to apparent self-exclusion, thereby concealing a political act of 'violence'.

Part V will draw together the evidence and explain how access to foreign languages became conflated with functional aims, and how in time associations were formed between those who had access to them, their socio-economic status as represented by their institution, and specific languages.

This state was not contentious until recent years, since there was no obvious need for England to operate an inclusive model of language learning. Exclusive access to foreign languages silently sustained the internal social hierarchy of England, and there was no functional need for the nation to learn foreign languages given the rise of English to international *lingua franca*.

However, following a similar process to that where political and economic factors created an expansion in printed texts, and hence reductions in the 'literacy divide', so, too, have ICTs expanded access to new forms of knowledge. They have found new markets in the 'third world,' with the result that now both the range of languages used and the content of available material have increased (chapter 2). Changing power relationships have emerged as:

centralisation gave way to dispersion, and hierarchy and authority were challenged. Supplier power migrated from the manufacturers of large computers (in particular, IBM) to the providers of software for small computers (primarily Microsoft). (Clarke 2001, 2.1)

This produces a potential tension between the economic needs of a nation, pushing for change, and fear of the social repercussions of that change.

It will be argued that changes in the world, as globalisation was effected through these new technologies, are forcing a new sense of collective identity. It will no longer be acceptable for England to retain its exclusive approach to language learning if the nation is to function practically (proactively) in the wider world, and to send the symbolic message of its willingness to be an equal member of that community. The question for the nation is to balance its internal hierarchical identities against the functional needs of the nation, reliant in part upon the identity it projects externally.

6 Human capital and social capital

If language learning is to be turned from a divisive into an inclusive model, it needs human capital of two sorts: those willing to learn languages and those able to teach them. The discussion cannot easily divorce human from social capital, since they both depend on values: at the levels of the individual, group and collectivity, the same principles are operative, albeit with differing degrees of importance for the collectivity.

Language and individual identity

The researcher's fundamental argument is that technology involves change and that this is threatening at all levels of society because it alters the relationship of power between parties and hence their identity. Change at any one level will have repercussions for all others. The example of literacy illustrates this point:

at the macro-level, mass literacy and education serve to grease the wheels of economic development and thus create conditions for the greater technologisation of society (Warschauer 2001b)

From the perspective of the national economy, and from that of certain industrial groups, widespread literacy was therefore desirable; for the individual it was valuable, since it brought both greater enlightenment and a skill which might alter vocational choices. However, widened popular literacy was implicitly threatening to existing internal relationships between the classes: enlightened individuals would be less susceptible to arbitrary regulation and their personal aspirations and sense of identity would change with growing education. There was therefore an inherent conflict between the nation's economic needs and its 'social capital', its beliefs and identity as a hierarchical society.

Clearly, literacy did not bring overnight change to the nation's identity and social relationships; this occurred incrementally and not without a struggle on the part of both reformers and conservators. One defence mechanism available to the latter was to control access to the potential source of threat, which has already been illustrated through the way in which Latin was used as the medium of texts (see also chapter 10). Language was thus brought in as an early tool in defending existing relationships, social identities.

The same processes can be seen in the growth of the 'linguistic divide'. As Parts III-V will show, different languages became associated with specific socio-economic groups, with the result that an unconscious symbolisation grew. Within the nation, foreign languages were retained as a minority subject, leaving the majority of the nation monolingual. The researcher has visualised this in figure 1.4, which is reproduced below. The arrows show the restriction of outward communication to the minority of bilinguals, represented by the red area.

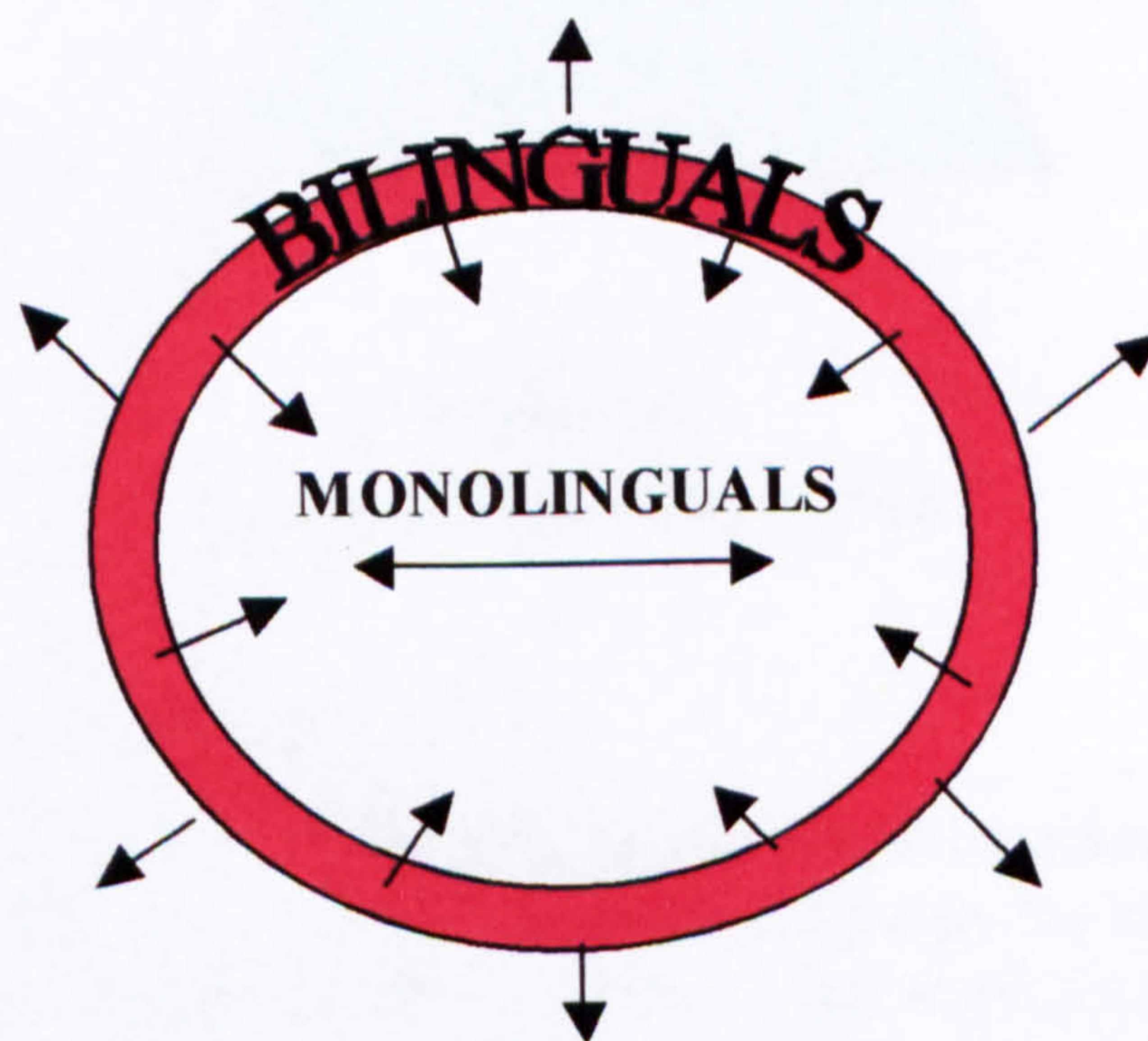


Figure 2.1

Restricted access to foreign languages

However, as Parts III and IV will reveal, the red area is more complex than figure 2.1 suggests. In effect, it represents a hierarchy of foreign languages which not only relegates the majority of the nation to monolingual status, but has within it further gradations.

This is typical of society's (and the world's) chiasmatic structure, wherein local fields are engaged in the same struggles for power as operate at national and international levels. Chapter 17 will explain how this linguistic hierarchy operated and its correspondence with socio-economic status.

If the hierarchy is viewed from a different dimension, the principles become more visible. Figure 2.2 illustrates the model that will be developed in chapter 17. The languages (shown as red in figure 2.1) are now differentiated by colour (blue = classics, red = modern languages, turquoise = English). At the apex lie classical languages, but they are available only to a minority of the population. For reasons of assumed functionality, it will be seen how they become associated with higher socio-economic groups, and so on inversely down through modern language access to monolingualism.

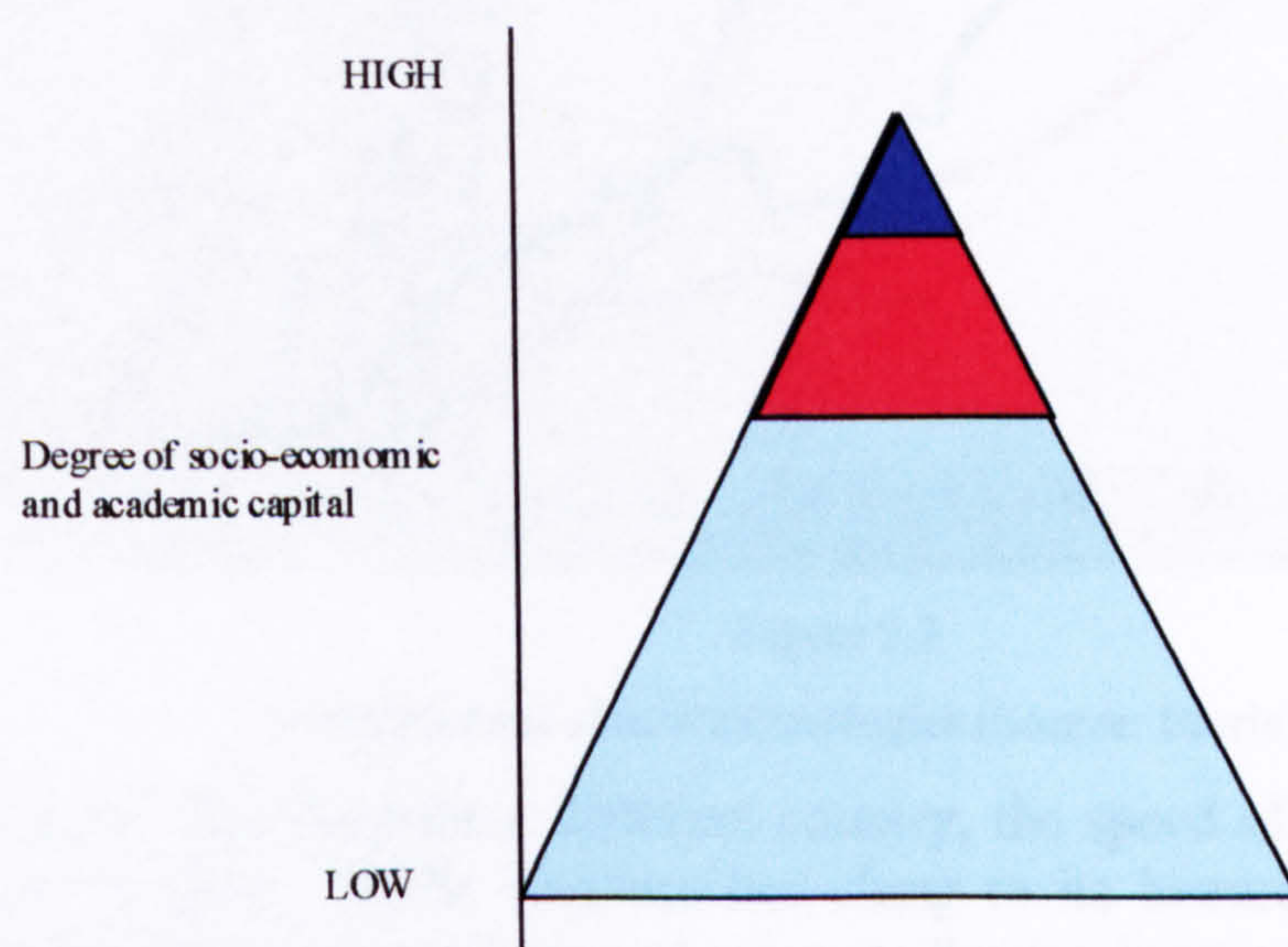


Figure 2.2

Linguistic identities within England

Language and national identity

But whilst this differentiation of linguistic access sustained internal hierarchies, the nation also had an external role to play, and here language, the mother tongue, is an important element of national identity. Chapter 2 has outlined the political events that underlie the emergence of a *lingua franca*: originally this stemmed from military power, whereas today economic strength is the driving force behind changes in international relationships.

So, at the macrocosmic, national, level of identity, the same principles of threat and advantage are duplicated as technology expands. ICTs and the Internet have impacted on relationships within communities but also between them, just as did literacy, but the scale of this is magnified. As technologies have developed, the range and speed of physical access possible has increased: within the writer's own lifetime, sea travel has been replaced by that of air, predominantly national radio has been superseded by national TV, global TV and recently the Internet.

The rate of change has been studied within the USA (Dresdner Kleinwort Benson 1999). Figure 2.3 illustrates some of these findings. It shows that where, for instance, it took 120 years for cars to be owned by 60% of households, it took only 20 years for PCs to become established in 35% of households, whilst the Internet suddenly spiralled from being a rarity to the norm for around 22% of homes within the space of two years.

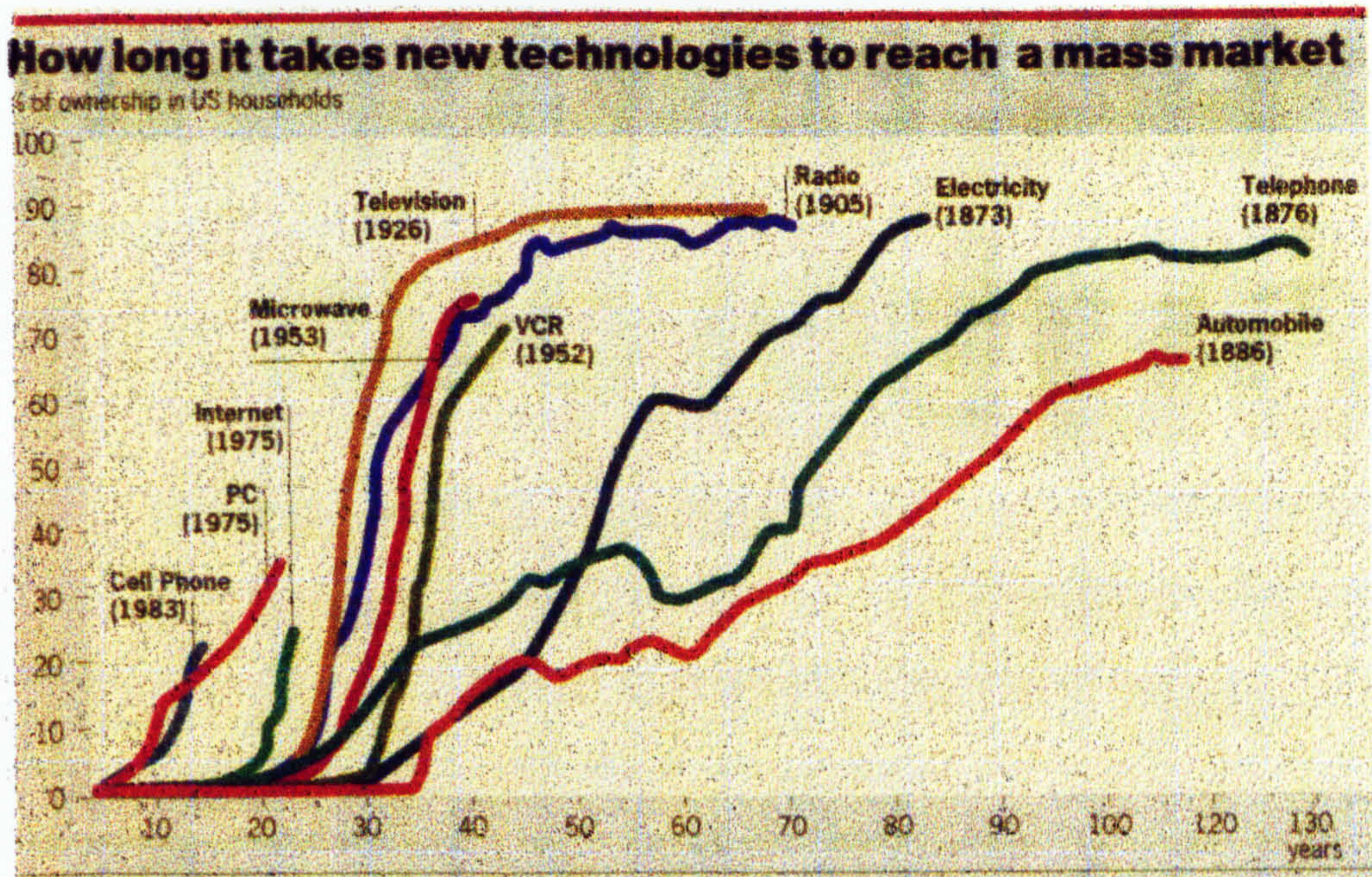


Figure 2.3

Establishment of new technologies (Source: Barrie 1999)

Whilst these data describe a different country, the speed of change as technology advances is clear. While England has clung to its hierarchical social structure, initially facilitated by restriction of access to foreign languages, and now electively monolingual following international use of English, the world has been undergoing changes as a result of technological development. Physical distances and time zones have been diminished through the nature of these technologies

Technology and international identities

The impact of technology is therefore both national and international. As instruments have become available to larger proportions of the national population, social hierarchies have become flattened. The same has happened in England, and, as will be seen in chapter 13, foreign languages ceased nominally to be a symbol of social differentiation with the advent of comprehensive education and subsequently the national curriculum. The reality, though, was that conditioning over centuries and the mother tongue's role as international *lingua franca* did little to change attitudes.

However, if hierarchies were becoming flattened within some nations, the digital divide saw new hierarchies formed between nations. Technology was expanding the scale of relationships, and where in the past the social distinctions were within a community, now they were between them. To illustrate this using a chiasmatic image of the world, the range of impact can be visualised as ever-increasing concentric circles, as figure 2.4 suggests.

The area of change begins with the individual, within a field (only one is developed in this figure), and expands outwards. The power of today's technologies lies not in any change in the process itself, but in the speed with which the process can be effected.

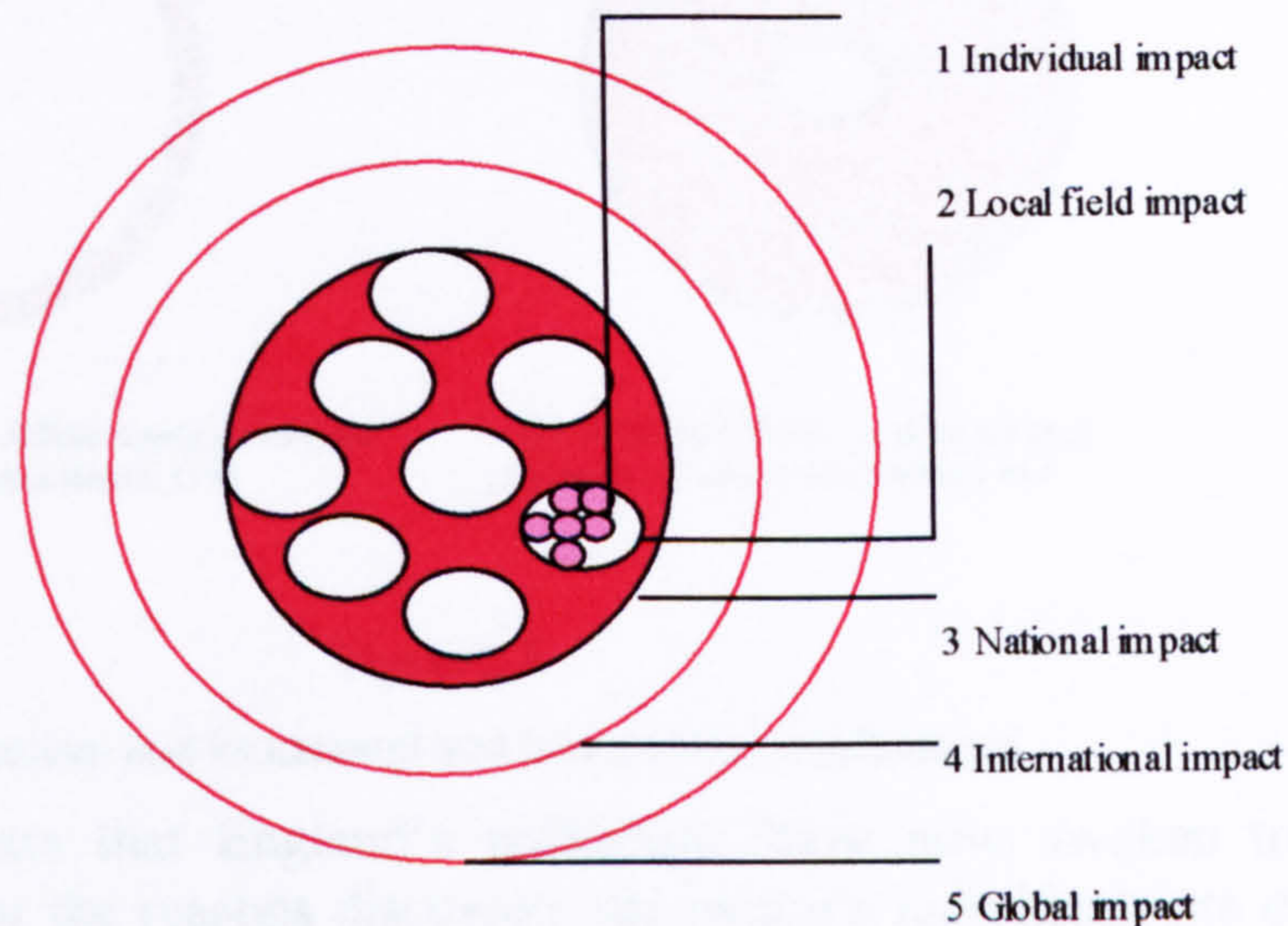


Figure 2.4

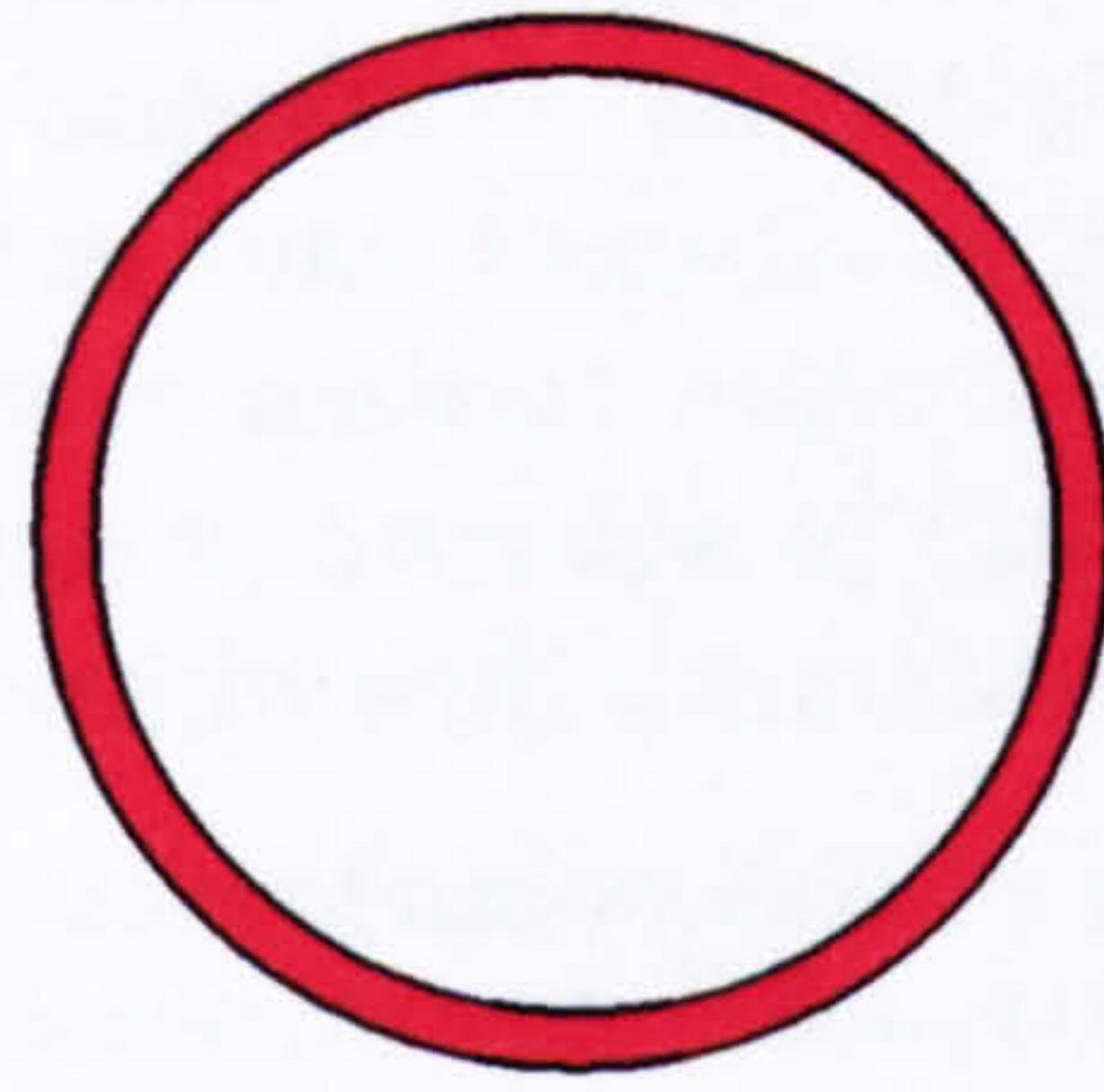
The ever-increasing range of technological impact

Those fearing the changes in power that this may bring were seen above to have recourse to language as a means of defence; so, within this nation, access to foreign language was used to differentiate between classes thereby maintaining the social hierarchy.

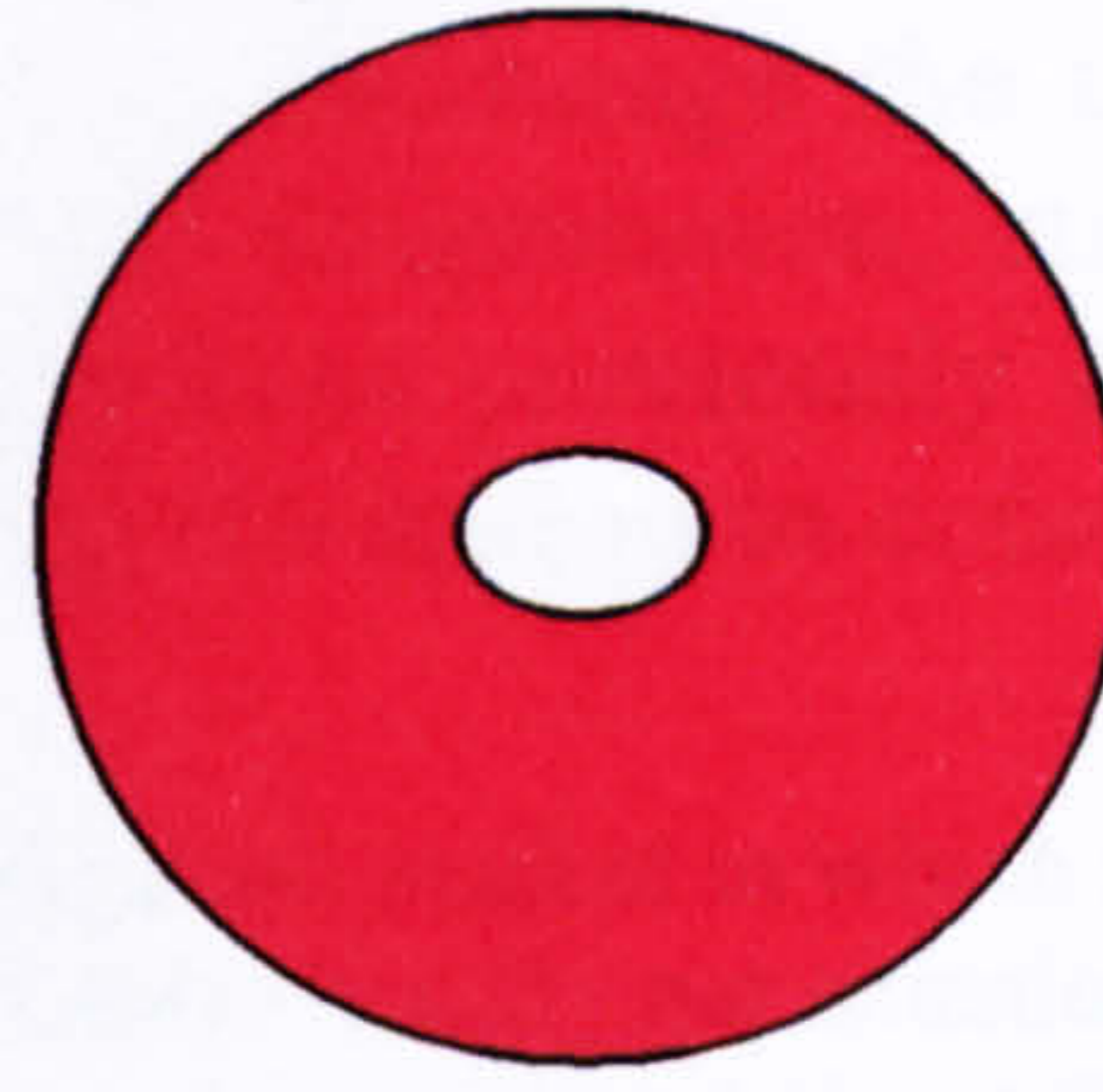
But England was no longer an isolated community: as a result of past military strength, its language has been taken around the world. Just as foreign languages rose to positions of symbolic and practical status in England when it was the invaded community (chapter 2), so has English acquired international value, becoming today's *lingua franca*. A common language facilitates the process of globalisation, bringing membership of the wider community to those who speak it. In effect, whilst England has guarded its hierarchical structure by retaining the 'linguistic divide', other nations have moved to an inclusive model of bi- or plurilingualism.

The difference is illustrated in figure 2.5. Here, image A reflects the predominantly monolingual norm of England, whilst B represents the linguistic competence of a bi- or plurilingual nation.

To make this change entails a risk: it means that symbolically the nation alters its identity within the international community: it shows its willingness to reach out to others through use of their, or a common, language. Internally, it means that the nation has taken the risk of flattening social relationships, giving equal access to language learning; it has given its people access to new ideas and cultures, recognising that its prosperity as a nation depends upon its position within the international community. It has effectively placed collective above class needs.



A MONOLINGUAL NORM: strong on national symbolism, weak on international level



B BILINGUAL NORM: weak on national symbolism, strong on international level

Figure 2.5

Bilingualism and its national and international implications

The researcher suggests that England's politicians have now awoken to this awareness, but that, for the reasons discussed, the nation's individuals are on the whole unwilling to change their language learning assumptions. Their individual sense of identity is as monolinguals in an anglophone world. Again, functionality provides a rationale for this position, but it conveys a message of arrogance to the outside world. Whether representative or not of individual attitudes, England's monolingualism symbolises an expectation that others reach out to the nation via the medium of English. This ultimately implies a difference in the relationship of power: it is perceived as a remnant of colonial attitudes. The researcher suggests that there may be a genuine misunderstanding on the part of both the English and other nations, but that this must be confronted openly if the question of social and human capital is to be addressed.

From globalisation to localisation

The urgency for England to change its monolingual habits is increased by another aspect of technological development, one which illustrates the spiral of instrumental and determinist influence.

Economically, as Clarke (2001) suggests, ICT providers benefit from a greater market if access to the technology is via the mother tongue. So, where the initial phase of ICTs was mediated through English, developments have seen the possibility of other languages being employed, as software based on languages with non-Roman scripts has been produced.

Whilst providers may have had an economic reason for developing this software, by definition it gives access to greater numbers of people, triggering social change much as did literacy. It is suggested that, as nations become more developed and their world status increases, their sense of national identity becomes more confident. This may account for the emergence of localisation. In terms of language, they retain their ability to communicate in the *lingua franca* or other foreign languages, but return to their mother tongue as a symbol of their national identity. And this is where linguistic power reverses the once political strength of England.

Globalisation is now seeing a reaction as individuals and communities seem to want to reclaim their differences, whilst still being participants on the global scene. Language is, whether consciously or not, re-emerging as a symbol of their national identity. How has this happened? The researcher argues that, in countries where, for example, Spanish, French, or Arabic, is the first language, there has been an *external*, economic, imperative for technology providers to encourage the use of mother tongues other than English as the medium of ICT transmission, but this has had political repercussions *internally*, redressing divisions previously created by the possession of knowledge of English, and enabling the nation to come together in a new relationship with the outside world.

Processes of nation-building produce a unified linguistic market in which price and profit – the intersection of production and reception – are neither locally nor situationally determined. In this context, and indeed more generally perhaps, linguistic differences are the ‘retranslation’ of social differences: linguistic markets are, therefore, heavily implicated in specific fields. (Jenkins 1992:154)

A consequence of this relocalisation is that the dominance of English, like globalisation, is undermined (chapter 2 has observed the emergence of rival languages), and that those who speak only English may, in the future, be unable to communicate with the newly empowered and potentially rising communities where English is not the mother tongue. The researcher argues that this is politically disempowering to monolingual English speakers, who are unable to communicate *proactively* with non-English speakers. The explanation for this lies in the dual functionality and symbolism of languages.

Figure 2.5 proposes a distinction between monolingualism and bilingualism in terms of identity: it suggests that monolingualism supports the national identity. There is, though, a conflict between this symbolic aim and functional needs. If England retains a symbol of its nationality, it does so to the detriment of its ability to communicate proactively with speakers of another language, relying instead on their ability to speak English. This places the nation at a disadvantage in the commercial world, as data collated by the Nuffield Inquiry (1998-2000) demonstrates (see also Connell 2002). Once other languages have risen to form the anticipated group of *lingua francas*, monolingual England will be functionally further disadvantaged, and symbolically will continue to convey an image of elitism.

The question of national identity is central to the researcher’s call for change in the nation’s foreign language learning habits. The issues are both functional and political, requiring individual and collective judgements. This brings the discussion back to the original key factors: human capital and social capital. Commitment to foreign languages is required if the nation is to increase its functional, proactive, role, but it will thereby simultaneously increase its international image. As chapter 2 has shown, to retain English as a symbol of national identity is misguided when the world is increasingly anglophone, and the nation no longer monocultural.

The primary task must be to persuade the nation of the value of becoming an equal member of the international community, but ultimately, this is a matter of political values, and strikes at the heart of national identity. The nation has the choice: it can remain isolated within its traditional (and now outdated) sense of nation, or it can accept that the world has moved towards a more global identity, one where parties need to communicate on a symbolically equal footing, through use of a range of languages. The latter does not necessarily imply loss of individual national identity,

as the celebration of local identities illustrates: these can co-exist within the broader community. In effect, figure 2.4 demonstrates this as each field remains unique as well as forming part of the wider communities. But as it also implies, the scale of local power diminishes as a community becomes absorbed into a broader one.

The political significance of these principles is clear: since the end of World War II, a European Community has emerged wherein each state renounces some independence in exchange for the economic and political power invested in the larger community. For functional (communication) and ideological (collective identity) reasons, languages have an important role to play in its development, as has been recognised by the European Language Council's Berlin Declaration, *Language Studies in Higher Education: A key contribution to European integration* (2001) (chapter 16).

Whilst those countries which already speak English as well as their mother tongues are in a position to initiate communication with other states, England has only a limited capacity for *proactive* international communication. It is thus functionally disadvantaged. But the researcher has argued that it is, more importantly, symbolically harmed by its current attitude towards language learning. Commitment to change is a matter for individual and collective judgement. It requires acceptance of a change in identity, one which will raise the nation's identification within a wider community; unconscious fears may be that it will thereby lose its national identity. The researcher will argue that this is not necessarily so, and that the bilingual model can be functionally enriching without loss of national identity.

The difference between the actual, the feared and the researcher's alternative consequences of different linguistic competence is illustrated in figure 2.6. She proposes that resistance reflects fear of reaching position B, where identity is sacrificed to functional needs, whereas existing conditions (A) could be changed to position C where functional competence and a strong national identity can co-exist.

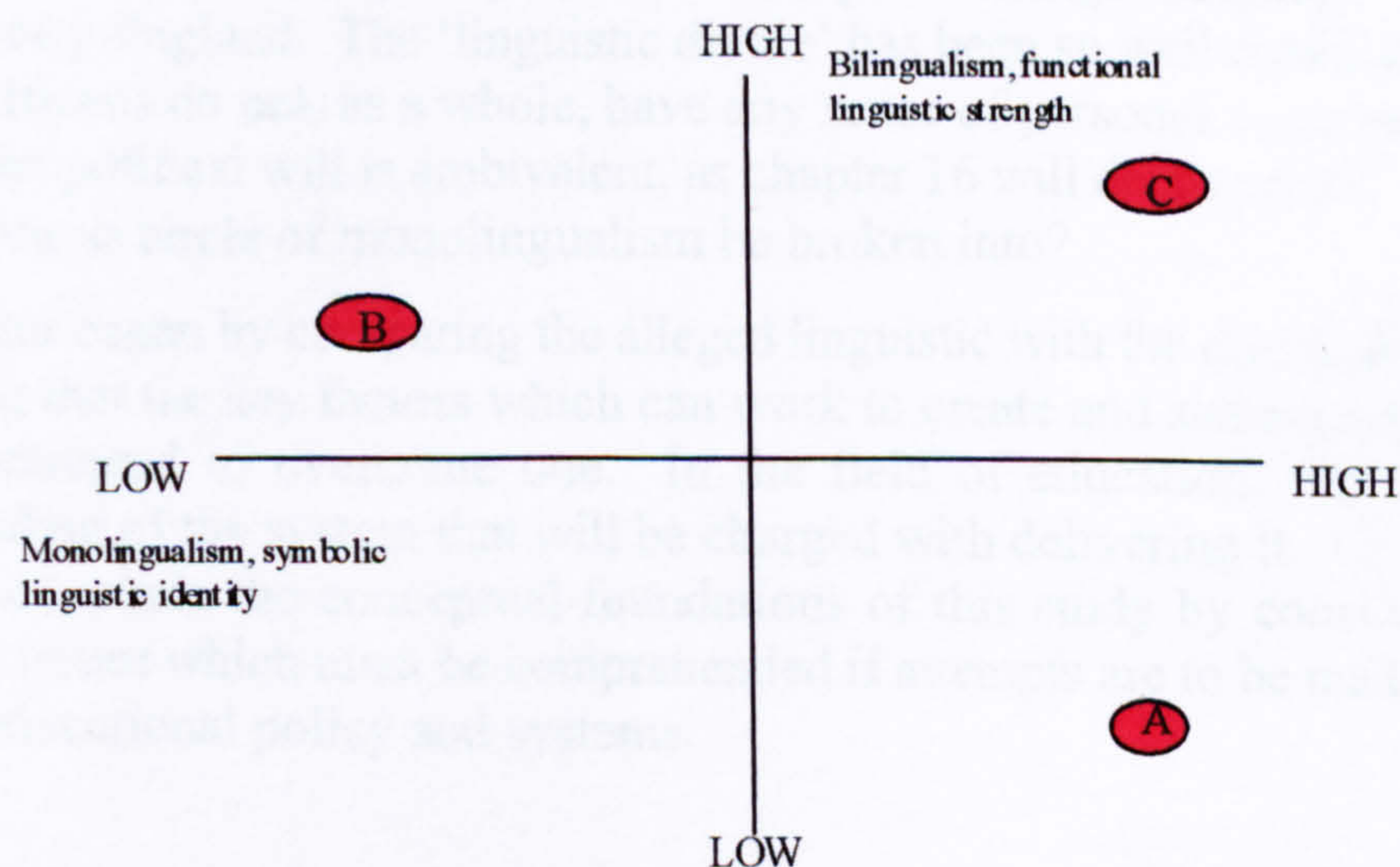


Figure 2.6

The functional and symbolic implications of bilingualism

7 Institutional structures

The final key factor, structures whereby policy is realised and managed, requires prior commitment to a value position by those in positions of power. Ideally, popular commitment to the same values will have been won, otherwise aggressive means will be required to sustain or introduce the institutional means of pursuing a policy.

Again, factors are iterative, and the availability of a structured educational system requires personnel, in the present case, linguists, who will be able to deliver the proposed bilingual model. They are, of course, part of a wider system. As Warschauer (2001b) observes,

virtually all of economic, political and social life is mediated by institutions

This recalls both Althusser's concept of ISAs discussed in Chapter 6, above: the structures required for society to function in practical and ideological terms, and Bourdieu's (1984) mechanisms for social reproduction.

The relevance of technology has been seen to lie in its empowerment of individuals (e.g. Bernstein 1961, Peters 1967) but thereby to be a potential threat to those currently enjoying privilege. Chapter 6 has considered the nature of strategies available to policy makers, ranging from persuasion through to compulsion. Parts III and IV will show the nature of structures used first to sustain social differentiation through foreign language learning, and latterly to encourage a more socially inclusive approach. These will include restriction of access to those attending certain institutions, entry to which is determined by socio-economic status, or by academic ability; control of the examination system; systems of inspection; and payment by results.

Ultimately, though, the researcher will argue that when dealing with 'human capital' none of these structures can effect commitment, and without that, the ideals of a broad bilingual model cannot be realised.

This is the dilemma faced by those seeking to change language learning in contemporary England. The 'linguistic divide' has been so well established that the nation's citizens do not, as a whole, have any sense of personal commitment to the ideal. Even political will is ambivalent, as chapter 16 will demonstrate. How, then, can the vicious circle of monolingualism be broken into?

This chapter began by comparing the alleged linguistic with the digital divide and by suggesting that the key factors which can work to create and sustain a division can also be activated to overcome one. In the field of education, this requires an understanding of the system that will be charged with delivering it. Chapter 7 will therefore conclude the conceptual foundations of this study by considering some curricular issues which must be comprehended if attempts are to be made to change existing educational policy and systems.

CHAPTER 7

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

1 A conflict model of educational change

As one of the Ideological State Apparatuses (Althusser 1971) the educational system is a crucial means of reproducing or changing the nation's 'social capital'. Its importance grows as other systems break down. So, for example, as Church attendance in England diminishes and multiple faiths may be pursuing different values, and as the traditional notion of family has lost its currency, the responsibility placed on education to achieve the nation's ideological as well as practical needs becomes ever greater.

But

education is a social artefact embodying the aspirations about the good life for the individual and the best arrangements for the whole society (Kogan 1985:11)

and as such, is subjective. From the critical perspective favoured by the researcher,

the sociology of education lies at the foundation of a general anthropology of power and legitimacy. It leads ... to an understanding of the 'mechanisms' responsible for the reproduction of social structures and for the reproduction of the mental structures that, because they are genetically and structurally linked to these objective structures, favour the misrecognition of their truth and thus the recognition of their legitimacy. (Bourdieu 1998:5)

In other words, education is an arena of conflict. Chapters 5 and 6 have explored the abstract issues relating to values and the competition between different sources of power; chapter 7 will now relate this discussion to the more concrete field of this study: education, specifically language learning.

RI1 posits that foreign language 'policy' in England has been discontinuous, and RI2 that changes derive from different assumptions of the value of languages, which range from functional to symbolic. What the policy maker chooses to promulgate will therefore represent his ideological position but his ideals will be constrained by the availability of resources, by

the facts of human existence, that is the limitations imposed upon us by space and time, by the physiology of our bodies, and by the nature of human society with its laws and conventions – all of these require a development which is selective. (Garforth 1985:100)

Nevertheless, the power of those making educational policy decisions is immense since

a value choice taken at the centre whether by government or local authority, head of school or class teacher, pushes out like a ripple until it has covered the whole of its area, and in so doing it may affect the lives of millions. (Garforth 1985:81)

The relevance of technology to change in language learning objectives has been seen in chapter 6 to be both instrumental and determinist. RI3 suggests that the obvious functional value of certain technologies has masked the more complex, determinist relationship between change in attitudes and technological development.

Chapter 7 will examine the questions of value and conflict at the curricular level. Just as there is no consensus on the aims of education, there is none amongst those who analyse curriculum. Models abound. Indeed, it has been suggested that 'model development is a game that academics play' (AV Kelly 1999:107).

Educational values

Chapters 5 introduced the two broad post-Enlightenment traditions on which social policies have been founded, and noted the general implications of each for perceptions of education. This assumes an analytical approach which starts from ideological positions (cf Morrison and Ridley 1994). Part III will certainly reveal the diversity of educational aims that have been engendered, and which underpin the assumed value of foreign languages in different periods of England's history. For instance,

- *Progressivism* is exemplified by the *child-centred* methods of the 1960s and 1970s, which saw the emergence of resources with graded objectives aimed at individualised learning (chapter 13). A very successful example in the field of foreign languages was the ILEA *Éclair* course, with its 3-tiered worksheets from which either pupil or teacher could select.
- The grammar schools' retention of Latin, and the tripartite structure of secondary schooling following World War II, as well as the closed system with the Universities, reflect a *classical, humanist* model (chapter 13).
- Typical of a *liberal humanist* approach is the nineteenth century model (chapter 12) that provided a common curriculum in all secondary schools, together with a ladder which potentially enabled transfer from one to another, up to the age of 13, irrespective of social and economic factors, and ostensibly enabling equality of opportunity.
- The curriculum of today, including that of foreign languages, is arguably directed by an *instrumental, economic imperative* (chapters 13 and 16). So it is that the central discourse repeatedly reminds learners of their social responsibility, and the vocational value of linguistic skills:

The teaching of modern foreign languages needs to reflect the reality of the world in which we live. ... the ability to understand and communicate in other languages contributes to community cohesion and educational inclusion, two of our key goals. (DfES 0186/2002)

- Finally, a *democratic socialist ideology* can be attributed to the comprehensivisation of secondary education (DES Circular 10/65), and to the contemporary drive to increase the participation of non-traditional students in higher education (DfEE 2000a and b). Again, the actual resources produced for language learning in the last three decades reflect this approach: increasingly, the images and activities of characters have broadened to embrace more than the Euro-centric, white, middle class (e.g. ILEA *Eclair*).

To examine them in this way assumes a focus on ideology (Morrison and Ridley 1994), but an alternative approach is taken by some analysts (e.g. Eisner 1979), who focus on intended outcomes. The data presented in Parts III and IV may equally well be perceived in these terms. So, for instance, some examples might include:

- The *development of cognitive processes* (Locke, Berkely, Hume) long an argument for learning first, Latin, later, modern languages. The process of foreign language learning is here seen as a means to developing cognitive skills such as memorisation (chapter 12).

- Related to this, and an early manifestation of the same argument, is academic rationalism (see e.g. Hirst 1984): for example, in the 17th and 18th centuries (chapters 10 and 11) Latin had a diminishing practical value but was nevertheless retained as an *academic discipline* which ostensibly developed *analytical skills*.
- Aims relating to *personal relevance* (Floud et al. 1957, Illich 1971) apply to foreign language learning at two functional levels: vocational and social (throughout Part III). To these could be added a symbolic value, related to personal identity, as for instance, the learner of Welsh who associates it with part of his heritage, thereby illustrating the concept of localisation discussed in chapter 6.
- Interlinked with functional aims, curriculum may be seen as *technology* (DfEE 1991a), in other words, as developing a ‘tool’ with which to pursue a particular end. An example is when knowledge of Latin was necessary in order physically to access academic literature (chapter 10).
- Each of these four foci have referred to skills, to the functional value of foreign language learning, but a fifth aim, that of *socialisation and reconstruction* (Young and Whitty 1976) entails elements of both a practical and an ideological nature. An example of social adaptation and reconstruction arguably underpins the British government’s present-day drive for foreign language learning, which may be ascribed to a political aim of integrating the UK more firmly within the European State (chapter 6 and chapter 17, below). In order to achieve this, not only does language become a functional tool which enables the nation to communicate outwards (figure 1.3), but, by so doing, language proficiency becomes a symbol of the nation’s desire to become integrated within the broader community.

Both of these approaches to curriculum centre on values and objectives, but the researcher has proposed a critical perspective, where it is necessary to study not only what and why foreign languages have been taught, but also the *processes* involved in ‘policy’ formulation. This enables her to explore the relationships of power and capital introduced in chapter 5.

2 Towards a model of educational change

A model has been developed that permits comparison of both values and process, and across historical periods, thus revealing the degree of change in foreign language policy (RI1), the functional and ideological values pursued (RI2), and the political dimensions of these issues. It is a composite, inspired by the work of three theorists who, using different terminology, identify the same issues. They are AV Kelly (1999), R Dale (1986) and M Kogan (1988).

The model first locates the nature of curriculum (e.g. whether it focuses on subject content or skill development), then considers whose needs (those of the individual and/or society) are prioritised. Three broad types are proposed, which will be ranged along a continuum, as discussed shortly. The typologies are:

- 1 Curriculum focused on the *transmission of knowledge*, for purposes of *socialisation or the economic needs of society*, equating to notions of both

social engineering and social control, and recalling the Marxist 'conditions of reproduction'.

- 2 Curriculum which focuses on the *desired functional outcomes*, again in order to meet the *needs of society* but that thereby provides the individual with a role and permits the social wage, that is 'those costs of labour-power which take the form of benefits and services provided by the state' (Adams 1978). Outcomes are therefore more practical and include the development of skills.
- 3 Curriculum as a process for the purpose of *individual development* and typified by a classical liberal arts education (Peters 1967). Outcomes are often non-practical, but implicitly provide a symbol which excludes those who do not hold it.

The three curricular models therefore variously address social, economic, individual and institutional needs (Kogan 1975, 1988), both functionally and symbolically.

It is clearly a simplification to reduce the complexity of any curriculum to one of these types, and the researcher readily acknowledges that more than one model may actually or apparently be operating within a single curriculum. Nevertheless, with this caution in mind and providing for gradations between them, the researcher's model borrows these three descriptions as a shorthand indicator of the general orientation of the curriculum at any one time. They are termed:

- 1 Content/Transmission (C/T)
- 2 Product/Instrument (P/I)
- 3 Process/Development (P/D)

The three generic descriptors are essentially self-explanatory, but are outlined briefly.

1 Content/Transmission (Curriculum as content, education as transmission)

This model prioritises the transmission of knowledge, hence the content of the curriculum is crucial. The aims of the educational process are to control or engineer the ideological values underpinning society (social capital), through the form of information taught. It is a model that derives from rationalist traditions (chapter 5) where knowledge is conceived in terms of that necessary for the transmission and reproduction of cultural values. It has a perceived intrinsic role which may not be immediately translatable into practical application. When its task is social reproduction, the form of knowledge transmitted is static, but it can also be manipulated to bring change.

The needs of the individual are implicitly secondary to those of society or of a sector. The model offers a means for promoting the chosen content, but is clearly divisive since it depends on subjectively selected forms of knowledge. In modern, multicultural societies, it inevitably fails to satisfy the needs of all sub-groups. The model is typical of Bourdieu's 'symbolic violence' (chapter 5), where the legitimacy of the educational system obscures the (ab)use of power as the working of time creates the 'habitus'. In this context, 'pedagogic authority' (Bourdieu 1990) is essential to the success of a policy, so the teaching profession must be harnessed to political values.

A linguistic example of this model would be when, during the Reformation (chapter 10), the Crown attempted to restrict access to certain forms of knowledge and so

prescribed the only (Latin) texts permissible in the grammar schools. Punitive sanctions were used to exclude from education and positions of social prestige those who refused to embrace the new orthodoxy. However, as will be seen, those who reject the state's authority cannot be controlled by it. In this situation, this meant that they could not be prevented from learning, and the functional role of technology (RI3) was an important factor in their defiance.

2 Product/Instrument (Curriculum as product, education as instrumental)

The second model focuses not on content but on the desired outcomes of the educational process. Performance, practical competence, is more important than the content of what is taught, and forms of knowledge are selected according to their putative suitability for achieving the intended outcomes. The model derives from psychology in the USA and attempts to adopt a scientific approach to learning. In keeping with that, it claims to be value-free but, as has been discussed above (chapter 3), no process of selection can actually be so. The methodology is also criticised for being mechanistic, since it relies upon breaking down learning into broad aims then precise objectives, in an artificial, constraining manner.

This model occupies a position where both social and individual needs are addressed. As its name implies, it has a functional objective, aiming at the application of learning, hence it favours content which is practical and which develops skills. These aims can be to the mutual benefit of society and the individual.

An example might be that of an employer training his employees to speak the language of their market, which knowledge would be of personal value, too, for social uses. The Product/Instrument model can serve a variety of purposes, ostensibly meeting different individual and collective needs, but its very instrumental nature is, itself, a source of and justification for social differentiation.

This is important to the present study since RI3 proposes that knowledge of languages has been misleadingly seen in functional terms, to the neglect of their symbolic value. Hence England's monolingualism has been able to exist without popular awareness of the 'symbolic violence' that is being reproduced through an apparent process of self-exclusion (chapter 5). In concrete terms, this will be revealed by assumptions that, for instance, Latin was of no practical value in twentieth century England, but knowledge of the language was both a symbol of having been through a certain form of education (associated with elite access), and a formal requirement for admission to university (chapter 13). Self-exclusion thereby led to reproduction of social differentiation.

This curricular model straddles both social and individual, functional and symbolic aims, so provides a natural link between Content/Transmission and the third model.

3 Process/Development (Curriculum as process, education as development)

Where Content/Transmission is the extreme end of social control, the Process/Development model is the extreme of individual development and of non-practical aims. It prioritises the development of the individual, as opposed to focusing on the needs of the collective. Contrary to the previous models, the role of content is of minimal importance. Its foundations lie in child-centred philosophy in the tradition of Dewey, and from psychological theories of child-development e.g. those of Piaget (1932) and Vygotsky (1962). Aims derive from a desire to promote individual development, rather than to acquire specific knowledge.

Objections to this approach are the mirror image of those relating to models 1 and 2: by placing the needs of the individual before those of society, social control becomes more difficult. Whilst the model has the potential merit of making explicit its values, it does not offer a single set of values, so again is not conducive to social control. It is not merely ideological control (social capital) that is harmed: the freedom of this model risks failing to produce the functional skills and competence required for a society to operate healthily. In practice, such liberalism would be chaotic.

From a critical perspective, the ultimate situation is prevented from arising because of the conflict between actors. A compromise is reached as a result of the degree and forms of power and authority deployed (chapter 5). An implication of this is that the model may see a dominant power enjoying these freedoms, but they are not feasible for all members in a plural community: some degree of regulation is necessary.

Part III will demonstrate that this model is, indeed, associated with elite groups. This is explained by the non-practical nature of learning outcomes. Again, this is important for RI3, the functional and ideological aims of foreign language learning. It develops to the extreme the same point raised in model two: functionalism is perceived in terms of anticipated vocational needs. So long as individuals accept a fixed place in society and do not aspire to vocations outside those traditional with their 'class', they can be induced to exclude themselves from forms of learning which do not offer them the vocational tools they believe they will need. This underpins the researcher's proposal that foreign language learning may originally have been manipulated so that social groups who would have to work for a living would apparently exclude themselves from Latin learning (hence the grammar schools) because the curriculum had no practical value for them.

Typical of this was the eighteenth century public school pursuit of the ideal *homo trilinguis* (chapter 11). The aim was to produce grammatically perfect and elegant language which was, by its very essence, not interactive, hence failed to achieve any practical communication. This was a luxury the working man could not afford to indulge in so was, in effect, elitist, illustrating the process of self-exclusion (Bourdieu 1990).

*

The key issues for the three models are, then, the relative importance of ideological or practical outcomes, the degree to which these are made explicit, their prioritisation of content or skills development, for individual or collective benefit. Table 2.1 summarises the characteristics of each, in terms of its ideological assumptions and specific aims. It will serve as a quick point of reference wherever the three generic terms are employed below.

Table 2.1

Three models of curriculum (created from Kelly, Kogan and Dale, op. cit.)

	CONTENT/ TRANSMISSION	PRODUCT/ INSTRUMENTAL	PROCESS/ DEVELOPMENTAL
IDEOLOGY	At extreme, dictatorial and elitist 2 sources: a) absolutist e.g. Plato, Descartes b) political e.g. for economic or social reasons Values not explicit For reproduction/creation of social capital.	Contrary to notions of emancipation or empowerment For collective benefit Social engineering	Democratic humanist Values explicit At extreme, elitist
CURRICULAR AIMS	Ideological: social reproduction Through social engineering or control Content central to achievement of aims Subjects assumed of intrinsic value. Selected in order to inculcate social values	Functional: development of skills, application of learning Derives from behavioural psychology in USA Content selected to meet functional aims	Individual human development From child-centred philosophy: Rousseau, Froebel, Montessori, Dewey, and from psychology of child-development e.g. Piaget, Vygotsky, Eisner Education as a process of human development. Principles precede content

As suggested earlier, these three broad approaches to curriculum together form a spectrum which illustrates the respective importance of collective and individual need (social and human capital). Although this is presented in a linear form, there is not a polar progression: the potential exists at both extremes of the continuum for the needs of a powerful elite to predominate and to exercise symbolic violence: whilst there may be a benevolent desire for Content/Transmission, the power of those determining the curriculum may be subverted to address their own needs; likewise, the individuals enjoying the Process/Development model may also abuse their liberty to the detriment of collective need, in order to sustain their privileged position. In the interests of 'fairness', this would imply that a curriculum that avoids either extremity is a more equitable model, though again, this would require acceptance of mutual rights and responsibilities. To suggest this is, of course, to take a subjective stance.

Figure 2.7, below, illustrates the research model developed for visualising these three theoretical positions. The spectrum extends from, on the left, the point where social

control is strongest, through, on the right, to that where individual control is maximised. The model therefore describes two things simultaneously:

- 1, the intended aims of the curriculum, and, by extension
- 2, the dominant ideological position and relative importance of individual or collective, practical or symbolic needs.

By adding a vertical dimension to the model, it is possible to track the nature of curriculum longitudinally, hence its value in Part III for highlighting continuity or discontinuity of policy (RI1) and the priority given to either functional or symbolic values (RI2).

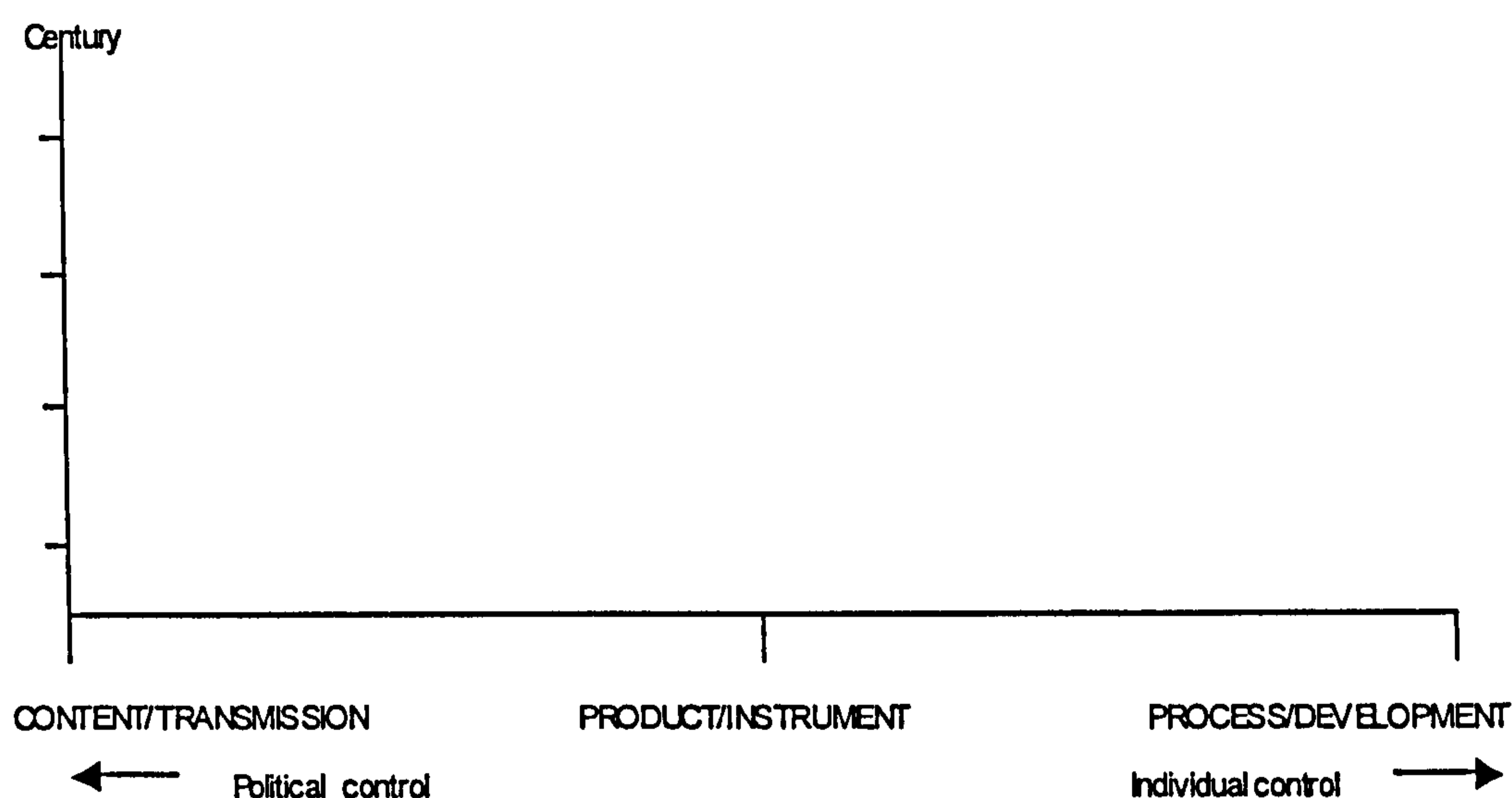


Figure 2.7

A model for tracking curricular change

The next question to address is the process of change itself, who brings it about and how?

3 The process of curriculum change

Chapters 5 and 6 have introduced the general concepts involved in the process of change, but how do they operate within the field of education? Countless models exist, with popular methods ranging from tracking a policy through a logical sequence of development, from identification of objectives to evaluation (e.g. Tyler 1949), to others based on notions of the diffusion of ideas, on to a more proactive vision of dissemination of ideas (e.g. Schon 1971). These are all clearly mechanistic and do not acknowledge the difference between policy and practice (Stenhouse 1975), in other words, the potential for 'tissue rejection' (Hoyle 1969) by the institution or profession, as occurred in the abortive attempt to introduce primary years French in England during the 1960s and 1970s (chapter 13).

Even more recent models of curriculum analysis (e.g. Havelock 1971) which do recognise a 2-way interaction are too rational for a conflict interpretation of change. The researcher prefers the notion of change as resembling rather 'a kaleidoscope.

Colours in a changing pattern move out of view, or get stuck, or change position as the box is tapped' (Kogan 1975:237).

The problem is that many models become distorted by their focus on one aspect of policy, either its curricular content or its delivery. By contrast, a conflict model accepts that

a theory that can provide for the possibilities of curriculum change does not emerge either from the dominant view of 'curriculum as fact' or from its opposite, the idea of 'curriculum as practice' ... the first, by starting from a view of knowledge abstracted from people in history and specifically from the teachers and pupils, denies them any roles except as deliverers of what has been decided elsewhere. The second, in its concern to recognise teachers as conscious agents of change and to emphasise the human possibilities in all situations, becomes abstracted ... from the constraints of teachers' experience, and therefore, ironically, from their capacity to shape student learning. (Young 1998:31)

In other words, such a model recognises the discontinuous and chaotic nature of policy development (RI1), and the competition for dominance between agents, even within a field, following a chiasmatic conception of social structure.

Change agents and their sources of power

Chapter 5 has identified three possible groups who may contribute to policy change, and the resources of influence at their disposal. They are:

- professional groups (via internal initiation)
- external groups (via external transaction)
- political groups (via political manipulation) (Archer 1984)

Between them, these three groups might include:

Parliament; central government; local government, teachers, the centres of academics and research work, students and their interest groups; and the newer interest groups which are so much concerned with parents. (Kogan's 1980:74)

Professional groups

The nature of resources they each possess for negotiating or forcing change has been introduced in chapter 5, but they do not start from an equal position: the relationship between different forms of capital available is itself hierarchical.

It has been suggested that *professional groups* may exercise power so long as they are politically useful to the ruling group. Their 'academic power'

the ability to influence both the expectations which other people have and their 'objective probability' of fulfilling them, is related to the hierarchy of social capital and political competence. Intellectual and scientific criteria come a poor second.' (Jenkins 1992:121)

Social and economic capital are attributed greater political power than is given to academe. So, as well as there being a hierarchy within each form of capital, there is also one between them. For this reason, it has been suggested that 'differences among disciplines both cover up and recover social differences' (Bourdieu 1998:19).

One mechanism of defence from attack by an alternative form of capital is for the competing partners with a shared interest to join together. They do not necessarily do this through a conscious process. Nevertheless, examples of the principle will be found in Parts III and IV. For instance, chapter 12 will show how academic capital was strengthened when previously competing schools of linguistic thought came

together to form professional associations. In effect, they were replacing their 'divisive specialisations' (Young 1998) with a collective identity, 'language teachers', which was more powerful than were their individual sectional groups.

If this is interpreted in terms of identity as proposed in chapter 6, it implies that they were willing to renounce their insularity. Their various specialisations were implicitly subsumed within the new, but more powerful, identity; they had exchanged their academic for political capital. They remained linguists of their own specialisms, but this identity was complemented by that of the wider group.

These principles could clearly be applied to the model of bilingualism that the researcher has advocated in chapter 6 (figure 2.5): England would accept its identity within a European partnership, whilst retaining alongside this its national identity, albeit in changed relationships of power.

External groups

In addition to professional groups, external groups have been seen increasingly to have a role to play in policy making. Who are they and what is the nature of power available to them? They vary, as does the value they may hold for dominant groups. They include the Church (as promoters of moral values), parents (as voters), industry (as sources of economic wealth), and supposedly independent bodies ('quangos') such as OFSTED or government think tanks (as mediators of policy). The latter illustrate how *indirect power* can be exerted by political groups. In each case, the group exchanges its practical or ideological support in order to sustain social capital and the systems necessary for its reproduction, in exchange for involvement in the decision making process, which may bring them status, economic or political rewards.

An example would be the need for central government to win the political support of parents, employers and the lay community, so as to bring about educational change. Hence, following the Great Debate, the 1980s witnessed a stream of legislative measures which altered the composition of school governing bodies (Education Acts 1981, 1986, 1988), thereby ostensibly giving both functional power and prestige to their members. In reality, the researcher suggests, the lay governors were merely another form of ISA (Althusser 1971), and were being engineered into expressing and promulgating the values central government endorsed. The government was theoretically distanced from responsibility for adopting these values, and covertly achieved its ideological aims. This is characteristic of Bourdieu's (1990) theory of social reproduction, which is legitimised through acceptance of the 'cultural arbitrary' (chapter 5).

Political groups

Political groups, particularly the dominant one, may have legitimised, or non-legitimised, direct, power. In contemporary England, they would be politicians elected by, or seeking support from, the electorate, whereas in the past they might have included groups established by custom or their financial status, as exemplified by the Church, aristocracy or wealthy landowners. The resource these groups have to offer is power and privilege, be it in the form of political influence or of status. The way in which they exert their authority will range from legislation if they are legitimised, to force if non-legitimised (chapter 5, above)

Although these three types of group have been discussed separately, this is not to imply that the resources possessed by any one are necessarily held singly or that only one interaction will occur at any given time. Nor do the interactions produce a fixed hierarchy of worth, since their importance to a society will vary according to the dominant social capital.

Table 2.2 summarises the nature of these three groupings, the resource they have to exchange, and that which they may receive in return. It provides another point of reference for discussion of change and power.

Table 2.2

Power groups and resources for exchange

Grouping	Resource offered	Resource received
Professional groups	Professional expertise Academic capital	Economic or symbolic (prestige)
External interest groups e.g. parents, industry, Church	Economic or voting power Economic or political power	Symbolic (prestige); appearance of involvement in decision-making
Political or ruling elite	Political power: positive economic and symbolic awards Legislative compulsion and negative sanctions	Symbolic: loyalty Practical: economic resources Obedience through political control

4 The relationship between technology and change in foreign language learning

The final abstract issue for this chapter to bring down to the subject specific level is that of technology and educational change. RI3 argues that functional applications for new technologies have enabled the symbolic value of foreign languages to be neglected or concealed. The discussion returns then to questions of value, and cause and effect: is the languages curriculum technology led or does technology serve a purely instrumental role?

Chapter 6 has introduced the distinction between functionalist and determinist perceptions of technology. According to the *technical-functionalist* model, education is directed by the needs of industry, and operates to provide the technical skills required for economic productivity, whilst simultaneously meeting the employment needs of individuals. An implication of this model is that selection functions on the basis of possession or non-possession of the skills needed to sustain these systems. However, from a conflict perspective, (e.g. Bourdieu and Passeron 1964, Etzioni 1961, Collins 1971, the process cannot be guaranteed to produce the desired outcomes because education involves individuals, each of whom will have his own values.

If applied to the field of foreign language learning, the functional model would assume that curricular aims were predetermined and technology was employed to serve these. For example, if the primary objective were to develop oral competence, the use of audio recording and language laboratories would be seen as a tool for achieving them.

But as chapter 6 has found, technology is not value free. To take the same example, the potential arises for the availability of audio recording and language laboratories to direct the foreign language learning curriculum towards oral skills. In other words,

new technologies do not only serve the new teaching/learning paradigms, they also help shape the new paradigms. (Kern and Warschauer 2000:1-19)

There is, indeed, evidence to show how perceptions of foreign languages have changed in parallel to developments in science and technology, which then require new technologies in order to support these aims. Determination of cause and effect in such situations is impossible and the researcher has suggested that the relationship between values and technology is better viewed as a spiral of ongoing change.

Again, Warschauer and his colleagues have investigated these issues and found three distinct approaches to foreign language learning which mirror developments in other scientific fields, both showing changed aims and requiring new forms of technology for pedagogical delivery.

The Structural Perspective

The first of these, the structural perspective of foreign language learning, focused on analysing language, and favoured grammar translation methods whereby students memorised paradigms and parsed sentences. The approach was in keeping with the popularity of behavioural psychology, as promulgated by Skinner (1953). Its emphasis was on drilling, and 'on the achieved linguistic product, not on cognitive or social processes' (Warschauer and Meskill 2000:303-318).

Whilst recognising that early structural linguists, notably Bloomfield (1933), were working between the 1920s and 1950s, the structuralist approach to foreign language learning did not have a ready tool until the development of recording technologies in the 1950s. It was only once these were available that the structuralist approaches were applied in a concerted way to the *spoken* word.

The structuralist approach was one of practical use of language, and technology appeared to provide a functional tool for achieving these ends. But clearly, the move towards oral competence represented a major ideological jump, which was perhaps obscured by the attractiveness of the new technology, with the potential it offered of motivating learners. The question remains, to what extent was the new focus on oral language technology driven?

The Cognitive/Constructivist Perspective

Similarly, just as psychology moved from structuralism to cognitive interests, so too did language learning. This was heralded when, in 1959, Chomsky rejected Skinnerian notions of language learning, and proposed instead that learning was achieved through the creation of a transformational-generative grammar that mediated between deep and surface structures of language. According to this theory, languages were acquired as a result not of behavioural reinforcement through, e.g. repetition, but as a result of human possession of innate cognitive structures.

Chomsky's perception was that the individual builds his own grammar systems based on this innate ability.

The perspective was to result in another change in emphasis for language learning, this time favouring problem-solving and collaborative methods, practised through staged programmes of study. But this did not occur at the classroom level until some years later, when technology had been developed which was able to monitor the working of the brain and so validate the methodology.

It seems that innovative thinkers had, in both instances, anticipated new values but that these were not adopted widely until technology was available to support their practical realisation. The three case studies (Part IV) will examine this process of innovation and the relationship between values and technology at the microcosmic level of language learning.

The Sociocognitive Perspective

Finally, the socio-cognitive perspective was founded in the belief that grammaticality is not separable from social acceptability; it grew to popularity in the 1980s. It, too, recognised the need for comprehensible input in order for the individual to correct his usage of language, but it was considered equally important for the learner to be exposed to realistic language and situation. Authenticity therefore became the imperative, courses being designed to help

students enter into the kinds of authentic social discourse situations and discourse communities that they would later encounter outside the classroom. (Warschauer and Meskill 2000:303-318)

The notion has, aided by developing technology, subsequently advanced further, as case study 3 will reveal, to challenge that very conception of authenticity.

Of special interest to this study is Warschauer's discovery that these three stages of language pedagogy are related to the form of computer technology prevalent in each period, and to the changes that this brings to the pedagogical relationship. He has found that they:

correspond roughly to three metaphors of computer-based educational activities posited by Charles Crook (1996): namely, a tutorial metaphor (computer-as-tutor), a construction metaphor (computer-as-pupil), and a toolbox metaphor (computer-as-tool). (Warschauer and Meskill 2000:303-318)

The third case study (chapter 16) will likewise illustrate the impact of technologies on the relationship between learner and 'teacher', as ICTs flatten hierarchies and lead to a process of facilitation as opposed to teaching, with attendant questions of academic capital.

These three changed perspectives of foreign language learning illustrate the spiral of interaction between technology and values. Creative thinkers seize upon the potential of the new instruments, perceive new applications which change the nature of language learning, but as new technologies come along, realisation of those values is made easier, so the process is repeated. The cycle is not predictable, though, due to the multiplicity of factors which may influence the outcome of change, and which, as has been seen throughout this discussion, are in competition for dominance.

Part III will now examine the nature of this competition in the historical developments in foreign language learning in England.

PART III

LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ENGLAND, FROM THE 17TH TO 21ST CENTURIES

PREFACE

Parts I and II have discussed the question of values and their competition for dominance, whether this be expressed through policy as text or as discourse, and related them to the propositions of this research: that foreign language learning aims in England have been lacking coherence (RI1); that functional and political assumptions have been in competition (RI2) and that developments in technology have provided instruments whose functional value has obscured the symbolic aspects of language learning.

Five key factors have emerged: who has *access* to language learning, where (*institutional structures*) and how it is delivered (*human capital*); which language(s) and the specific aspect is studied (*content*) all of which reflect the assumed value of the subject (*social capital*). The researcher has suggested that these factors can be manipulated to create a linguistic divide, but may equally be deployed to flatten social hierarchies.

It has been proposed that, following an initial act of 'symbolic violence' foreign languages have contributed to social stratification through the working of custom and practice. Building on Bourdieu's conception of conflict between different forms of capital, the researcher has argued that foreign language learning became unconsciously conflated with the social classes of those who had access to the institutions where languages were available. This was largely due to the perception of languages as being functional tools; in time, this became normalised in the '*habitus*' (chapter 5), the assumptions and expectations of individuals and groups, with the result that the majority of the English people excluded themselves from language learning, seeing little personal relevance. A complex process of expectation and conflation led eventually to foreign languages becoming a perquisite of the higher social and educated classes, of symbolic rather than practical value. The researcher will show that this enabled social differentiation to be reproduced, access to foreign languages creating and perpetuating a linguistic divide parallel to social class divisions.

A model has been developed (chapter 7) for examining these hypotheses. It begins by locating the aims of foreign language learning on a continuum which includes those of reproducing the social capital (Content/Transmission), those of developing practical competences (Product/Instrument) and of contributing to a liberal education for life (Process/Development). The model will allow the five key factors to be

explored, working backwards from the aims to probe the processes of competition which allow the values of a dominant group to obtain.

Chapter 1 presented the interdisciplinary nature of this study and placed it at the intersection of various fields, at both microcosmic and macrocosmic levels of society. In order to understand the aims of language learning, these must be considered within their social context; it is argued that this in turn demands consideration of international relationships. The role of technology is of special importance to this work because it has potential ideological impact on values within each field, as well as providing instruments which enhance the practical task of foreign language teaching and learning.

In order to track change, a longitudinal study is needed. Together, these considerations demand an historical account which is necessarily descriptive. However, if it is to satisfy the criteria for 'thick description' (Patton 1999), it must do more than simply recount events. The discussion of Parts III and IV is therefore structured around the five key factors, and will lead to a response on the three research issues (Part V).

The researcher faced a problem common to any historical study: how far back should she go in tracing the nature of 'policy', so that the starting point of the study would be comprehensible? With each step further into the history of language learning, there was the temptation to feel that consideration of the preceding period was necessary. There was both a practical need to resist this temptation and a logical indicator of where to begin.

A brief account of the origin of foreign language learning in England has been given in Part I. This was found to follow Roman invasion, at which stage it was a functional necessity, but would develop to a point where languages' functional and symbolic values merged. Power founded on military strength brought a new orthodoxy: Christianity. Knowledge of Latin was pivotal to the establishment and reproduction of this new orthodoxy. This background identified a logical starting point for the research, and highlighted the role of religious belief and of those who held power through association with the nation's institutions.

A crucial period for religion in England was that of the Reformation. Consequently, although the focal period of this study begins with the seventeenth century, it would be detrimental to the researcher's concern with power and authority to ignore the important events of the sixteenth and preceding centuries. It was nevertheless recognised that a work of this length cannot be all-inclusive. A compromise has therefore been reached on the historical account: chapters 8 and 9 will outline the issues from the sixth to sixteenth centuries, providing a progressive link between the historical origins of foreign language learning in England (chapter 2), and the seventeenth century (chapter 10). From this century onwards, a more in-depth study will be made.

Chapters 10 -13 provide the macrocosmic, national picture against which three cases studies are pitched (Part IV). Since there is no case study drawn from the eighteenth century, chapter 11, the broad history of foreign languages in eighteenth century England, is less detailed than those dealing with the seventeenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries (chapters 10, 12 and 13). Each chapter of Part III will nevertheless address the five factors and come to a summary using the model derived in chapter 7.

As the last paragraph has implied, chapters 8 - 13 are structured by century, though clearly, history does not divide neatly into centennial blocks, and to discuss the subject in such a way is contrived. The chronological markers will enable the reader to navigate through the changes in the values attributed to foreign languages over time, but they are merely an analytical convenience: it is the nature of change and the processes involved in producing it that are of central importance to the researcher.

The six chapters of Part III will now examine the research issues from the fifth century to the present day, and will provide the backdrop for three case studies of innovation (Part IV).

CHAPTER 8

FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ENGLAND

FROM THE 6TH - 15TH CENTURIES

As indicated above, chapter 8 resumes the history of foreign language learning in England from the point at which it was left in chapter 2 and traces it up to the late fifteenth century. In order to track change across these centuries, it is subdivided into the three medieval periods proposed by Curtis (1968).

1 The Formative Period: 6th to early 11th century England

Latin and a liberal education

During the first, the 'formative,' period, Latin was both the medium of learning and provided the corpus of knowledge to be studied in England's schools. By this time, the language was no longer of practical, everyday, communicative use, but the symbolic status that it had once held as the mother tongue of the country's political controllers lived on. Because of its political associations (chapter 2) it held 'academic capital' hence Latin and the Graeco-Roman notion of an educated (= 'free', '*liber*') man (Kelly 1969) were retained as the model for England. This consisted of studying Plato's Seven *Liberal Arts*, which Boethius had split in around 500 AD into:

- the *Trivium* [grammar, dialectic (logic), rhetoric], and
- the *Quadrivium*, [music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy].

Latin was the language through which study would take place, therefore grammar had first to be learnt. Responsibility for formal grammar teaching lay solely with the Church which, initially, delivered it via schools of two types: those attached to monasteries, and those of the cathedrals. There were no formal controls on access to schooling, and the monastic and cathedral schools both delivered the same model of education.

This was typical of a Process/Development 'liberal' education (table 2.1) which prepared the individual for life, in the broad, non-vocational, sense (Peters 1969:45), but it also served a social purpose: the educated man was a crucial 'tool' for reproduction of the cultural heritage (Bourdieu 1984), the 'social capital'. Additionally, the model met Product/Instrument needs for some learners, thereby providing the 'human capital' necessary for the nation's administrative and ideological systems to function (cf Althusser 1971). The educated boys would assume clerical and secular roles in the Church and the country's administration.

Knowledge of Latin therefore served two functions, one practical, the other ideological, both predominantly meeting collective needs, though the educated man received the 'social wage' (Adams 1978) in so far as he had a professional role or social position to fill in society. Economic and academic status were intertwined in this process of social reproduction.

Education (then, Latin) was clearly of internal, practical and symbolic, value, but it also met an international need, since it was the medium of communication with other

nations, the *lingua franca*. Those who knew the language accrued status because of their exclusive knowledge, but they also had political power because they were able to mediate between the nation and others proactively.

In terms of the research model, this form of education falls nearer to collective than to individual needs, but entails a mixture of functional and symbolic outcomes. At this stage, it appears to have been relatively consensual, access to learning being nominally unrestricted, though it is arguable whether economic and social status can ever be totally egalitarian.

Policy as discourse

Policy was as yet informal, relying on custom and practice, with unquestioning acceptance of cultural values and of the status thereby accorded to the Church, their propagator. In other words, policy was that of discourse (Part II). So long as access to learning was unrestricted, and the traditional authority of the Church was uncontested, a consensual model prevailed, predating any perception of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu 1977).

2 The developmental period: 11th – 14th century England

The respective value of Latin and French

The second medieval era, the 'developmental period' (Curtis 1968), experienced foreign invasion, which brought political change to England and, with it, different linguistic needs. Now, the Normans' language, an early form of French, became that implicitly holding status and which was functionally required for accessing the *échelons* of the new ruling elite. Latin had, over the years, become associated with religious power and the original political act of invasion which brought it was long forgotten; now, French assumed unconscious associations with the temporal social status of a new invader. Like Latin before it, French was also a necessary tool. For functional and symbolic reasons, it became

the practical language of law and estate management, as well as the language of song and verse, of *chanson* and romance. (Morgan 1984:107)

Visualised according to the researcher's model of bilingualism (figure 1.4), those who could speak French served an essential role for the political invaders: they were the administrators and custodians of social structures and ideology (cf. Althusser's ISAs), hence occupied a position of functional value to the new rulers, without sharing their political power, their social status. In exchange for carrying out these functions, they nevertheless received not only a living, but prestige which placed them above the monolingual majority of the country.

England's educated citizens were, in fact, trilingual (Morgan 1984), but as will be seen below, Latin and French assumed different roles, implicitly holding differing degrees of social capital. Using the model introduced in chapter 2, figure 3.1 illustrates that of French, where the 'bilingual' English are shown as the mediators between monolingual invaders and their monolingual fellow countrymen. This therefore placed them in a more powerful position than the majority of the nation, since they were the only group able to engage proactively in two-way communication. In exchange terms (Archer 1984), they were able to trade their expertise for social status.

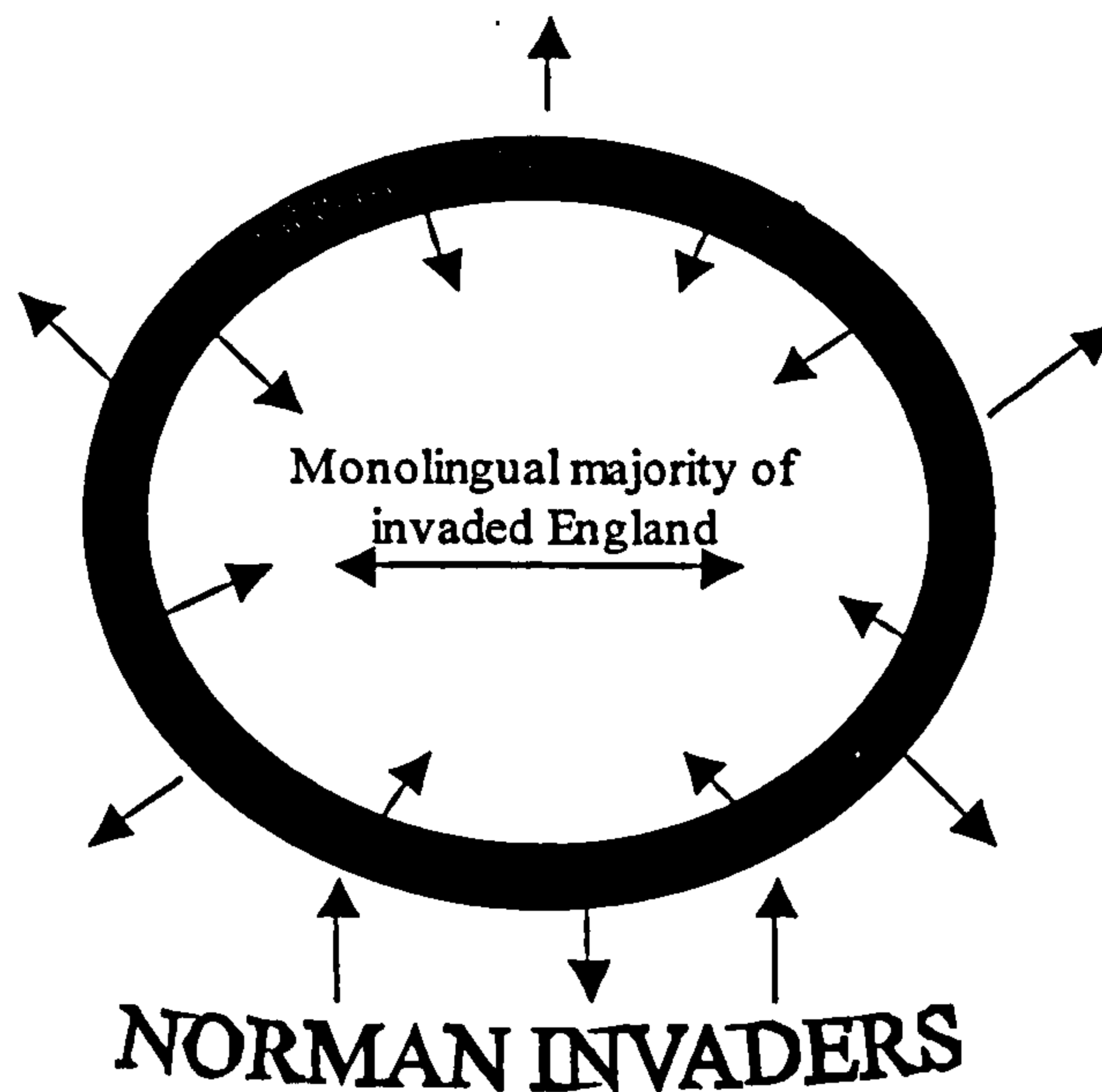


Figure 3.1

The power of bilingual French and English speakers in medieval England

The role of Latin, though, continued to flourish, since it was the language of religion and of the liberal subjects. Clearly, these uses represent different needs, hence values, from those of French: where the former was for spiritual, timeless purposes, the latter was for practical, temporal needs. This ideological distinction contributed to division between the two languages, and between the schools that taught them. For as Latin was the language of the Church, essential to future clerics, the monasteries must teach it but there was no practical need for these aspiring clerics to learn French. On the other hand, the cathedral schools were preparing students for secular and non-secular purposes, so both languages were required.

Origin of a hierarchy of languages

The result of this was that a hierarchy of languages was implicitly developing, with French holding greater temporal, social status than Latin because of its political value, but Latin having greater cultural value as a symbol of the Church and its eternal aspirations. In effect, a distinction was appearing between political and religious, secular and clerical, values. It was externalised in the divisions that arose between schools, and the nature of language taught began to reflect different aims. This initiated an institutional hierarchy, wherein the Latin, 'grammar', schools attached to the cathedrals provided a more extensive education than did the monastery schools. The latter would, in time, become little more than schools for basic literacy and chanting, 'chantries', losing all pretence to language learning.

As always, the coincidence of contributory factors is complex. Reflecting the chiasmatic structure of society (chapter 6), conflict was occurring within fields; structural changes within the Church were gradually establishing canon law (Gillingham 1984), setting subgroups against one another; meanwhile, changes in taxation were polarising the lifestyle of wealthy landowners from that of their tenants; on yet another level, demographic increases were seeing population growth in excess of agricultural development, hence there was competition for basic food supplies. One historian has suggested that

by the 1290s England was a country choked with people, a traditional economy unable to cope with the strains of population pressure, even perhaps a land on the brink of class warfare. (Morgan 1984:165)

In such circumstances, education has a crucial role to play in reproduction of the dominant orthodoxy, whilst still attending to the functional needs of the nation's systems. Both types of grammar school were therefore necessary to the Crown and Church, but the nature of their value was diverging and would eventually become differentiated hierarchically, as will be shown.

For the outcome of the 'dynamic complexity' (Senge 1999) of these coincidental factors was that the different vocational and social roles for which the schools prepared their students were gradually accompanied by a narrowing of the social classes attending each. To use the research model, the chantries were catering more for the Product/Instrument, practical form of education needed by future clerics, whereas the grammar schools pursued a more Process/Development model whose objective was not primarily vocational but resembled, rather, the 'liberal' form of education associated with non-vocational ends. Education held assumptions of future employment, hence self-exclusion was likely to keep poor groups out of the grammar schools, through a process of 'self-exclusion', if those schools did not match their perceived needs. As long as education provided villeins with the promise of something valuable, such as freedom, families were willing even to defy their lords and send their children to school without having secured his permission (Curtis 1968), but once that promise was removed such schooling was not relevant to them.

This appears to confirm the researcher's claim that languages have been seen primarily in terms of their practical value, thereby facilitating the development of a symbolic association with social class, and reproducing social stratification, albeit that this is the result of 'self-exclusion' on the part of those very groups who are disadvantaged (Bourdieu 1977).

These diverse factors were already contributing to change in England's education, hence language learning, when a new, international, dimension appeared: following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, scholars were dispersed across Europe (Barnes 1981, Curtis 1968). They took with them their knowledge of Aristotelian logic, a methodology which challenged Christian orthodoxy and, by extension, the social capital of a nation that was founded on Christian values. England's Church and political elite shared a common interest in defending themselves against this threat. As discussed in chapter 7, an immediate defence mechanism is to restrict access to the source of danger. Since literacy and knowledge of Latin were prerequisites for reading such 'dissident' philosophical works, access to grammar school learning would be controlled.

This was a by no means simple task, given technological developments and economic pressures. In the fourteenth century, parchment had been replaced by a cheaper product, paper, so the demand for literacy grew (Lawson and Silver 1973) as access to texts became easier. The imminent arrival in London of printing (Caxton, 1476) would add to this demand. Illustrating the spiral of functional and determinist influence between technology and values, the status of mother tongues was growing. By the late fourteenth century, English was socially acceptable as the medium of printing, and was even being used for business purposes.

Restricted access to learning through foreign languages

To control access to Aristotelian ideology was therefore difficult. The Crown and Church's first response was to reach an accommodation between Aristotelian logic and Christian faith, through a new school of thought, Scholasticism, and delivered in the schools via 'speculative grammar'. Robins (1967:74/5) provides a ready-made definition of these terms:

Speculative grammar was the product of the integration of the grammatical description of Latin as formulated by Priscian and Donatus into the system of scholastic philosophy. Scholasticism itself was the result of the integration of Aristotelian philosophy, at the hands of such thinkers as St. Thomas Aquinas, into Catholic theology. Scholasticism was a system of thought reinforced by and reinforcing the Christian faith of the day, which could serve to unify within itself all branches and departments of human learning and in which the claims of reason and of revelation could be harmonised.

In terms of the researcher's five key factors (table 1.1), access to *content* of educational material was controlled and foreign language learning provided a means of doing so, through institutional *structures* (cf Althusser, 1971, Weber 1978), the grammar schools, and *human capital* (the Church). This enabled the Crown to distance itself from responsibility for the values being transmitted, whilst achieving dissemination (if not acceptance) of its social capital.

Against the threat to their mutual values, Crown and Church were thus allied, and the role of Latin was now repositioned: its logical grammar was paraded as an illustration of divine creation, and its complexity testament to Man's inability to comprehend everything in the world. Latin learning was thereby moved away from study of literature, content, to that of language form – a far less politically dangerous activity. Latin was being deployed covertly as a tool for social control, an instrument of ideological reproduction (Bourdieu 1984). It remained of functional use as the language of academe, but since control was now imposed on the works available to schools, even this practical value was affected. Language learning was being manipulated for exclusive purposes, in order to sustain the internal values and structures of England. Implicitly, it had no intrinsic value, but could be deployed as a tool.

Political aims were further supported by institutional change within the field of education itself: the emergence of schools of higher learning, the first 'universities'. By 1220, those of Oxford then Cambridge had been established (Gillingham 1984, Robins 1967). These universities were attended at around age fourteen, and should not be confused with their later incarnations:

the early universities did not aim to provide general academic culture for a social elite; they were centres of professional training in equipping men for careers as teachers, preachers, civil and canon lawyers, officials and administrators. (Lawson and Silver 1973:31)

Their existence enabled a curricular distinction to be made which extended the degree of exclusion from learning: the grammar schools would now teach only the *Trivium*, leaving to the universities the *Quadrivium*, the potentially more dangerous areas of philosophical dialectic.

Functionalism and self-exclusion

Once more, the implications of these changes for social groups are predictable: a non-practical aim such as this study of grammar could not be indulged by those for whom education must meet a practical, vocational, objective. A natural process of

social self-selection could therefore be expected to occur, reinforcing stratification and excluding from the grammar schools all but those whose class or financial position was such that they did not need to pursue a Product/Instrument form of education. The process was legitimised through the appearance of choice, and exclusion apparently fell to individual (or his family) himself (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). The political agenda suggests that this was, in fact, an act of symbolic violence, intended to exclude from Latin learning those who might pose a threat to existing orthodoxies.

But what was the assumed role of French? By the latter part of the fourteenth century, its functional value, described in figure 3.1, had reduced as social and linguistic integration had grown. The difference between Latin and French now increased and a linguistic hierarchy can be explained according to the ideological or practical function each fulfilled. Figure 3.2 compares these. Both languages were known by a minority of the population, largely composed of the same individuals, so at this stage in the process, it is difficult to ascribe the difference to that of social class. For now, it is related essentially to practical and ideological objectives.

The figure is stylised and not to scale, but summarises the different value of each language. Using a colour coding that will continue throughout this analysis, the blue group (A) represents Latin speakers. They have a tool which is both nationally exclusive and internationally inclusive: at home, it is a practical instrument for accessing classical texts and academe, from which non-speakers are excluded, whilst abroad it gives access to international peers. As access to Latin has become restricted to the grammar schools and universities, and its content been refocused on speculative grammar, it has simultaneously become less 'useful' for most vocations. For the multiple social reasons touched upon above, self-exclusion operates with the result that the functional assumptions, institutions where Latin is learnt and the social groups who attend them gradually become conflated. Latin thereby acquires a symbolic image and value and a cycle of exclusion and social reproduction ensues.

However, the constraints of Scholasticism have been seen to derive from a deliberate attempt to manipulate England's education in order to defend the nation's political and religious values against the threats posed by Aristotelian logic. Only those who were least likely to challenge orthodoxies had access to the grammar schools and Latin, so implicitly they and their education were imbued with higher social status. Latin learning was to be responsible for reproduction of the social capital and formation of the functionaries required by the institutional systems. Their value to the Crown and Church was higher than that of the other schools. The researcher interprets these developments as an example of symbolic violence (Bourdieu), the nature of language learning, and access to it, having been manipulated for political purposes.

Latin, then, was essentially exclusive, and access was controlled for the internal needs of the nation.

French (B, indicated in red) was initially necessary for functional purposes, but it has been seen how associations with social status were inherent: the invaders, Norman aristocrats, held political power, so the ability to converse with them in French was both practical and enabled English learners to access their socially exclusive group. But as social integration deepened, the general functional value of French decreased,

leaving it as a tool for communication within higher social groups. It thus became a symbol of their status and a means of excluding interlopers.

Both Latin and French therefore had symbolic value, and were means of social exclusion. So why did a hierarchy appear? This can be understood by considering the nature of capital each supported: access to Latin was controlled for religious and political reasons, to sustain social values of a divine order, whereas French represented social values of a temporal order. If interpreted in terms of the chain of being (Corfield 1991), divine had higher status than temporal authority, the Crown was secondary to the Church. Still implicit, this hierarchy would later become evident as challenges were launched against this orthodoxy. For now, figure 3.2 shows the apparently parallel functional roles of French and Latin, each giving access to external communities, whilst sustaining an internal social hierarchy.

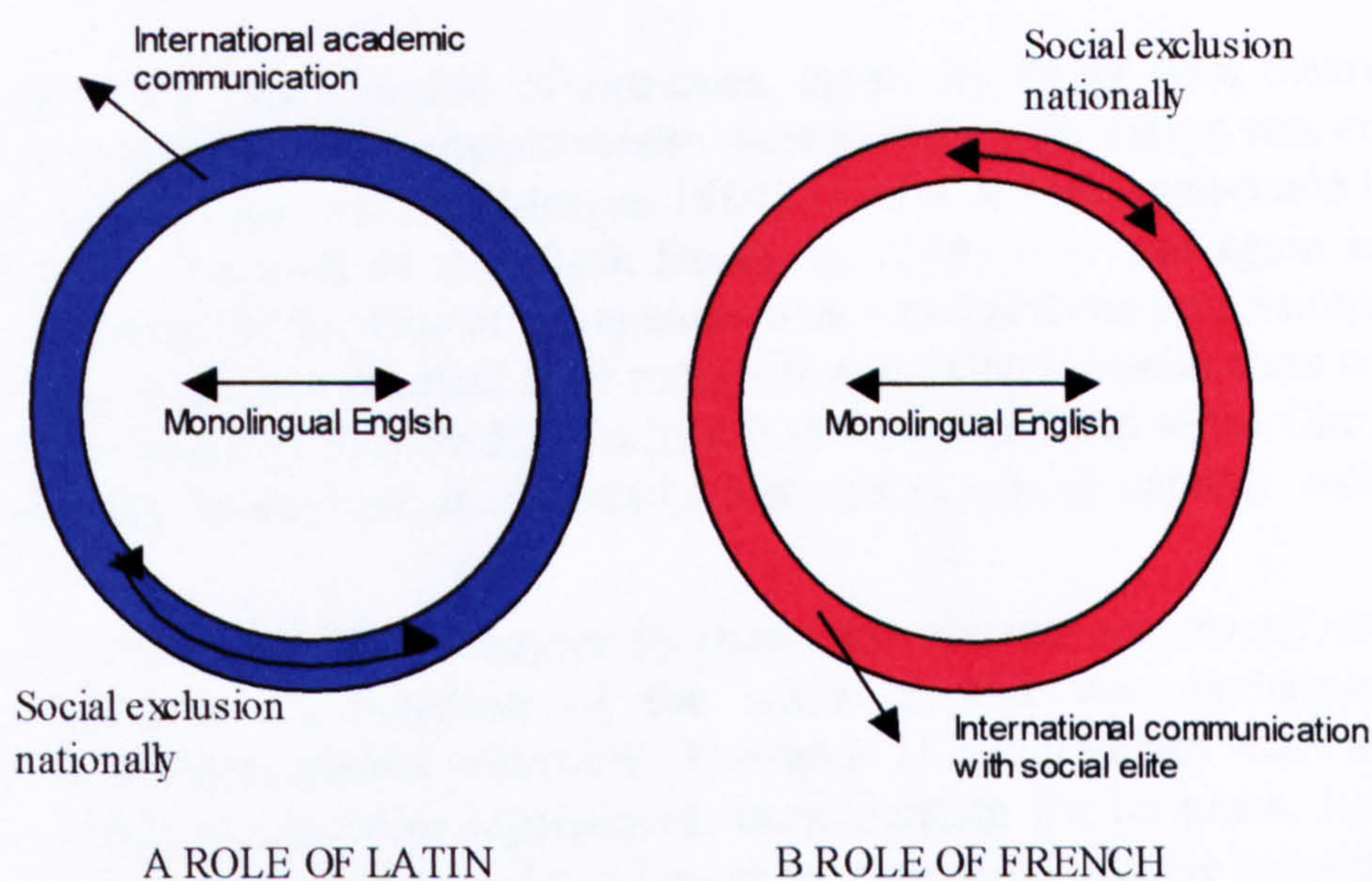


Figure 3.2

Linguistic status in medieval England

3 The consolidation period: late 14th – late 15th century England

The third period of mediaeval England, that of ‘consolidation’, also experienced immense social change.

Integration had by now seen the emergence of a hybrid language which removed the need for the indigenous people to learn French in order to communicate with the ruling political elite (Graddol, Leith and Swann 1996). The rise of this language, ‘English,’ coincided with a Europe-wide sense of nationalism, expressed in a newfound pride in the mother tongue (Kelly 1969, Koerner and Asher 1995). So, whilst the functional need for French reduced, the symbolic value of English increased, an important factor in subsequent attitudes towards foreign language learning. In fact, contemporaneous accounts exist to suggest that the patrician attitude often attributed to the English people was already being projected abroad:

an Italian visitor around 1500, when England’s overseas ‘empire’ was all but lost, could still report that ‘the English are great lovers of themselves and of everything belonging to them. They think that there are no men other than themselves, and no other world than England;

when they see a handsome foreigner they say that “he looks like an Englishman,” and that “it is a great pity that he should not be an Englishman””. (Griffiths 1984:222)

This was one factor that brought change to England’s education (hence language learning), but it was one of many. Humanist ideology had triggered other changes, as charitable donation increased and educational foundations grew (Lawson and Silver 1973). Popular literacy had by now increased, thanks to the arrival of printing (to London in 1476). As educational provision diversified, the Church’s erstwhile control was diminished and with it the status of the grammar schools. On the one hand, the nobility preferred to send their sons to the emergent 'boarding' (today's public) schools, or to educate them at home, whilst on the other, the lower classes had no incentive to educate their children formally once schooling was a right and no longer brought the promise of freedom (Lawson and Silver 1973). As a result, the grammar schools were socially ‘topped and tailed’, becoming primarily middle class enclaves.

Paradoxically, this was a period of extremes, creativity vying with destruction. While literacy and scientific inquisitiveness were growing, the nation was engaged in civil and international warfare (Morgan 1984). Added to these man-made factors, plague struck in the form of the Black Death, in 1349, 1361 and again in 1367 (Lawson and Silver 1973). One of its repercussions was that those professions which had previously been able to select their members according to social class had now to recruit from wherever they could. Exclusivity was reduced and so the Church and secular teaching profession symbolically lost status, social capital, within the community.

In terms of Althusser's ISAs (chapter 5), these two systems are crucial, but their ability to achieve reproduction of the social capital was undermined by diversification of educational provision. The range of social values was inevitably greater as more groups were represented, each fighting for its place, hence the Church and grammar schools could no longer be considered reliable instruments of social reproduction. It was a vicious circle: lower social status led to greater social exclusion and schools became identified with specific groups, in a process with which today’s readers will be familiar.

Amongst the causes of change was printing. Again reflecting the cyclical pattern of technology and change, technology had brought a new tool for communication; this had opened minds and led to changed values, amongst these, rationalist ideologies. Controlling access to formal learning through language and subject content was no longer an effective means of guarding against these ideas since

unorthodox ideas were being circulated by printed vernacular books, to the alarm of the bishops (Lawson and Silver 1973:85)

As a result of such disparate factors, the role of the grammar schools and their curriculum was changing. There was an urgent need for political intervention if the nation’s cultural capital was to be protected and if the Church and schools could not be relied upon to do this. But by intervening politically, the Crown and Parliament intruded into territory that had traditionally belonged to the Church; this challenged the spiritual authority of the Church with the legal powers possessed by men. The nascent conflict between cultural and religious capital was out in the open. The former alliance between Crown and Church was crumbling as the latter’s social

capital was devalued by science. Consensus was now being replaced by the imposition of power.

4 The medieval period and its significance for the research issues

Together, the mediaeval periods had experienced immense change. The social fabric of England was gradually diversified and with this came specialisation. Table 3.1 summarises the nature of foreign language learning during these centuries, showing the languages taught, the institutional structures of each period, and the assumed value of languages. The table may be read horizontally to give an overview of a single period, or vertically to compare the longitudinal state of any one element.

Table 3.1

Foreign language learning in medieval England

CENTURY	INSTITUTION	LANGUAGE	AIM
6 th – 11 th	Monastery schools	Latin	Both teach students of diverse social classes for use as either: a. <i>lingua franca</i> (academic), or b. vocational tool (clerical or secular).
	Cathedral schools		
11 th – mid 14 th	Monastic schools	Latin	Increasing differentiation: Grammar for clerics
	Cathedral schools	Latin French	For Freemen Grammar for secular vocations: Trivium for Juniors,
	Universities attached to Cathedral	Latin	Quadrivium for Seniors
late 14 th – late 15 th	Chantry schools	English	For all but poorest Basic literacy
	Vernacular schools	English	Investment by guilds etc. for literacy – vocational.
	Grammar schools	Latin for local boys	Vocational: language of learning and of the Church. Decreasing numbers of poorer and wealthier boys.
	Grammar (public) schools	Latin	For local and non-local boys, (boarders) increasingly exclusive of middle classes. For vocational and liberal purposes.
	Universities	Latin	Language of academe. Scholasticism

The immediate points of note are that the range of educational institutions has increased with time and a hierarchy of languages has evolved, each language being associated with a particular form of school and its specialised aim. Reduced access to schools and specialisation have gone hand in hand to a point where a social

hierarchy complements that of language. It has been legitimised through the effect of tradition, development of the *habitus*, and is assumed to allow choice, hence any exclusion is apparently the result of a personal, not political, decision. The researcher has nevertheless identified a deliberate political manipulation of the Latin curriculum in order to sustain social capital when it was threatened by new ideologies.

What does this historical account signify for the research issues?

R11 Formal foreign language learning in England has been characterised by a lack of coherent policy.

To facilitate analysis of the issues, the data from table 3.1 are converted into a visual image, using the model introduced in chapter 7. Figure 3.3 traces the aims of language learning in England across the three periods, plotting them against the dominant form of education. This potentially ranges from Content/Transmission, which represents social control, its function being to reproduce the collective ideology; through Product/Instrument, where language learning serves a relatively neutral purpose, providing an instrument for collective and individual benefit; to Process/Development which again has a symbolic rather than functional role but which, at the extreme, favours the individual or a group to the detriment of the collectivity.

If read horizontally, figure 3.3 compares the aims of different institutions within a single period. When read vertically, a chronological comparison is given. Colour coding is used to indicate the different languages taught by an institution: as in figure 3.2, blue represents Latin, red French, and white English.

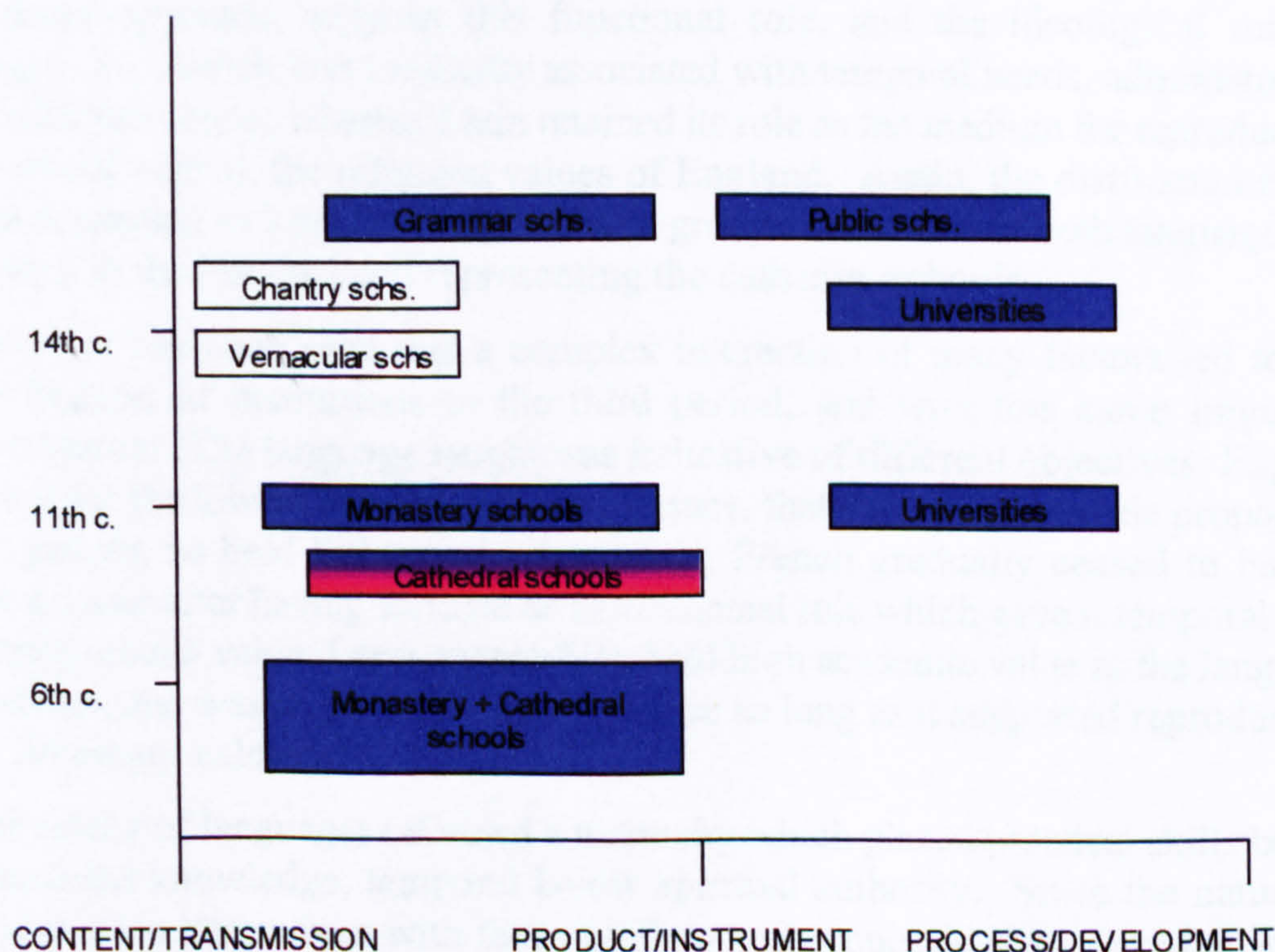


Figure 3.3
Language learning: values and institutions in medieval England

The pattern of (dis)continuity and growing institutional complexity is immediately revealed by this image. It shows that the same educational aim may have continued across the years, but that it was addressed in different institutions and via different languages. Alongside these changes, there have also been developments in educational objective, as illustrated by the position on the horizontal axis.

The data for this period therefore support the argument that language learning 'policy' has been discontinuous but does this mean that it was incoherent? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to examine the assumed values foreign language learning held, and the processes that brought any one set of values to dominate. This requires consideration of the institutions which were charged with teaching a given language, and the social groups who had access to them.

RI2 Whilst this lack of coherence may, superficially, appear to be a question of competing functional needs, it is really a consequence of political factors.

It is clear from figure 3.3 that foreign languages served a dual functional and symbolic role in these centuries: knowledge of the political invader's language was necessary in order to mediate between him and the indigenous population. Initially, bilingualism (education) was open to all, but by the end of the medieval period, it had become restricted to those whose economic status did not exclude them from education, those in other words, who were least likely to contest the prevailing ideology (Lawton 1992).

So long as the language of the invader and that required for ideological reproduction were one and the same, no distinction was visible between the functional and ideological roles of language: in the first period, Latin was needed for institutional, functional, purposes as well as being the language of religious transmission. Once French became the language which gave access to the dominant political group, differences appeared between this functional role, and the ideological role of language. So, French was implicitly associated with temporal needs, administration and social interaction, whereas Latin retained its role as the medium for reproduction of the social capital, the religious values of England. Again, the distinction could remain concealed so long as the same social groups had access to both languages, as illustrated in the blue/red cell representing the cathedral schools.

However, it has been seen that a complex interaction of many factors led to the diversification of institutions in the third period, and with this came linguistic differentiation. The language taught was indicative of different objectives: English was used for the lowest level of learning, literacy, that available to a wide proportion of the people, so held little academic capital; French gradually ceased to have a practical value after having fulfilled an instrumental role which gave it temporal (and temporary) social value; Latin, meanwhile, held high academic value as the language of academe, and was of paramount social value so long as it supported reproduction of the dominant values.

The hierarchy of languages reflected a hierarchy which placed practical skills below non-practical knowledge, temporal below spiritual authority. Since the nature of employment is interwoven with those of class and economic status, academic and social capital were similarly ranked.

Gradually, each of the elements were coming together that would produce a conflation of language, institution and social class, producing a linguistic divide. The researcher has proposed that this was the result of languages being seen primarily in functional terms, neglecting their symbolic value. The differences between institution and linguistic objectives apparently grew according to the needs of learners, but the researcher has shown how the relationship was open to manipulation: groups would exclude themselves from an institution which did not offer the form of education they perceived to be relevant to them. It has been argued that an act of symbolic violence was responsible for the distinction that grew between institutions: the languages curriculum was deliberately changed in order to encourage self-exclusion. This was politically driven and sought to sustain existing social structures and values, to the advantage of elite groups.

RI3 Foreign language learning has changed in the context of new technology but the functional value of new technologies as pedagogical tools has both orchestrated a new discourse for foreign languages, and provided a mask for political manipulation.

Why manipulation of education should be necessary has been seen to stem from a complex mix of factors, an important one of which was technological and scientific advancement. It has been seen that the relationship between new values and technological tools is iterative and is torn between economic and political forces. So, as the printed word gave access to new ways of thinking, and commercial interests were served by reaching the widest possible market, traditional religious values were affected, which threatened continuity of existing social capital.

Latin learning was first harnessed in order to exclude from access to new ideas those whose social background might make them a threat. This was achieved by manipulation of the content of the curriculum, and mediated by an alliance between the Church and Crown. The discussion comes back once more to the perception of languages in functional terms, and the operation of self-exclusion. The political objectives – reproduction of social values – were concealed by the new focus of Latin on grammatical analysis. This was not of practical value to the majority, so Latin became exclusive, becoming ultimately a symbol of having had a certain form of education. Those who excluded themselves did not realise that they were in effect contributing to their continued disadvantage because they saw only the functional aim of education not the symbolisation that was being perpetuated.

*

Throughout this discussion, the five key factors for inclusion or exclusion within in a community have recurred: who has access to languages, which language and the subject content, the institutions in which they are taught, by whom and for what purposes have been seen to vary as competition between political, academic, social and economic capital has impacted on England's educational system.

By the late fifteenth century, a linguistic divide is beginning, imperceptibly, to establish itself, and there are indications that the balance of power is moving from religious to secular parties. At this point, the data confirm discontinuity of language learning values within a period and longitudinally, but they do not prove lack of coherence (RI1). On the contrary, resort to political manipulation of the curriculum

suggests that there was a concerted attempt to perpetuate the educational discourse. There is evidence that the functional and ideological values of foreign language learning (RI2) have been played off against each other in the process of this manipulation, detracting from the symbolic value of linguistic knowledge (RI3) and the importance of technological developments in respect of changing social values has been demonstrated.

Chapter 9 will now examine the same issues in the history of sixteenth century England.

CHAPTER 9

LANGUAGE LEARNING IN 16TH CENTURY ENGLAND

1 Scientific and technological development and religious reform

The history of foreign language learning in sixteenth century England (see e.g. Kelly 1969, Koerner and Asher 1995) cannot be separated from two major 'events', one international the other internal:

- the Renaissance, and
- the Reformation of the Church of England.

But the gravity of these events

is inevitably more complex, less glamorous, and more interesting than myth. The most potent factors within Tudor England were often social, economic and demographic ones. (Guy 1984:223)

Scientific and technological development

As always, it would be simplistic to reduce the century to a single entity either within a period or longitudinally. Its complexity reveals many contradictions, and hesitancy in the face of change, as scientific and technological 'advances' enabled yet further enquiry, uncovering cosmological (e.g. Copernicus 1543) and geographical (e.g. Drake 1577-80, Raleigh 1584) realms and deepening understanding of the world, but challenging prevailing religious and theoretical orthodoxies (Green 1992, Curtis 1968). Despite Scholastic attempts (chapter 8) to mitigate against the dangers of rationalist thought, the Renaissance brought an explosion of scientific and technological developments which inevitably impacted on 'social capital'.

Continuing the alternation of creativity and destruction, while the reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547) was riven with civil and international strife (Lawson and Silver 1973), that of his daughter, Elizabeth I (1558-1603) has been described as one of 'inertia and immobility [which] had established a pattern that precluded comprehensive reform' (Guy 1984:285). Given such variability in the century, a brief chapter can only touch upon some of the factors that contributed to social discourse and the forms of capital vying for dominance. The sixteenth century is perfect for study of change in social capital as technology advances; for indeed

printing is the classical case of a technological innovation which necessitates rethinking basic assumptions about society, and in this particular instance, about society's linguistic organisation. (Harris and Taylor 1996:169)

Religious reform

Reflecting the indivisibility of cause and effect, changes in technology were accompanied by changed perceptions of the world, not least, those of religious belief. A climate of uncertainty and challenge to orthodoxies arguably contributed in 1534 to Henry VIII's ability to split from the Roman Catholic church (Lawson and Silver 1973). Whether this action was prompted by political or personal motives is a matter of dispute, but is not central to this study: the importance here lies in its repercussions for education and, specifically, for language learning. For the schism with Rome brought an end not only to England's adherence to Roman Catholicism but to everything associated with the faith, including the Latin language. Perhaps intuiting

the symbolic role of language, Henry explicitly sought to make English the language of his Protestantism, a task which was made easier by the availability of the printed word (McCrum, Cran and MacNeil 1986) and the growth in literacy (chapter 8).

Typical of technology's dual determinist and instrumental relationship with society, printing was both one trigger for the change in values which contributed to the Reformation, and also an instrument for Henry and his successors to use in promulgating the new orthodoxy. Thanks to the printing press, an English version of the Bible¹ was commissioned and the authorised Book of Prayer² produced (Lawson and Silver 1973). But the printed word was simultaneously a weapon for other faiths. Consequently, Cardinal Wolsey

sought to reform education under the aegis of the Church, prescribing schooling and university studies to stem the spread of Lutheran heresy (Green 1992:239)

and, as Lord Chancellor, Thomas More in 1530 forbade the importation of any books in English, and banned England's printing of religious tracts.

But where the Catholic Church had been able to control access to biblical texts when they were written in Latin, increased literacy, the availability of printed texts and the use of English, desirable for both economic reasons and acculturation, now combined to create an unstoppable force of expanding knowledge, notwithstanding such political measures.

The Crown could dictate its official orthodoxy, its 'policy as text' (Ball 1994), but it could not enforce belief in it. Although institutional mechanisms of support (cf Althusser 1971, Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) were created through establishment of the Church of England and merging of the offices of Lord Privy Seal and vice-regent, a position first held by Cromwell in 1532, devout religious opponents could not be suppressed other than by physical aggression.

Henry VIII was not averse to using this. An obvious example, dissolution of the monasteries, brought him both practical and symbolic advantages: he was able to replenish his bankrupt coffers, and also to send a covert message to 'those clerics who were politically alert' (Guy 1984:248) that it was preferable for them to support the king than to remain with the Catholic Church.

However, like other fields, the Church itself was dividing into subgroups, each competing for dominance. Not only had the Anglican Church severed its ties with Rome; non-conformists, too, were fragmenting. Perhaps most dangerous was Humanist ideology which openly rejected the erstwhile compromise that Scholasticism had offered between science and belief; Puritanism despised the rituals of the Catholic Church, pursuing, instead, simplicity and piety (Guy 1984).

Threat to social capital

Religious belief and scientific inquiry were inextricable, since Puritanism saw human knowledge as a means to the glorification of God's achievement. But greater enlightenment risked changing social values. No longer, though, could religious orthodoxy be sustained through the *habitus*, the effect of man-made traditions: the new faiths were built on reasoned belief in a divine authority, and this was placed above the temporal authority of the Crown or Parliament. Adherents were ready to put their eternal spiritual salvation before the earthly hypocrisy of paying lip service to the Anglican Church; their defiance was a direct threat to the dominant groups whose powers they denied, and who were therefore beyond their control.

2 Educational and linguistic change

In leaving the Roman Church, Henry not only divided society at large, across social classes: abolition of the monasteries and chantries destroyed one provider of grammar schooling, the very institutional supports needed for reproducing the country's human and social capital (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). An ideologically divided society might prevent the emergence of a single group powerful enough to challenge the dominant orthodoxy, but the values of that orthodoxy must be sustained.

In such circumstances, the role of education is paramount. If the Crown was to succeed in establishing and reproducing the new religious discourse, it needed greater institutional support than that which the Church of England alone could offer. To this end, it seized control of the remaining grammar schools: by granting them endowments, in exchange for this financial support, they were brought under state control and hence were harnessed as media for cultural reproduction.

The role of Greek

Humanist ideology was having an irresistible impact on education, too, here on the nature of academic capital. In the interests of spiritual enlightenment, religious texts must be studied, but to have access to them required knowledge of Greek. The importance of languages was therefore paramount, as Erasmus declared:

it is through ignorance of languages that the world fell on evil days and even came close to extinction. (Erasmus *Opera Omnia*)

Not only did these religious aims bring about a renaissance in the learning of Greek, they also led to a new form of linguistic study, scriptural exegesis. The focus fell now on study of the *content* of historical texts, and aimed at personal redemption through such devotion.

This completely reversed the earlier political attempts to use language (Latin) and proscription as a means of controlling access to 'dangerous' texts (chapter 8). Politically, it was a threat to existing cultural capital, and academically, it brought a new role for language learning, one clearly related to the individual and his spiritual welfare. This was in contrast to the exclusive model of Latin learning that had begun to develop in England of recent years.

The homo trilinguis

Events are once more impossible to attribute to cause and effect. Once Latin had ceased to be the language of the Church, there was no linguistic justification for its having greater status than the other classics, Greek and Hebrew. So grew the social ideal of a *homo trilinguis*, an educated man who had studied three languages and who had thereby internalised from past models the moral characteristics desirable in a gentleman (Koerner and Asher 1995, Robins 1967, Kelly 1969). As before, such non-practical 'liberal' ends were likely to lead poorer scholars to exclude themselves from the institutions that offered this form of education (Process/Development), thereby apparently legitimising the consequences (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). This illustrates the symbolic role of languages and the parallel already drawn with social status (chapter 8):

hierarchy was a key concept not only linguistically but also socially. High social status was something to be signalled through dress, manners, behaviour and speech. (Graddol 1996:151)

The ideal curriculum was for Latin to be complemented by Greek and, to a lesser extent, Hebrew, but clearly multi-linguists able to teach these subjects could not be produced instantly. In a limited market, those who did exist would be most likely to teach in the more prestigious schools, where French was still of practical value to an upper class clientele. A combination of professional desires for symbolic power (prestige) and self-exclusion (Wacquant 1987) of all but the most affluent, on grounds of functional need, produced a situation whereby the concept of *homo trilinguis* became inherently associated with the 'public' schools and the social elite they served. In time, practice would become normalised and, since notions of functionality predominated, was not conflictual.

For the cultured *homo trilinguis* did not study languages for any practical use, they were an art. The goal was to produce elegant, grammatically correct Latin and Greek, in imitation of ancient scholars. The spoken word is spontaneous, inherently prone to inaccuracy, and more concerned with communicating a message than with the medium of that message: beautiful and correct language by implication meant written language. It was the beginning of a schism that has run throughout the subsequent history of foreign language learning: what should be the respective roles - hence status - of oral and written skills, and which should be taught first?

Academic distinctions become intertwined once more with practical and non-practical aims. As in chapter 8, self-exclusion would occur if the nature of language learning did not lead to the assumed needs of learners. However, the nation continued to need an educated middle class of functionaries, so it could not dispense with a form of learning which developed the skills and knowledge needed for these positions. Non-practical and practical aims could both be met, but not within the same institution or via the same form of language learning. Consequently,

the dichotomy between liberal and mechanical arts became the most striking feature of the education system. Latin and Greek were subjects for gentlemen, merely useful or practical subjects were for tradesmen and artificers. (Lawson and Silver 1973: 145)

The researcher has attributed this initial dichotomy to a deliberate act of symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), manipulation of the functional nature of the curriculum in order to produce a situation of apparent self-exclusion by those whom the Crown wished to keep in linguistic ignorance.

The practical and symbolic values of language

In the grammar schools, pending the development of adequate human capital, and bearing in mind the different functional needs of their students, Latin remained central. Since the Crown had now bought itself a legitimate right to intervene in what the grammar schools taught (Curtis 1968, Lawson and Silver 1973), it was able still to prescribe both the subjects taught and texts used. In 1540, Lily's grammar³ was accordingly declared the (only) authorised Latin textbook (Kelly 1969). This work was politically acceptable since it had a purely grammatical bias, with no connection to the by-now discredited Scholastic logic, and thus posed no danger of awakening seditious ideas in the minds of the country's future middle classes. Its 'lettered piety' (Bowen 1981:10) achieved the *functional* needs of educating these groups, whilst simultaneously insinuating the cultural *values* of the Crown: it was a Content/Transmission model of curriculum mixed with Product/Instrument objectives, much as had existed previously (chapter 8). The main difference was that now, the vernacular replaced Latin for everyday communication, and Latin and

Greek were studied through grammar and translation; texts such as those of Virgil and Cicero were replaced by the gospel of St John (Curtis 1968).

Political control of the educational system

However, borrowing a modern day notion, the Crown and Parliament took additional steps to control the educational ISA (Althusser 1971; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990): whereas in the past, access to forms of *learning* had been controlled, now access to *delivery* of the curriculum was also restricted. So, Elizabeth I's *Injunctions* (1559) required that school statutes should demand

that all teachers of children shall stir and move them to live and do reverence to God's true religion now truly set for by public authority (XLI).

- in other words, teachers must actively seek to reproduce the social capital, through inculcation of Protestant values. In order to exclude all dissenters from the educational process, they were compelled to swear acceptance of 'God's true religion' and subsequently, the Penal Act (1571) banned all Catholic schools (Curtis 1968, Bowen 1981). Only the consenting grammar and 'great' schools, and the universities were left officially to educate those who would go on to hold positions of civil and religious authority, and only those who embraced the new religion would have access to these institutions and professions, whether as learners or as teachers.

To instruct teachers in the best methods, a new generation of theorists could be called upon, writers patently complicit with the Crown's values. Hence Ascham advocated the use of transcription, this being

very necessary to induce into an orderly general knowledge, how to refer orderly all that he (the learner) readeth. (Ascham 1570, in Kelly 1969)

Foreshadowing one of Bernstein's 'message systems of schooling' (Ball 1994), the Crown was manipulating the teachers responsible for transmitting its message.

Similarly, in another move which would set a precedent for future generations, control was taken of assessment: the state assumed responsibility for the award of university degrees, the nature of which was obliged to change once Latin was downgraded in the school curriculum. At Oxford, Latin ceased to be a subject in its own right, the last degree it carried being awarded in 1569. It became instead a tool for academe; this led to the foundation of new colleges for the study of classical literature (Kelly 1969). The Crown was therefore accrediting what was consistent with its values, and ensuring that those who aspired to high office held the qualifications it recognised, in order to oversee reproduction of the existing cultural capital.

Having controlled access to the schools and to the profession charged with teaching in them, and prescribed the texts they must use, the Crown was also able to capitalise on the teachers' acceptance of a new pedagogical model. But why was the profession willing to embrace this model?

A plausible reason must be that, once Latin was no longer the language of the Church nor necessary for academic discourse, classicists needed to find an alternative role. The new linguistic emphasis on form not only gave them this, but actually raised the status of their discipline because of its associations with the *homo trilinguis*' social class: its higher academic capital effectively derived from social capital, the class of those attending the most prestigious schools.

But the model also enjoyed the support of leading scholars, bringing it academic capital in its own right. For example, following Ascham's (1568) prohibition of speaking in the Latin tongue on the grounds that it was detrimental to style and accuracy, in time, this became the new linguistic discourse. Social class nevertheless remains an inherent factor, as Ascham was writing for the upper classes. An alternative model was favoured for the grammar school: there, Mulcaster⁴, Master of St Paul's School (1576), stressed the vocational role of education hence endorsed oral communication. Oral language equated with skills and was thus implicitly associated with functionality, imbuing it with inferior status to that of written language of a non-practical character.

A linguistic hierarchy

In other words, form and the content of language learning were still an externalisation of class assumptions, and these were bound up with practical and symbolic needs, producing a hierarchy of languages parallel to that of social status. The ancient aristocracy expected 'some first-hand acquaintance with foreign countries and their languages and cultures' (Lawson and Silver 1973:133), the trilingual model of education, so, by imitation, did the lesser gentry:

their overriding concern was to preserve and advance their family interest by marriage and primogeniture, and they wanted an education commensurate with their social aspirations. (Lawson and Silver 1973:94)

Latin was needed by the middle classes who would benefit from grammar schooling, whilst the elementary levels of education available to lower (conformist) social groups would use English since the vernacular was the surest means of transmission, be that of values or skills. Foreign languages were therefore implicitly used as means of excluding others from the ranks of those who knew them, whereas English was used for inclusive purposes: to bring the populace into a collective sense of identity through shared cultural values. It simultaneously provided an external symbol of 'the English', for,

after centuries of linguistic fragmentation, Europe had at last awoken to a new sense of connection between linguistic identity and political identity. (Harris and Taylor 1996:170)

It has been suggested that England the coloniser had already acquired an international image of aloofness (Graddol 1996), but England the proselytiser recognised a need to reach out linguistically to potential converts (Koerner and Asher 1995). From this grew a new element in the field of language learning, one facilitated by printing: grammars for missionaries, in languages other than French and the Classics.

So, by the end of this century, language learning had both diversified and become more specialised, mirroring the previous period's institutional developments. Table 3.2 brings together the data, providing an overview of the foreign languages taught, their aims and institutions in the sixteenth century. It does not include the elementary schools, where English alone was taught.

Table 3.2 uses the same format as that of table 3.1, with which it can be compared to give a longitudinal comparison. Horizontal reading offers an overview for a single type of institution; if read vertically, a single aspect of the data is compared across institutions.

Table 3.2

Foreign language learning in sixteenth century England

INSTITUTION	LANGUAGE	AIMS
Grammar schools	Latin (+ Greek) Via prescribed texts	Functional production of educated administrators; cultural reproduction Latin as academic lingua franca Self-exclusion through economic means so predominantly middle class boys
Public (great) schools	Latin (+ Greek + French) Prescribed texts	Liberal education as 'homo trilinguis' Self-exclusion, through economic means, so for upper classes and wealthy
Universities	Latin medium	Dual academic (functional) need and symbolic accoutrement of gentleman Self-exclusion through economic means

What, then, do these data indicate in respect of the research questions themselves?

3 Evidence for the research issues

Again, the reader is struck by the 'dynamic complexity' (Senge 1990) of social change, and the spiral of technological/scientific and ideological development. In order to unravel some of this, it is helpful to begin by locating the data on the research continuum.

Figure 3.4 does this, using the familiar colour coding to distinguish between languages (blue = classics, red = modern languages). At this stage, Latin and Greek are not differentiated. The different curricular model each of the three institutional types is immediately apparent, as well as the difference in languages offered.

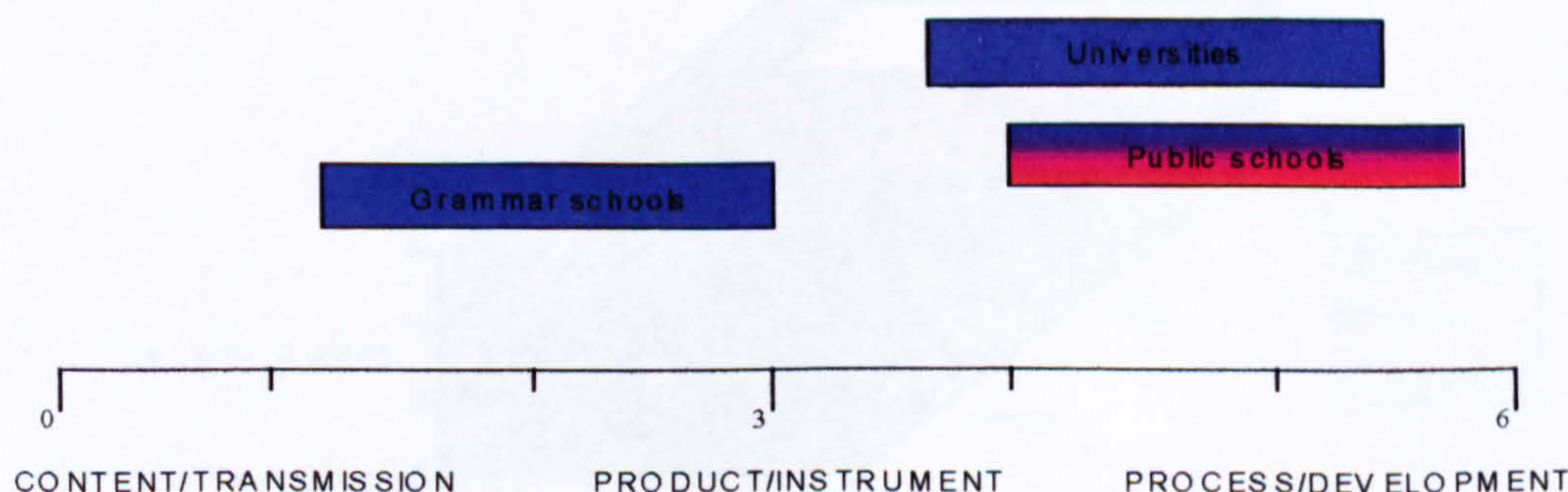


Figure 3.4

The aims of language learning in 16th century England

R11 Formal foreign language learning in England has been characterised by a lack of coherent policy.

As figure 3.4 shows, the institutions have differing collective and individual objectives, which the discussion has revealed as being a mix of Content/Transmission and Product/Instrument aims in the grammar schools, Process/Development in the public schools, and likewise in the universities, though with some exceptions. This demonstrates the diversity of aims but does not prove incoherence of policy. To examine that, a longitudinal account may be more informative.

It will be noticed that, unlike previous uses of the model, figure 3.4 subdivides the continuum into seven points, ranged from 0, a language curriculum that aims purely at Content/Transmission, to 6, one that is uniquely for Process/Development; Product/Instrument models lie at point 3. By rating the curricular model of a period or institution, it becomes possible to track the aims longitudinally as well as laterally.

Figure 3.5 now combines the data for the sixteenth century with those presented in figure 3.3, in order to compare the nature of language learning within the three institutional types from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. As the focus of this image is now on progression over time, the axes have been reversed, and the general model of language learning for each institution in each of the two centuries is plotted on the seven-point scale.

When viewed thus, the three institutional profiles are seen to follow a consistent but parallel pattern. The grammar schools (powder blue) are shown to be pursuing collective, functional outcomes; the public schools (maroon), essentially personal, non-functional aims, and the universities (cream) meeting both collective, functional, needs and those of personal development. In other words, there appears to be continuity in the linguistic discourse over time, though inconsistency within an era.

But is this distinction a result of ‘policy’ or of incoherence? The answer can be investigated by considering the specific aims of these institutions, the nature of their students, and the form of language provided.

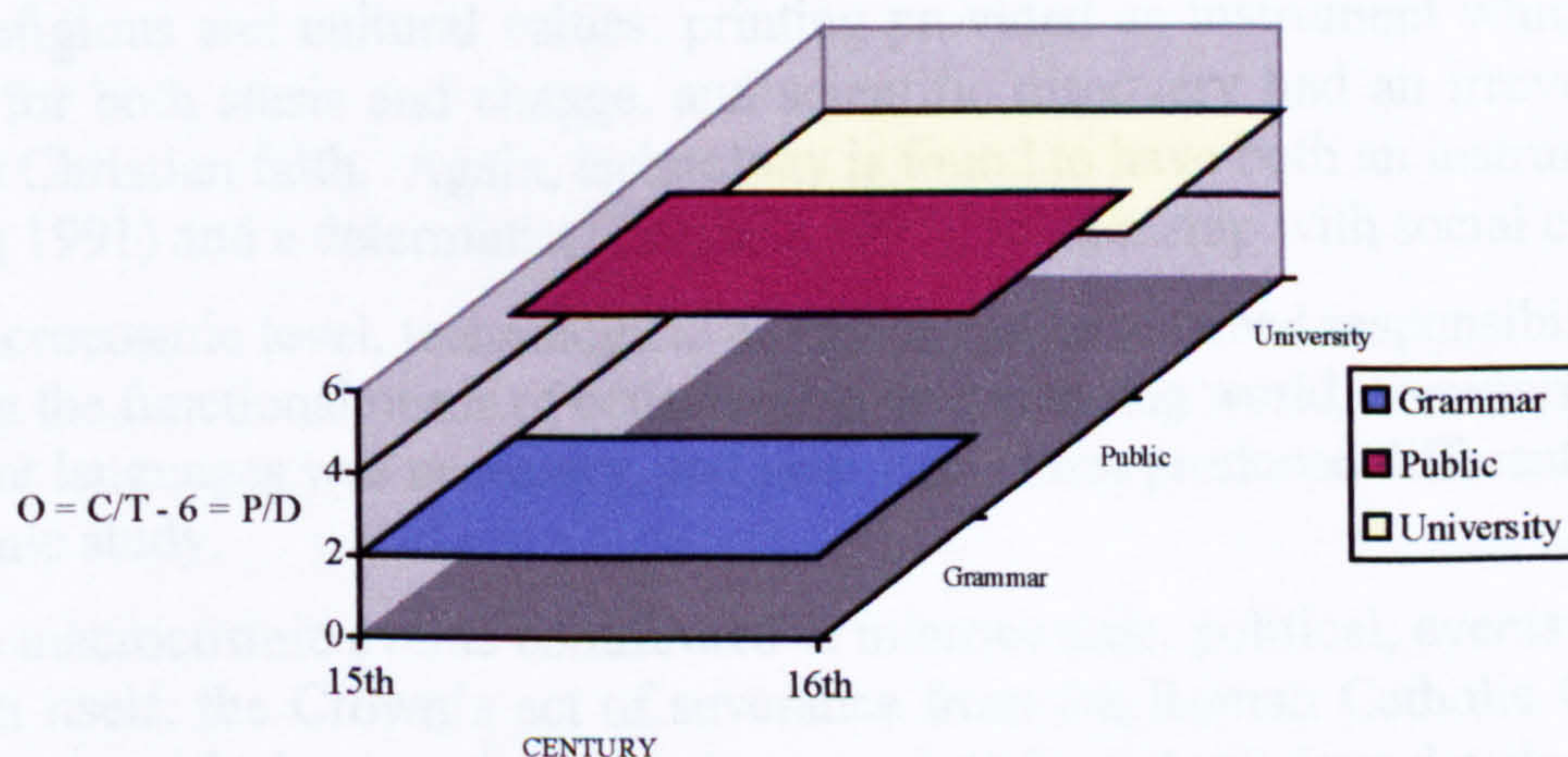


Figure 3.5
Language learning aims by institution and century

RI2 Whilst this lack of coherence may, superficially, appear to be a question of competing functional needs, it is really a consequence of political factors.

The above discussion has observed that the sixteenth century's language learning aims range from practical to non-practical, but these have been linked specifically to institutions, reflecting the different expectations of their students. These expectations derive from the assumed role that learners will play in society. As such, they are determined by their socio-economic status, based on an implicit acceptance of social immobility.

A hierarchy of institutions thus reflects the hierarchy of social and economic capital owned by those who attend them. The researcher has argued that political manipulation of the form of education that institutions offer can occur, with the deliberate intention of discouraging groups from attending a given institution. Whilst economic and social capital are necessary for accessing either the public or the grammar schools, an additional deterrent to would-be interlopers is the education provided. Hence it has been seen that a process of self-exclusion can be triggered if the education offered by an institution does not prepare the individual for the lifestyle or career that awaits him. Once more, Bourdieu's model of symbolic violence and development of a new habitus offers a framework for interpreting events.

In terms of the researcher's key factors, access, content and social capital are jointly invoked to bring about the desired exclusion. Unwittingly, cultural practice is developing, apparently based on different functional needs but which actually reinforces these differences and reproduces social stratification. For implicit within these different needs are associations of class, money, and academic capital.

Figure 3.4 contains a clue to how this process of differentiation is realised: through the different languages to which groups have access. This leads to RI3, how and why languages have become differentiated.

RI3 Foreign language learning has changed in the context of new technology but the functional value of new technologies as pedagogical tools has both orchestrated a new discourse for foreign languages, and provided a mask for political manipulation.

As chapter 9 has seen, technological and scientific developments were closely bound up with religious and cultural values: printing provided an instrument which was activated for both stasis and change, and scientific discovery had an irreversible impact on Christian faith. Again, technology is found to have both an instrumental (Feenberg 1991) and a determinist (Ebersole 1995), relationship with social change.

At the macrocosmic level, technological advances can be ascribed responsibility for changes in the functional needs of education: in an expanding world, communication in different languages was necessary, and new discoveries produced different forms of academic study.

But these macrocosmic events contributed to microcosmic, political, events within the nation itself: the Crown's act of severance from the Roman Catholic Church called for a new ideology, at the same time as scientific and religious developments across Europe were also calling for new ideologies. In order to establish and reproduce its preferred values, the Crown used formal powers to exclude those who were a threat to it, and formed an implicit alliance with the teachers.

It was able to do so because the teachers of Latin were, effectively, under threat in much the same way as was the Crown, illustrating the chiasmatic nature of conflict. Where technology was ultimately causing a threat to cultural values, so it was undermining the academic value of the teachers. Their subject was losing validity in a modernising world which preferred to use vernacular tongues.

If the threat is followed through to another layer in the chiasma, those who previously had learnt Latin not only for functional reasons but also as a symbol of exclusivity were in danger of losing that symbol, hence their elite status. By coincidence, manipulation of foreign languages offered a solution to all three problems: if Latin were replaced by a new language which would have no practical value for learners, it could be invoked to sustain social differentiation, whilst providing a new role for the teachers, and simultaneously allowing the Crown to propagate the social values of its choosing.

This is clearly not a neat process of cause and effect, and serendipity must be recognised. Nevertheless, the Humanist interest in Greek meshed well with these micro and macro political interests, and together produced linguistic changes in the schools.

In terms of the key factors which have been attributed to sustaining or preventing a social of linguistic divide (Warschauer, and chapter 7 above), it has already been shown how *access* could be manipulated by choice of curriculum (linguistic) *content*; in the sixteenth century, *institutional structures* and *human capital* were also controlled by the Crown in order to establish the *cultural capital* it sought. Now, though, it was necessary to resort to formal powers since the authority established by custom was insufficient to withstand the defiance of those who placed divine authority above that of the Crown and Parliament.

The hypothesis made in RI3 appears, then, to be upheld: political manipulation of the curriculum based on functional assumptions has occurred without exposing the act of manipulation. In achieving this, a hierarchy of language has been created which is parallel to the social hierarchy as indicated by the different educational institutions and their patrons. This derives from different forms of academic capital, based on functionality.

To understand this process, the differences of language must be elaborated. Figure 3.4 distinguished between the classics and French, but not between Latin and Greek. Figure 3.6 now differentiates between the two classics, using green shading to represent Greek. Latin currently fulfils two different roles, still having a functional value as the *lingua franca* for scholars, as well as contributing to the image of a *homo trilinguis*. Those who *speak* Latin have a practical tool which enables them to communicate with scholars internationally, rendering the language inclusive for a certain group. But since these scholars are just that, a group, the language can also be seen as exclusive of those who lack this learning. It thus becomes a symbol of those who are learned, of the 'academic capital'.

By contrast, the *homo trilinguis* does not learn his languages for purposes of communication with others; their role is symbolic rather than functional. Latin and Greek play exclusive roles (situation B), providing a symbol of the *homo trilinguis*, without knowledge of which individuals cannot access the group.

Accordingly, situation A shows Latin as being inclusive, reaching out to other communities as does the use of modern languages such as French. Situation B is the converse, Latin and Greek looking inwards and becoming a symbol of the group's social identity, a prerequisite for membership.

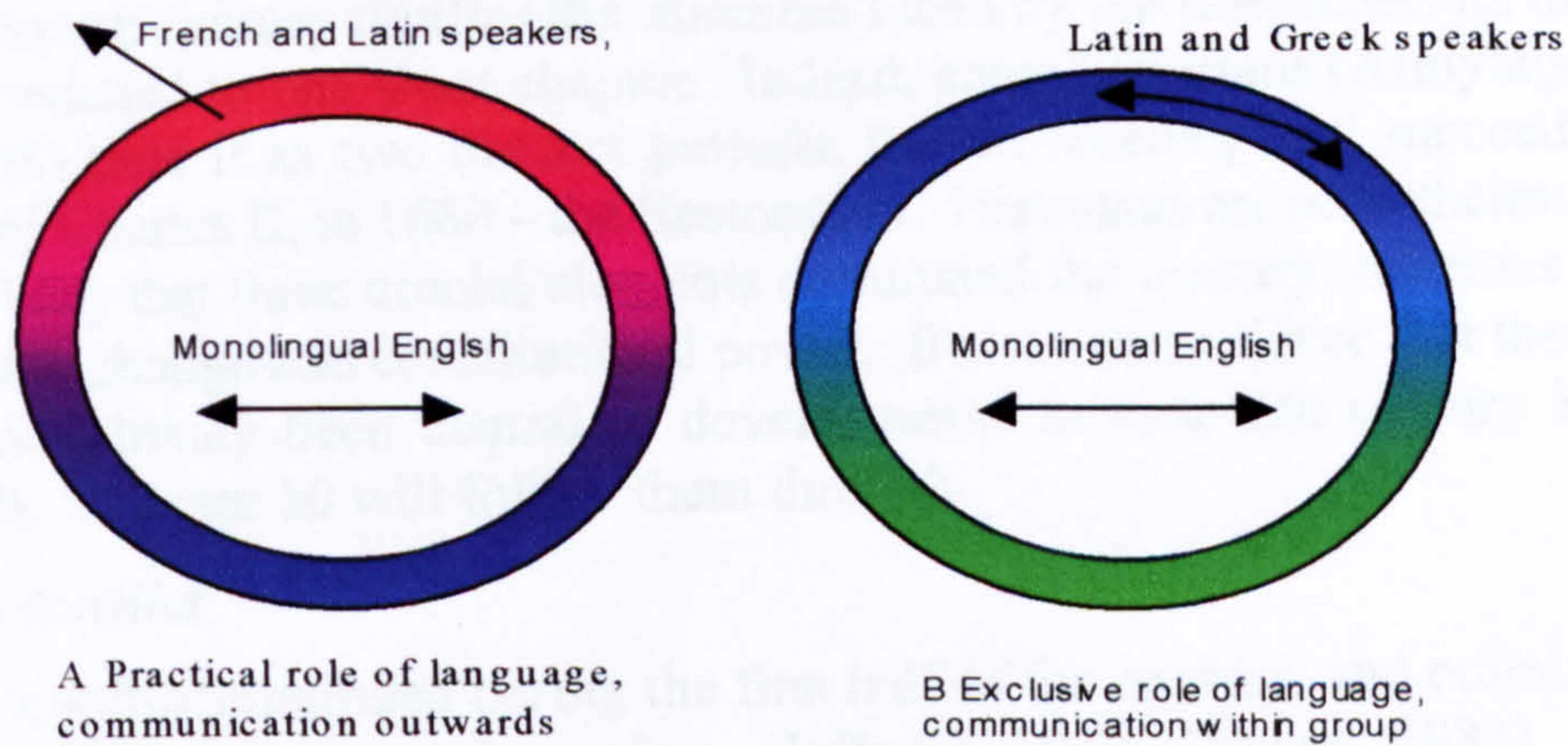


Figure 3.6

Inclusive and exclusive uses of language learning in 16th century England

The composition of respective groups is directly related to specific institutions and they in turn are associated with different social classes. So, through the process of habituation, unconscious links are made between the language, institutions and social group, creating parallel hierarchies of language and class, in turn reflecting the academic hierarchy wherein non-practical learning is given higher status than practical - a prejudice still found today in the debate over skills and vocational learning. Within the country, then, foreign languages are still able to play an exclusive role.

*

This brief account of language learning in sixteenth century England therefore reinforces the responses on the three research issues that were emerging in chapter 8. Chapter 10 will take this forward into the seventeenth century.

¹ Five versions appeared between 1535 and 1568

² English editions of the Book of Common Prayer appeared in 1549 and 1552 under Edward VI, confirmed by the Act of Unity 1559, under Elizabeth I

³ Liley's Rules Construed, 1515, final form 1574 A Short Introduction to Grammar, generally to be used: compiled and set forth for the bringing up of all those that intend to attain the knowledge of the Latin tongue

⁴ Mulcaster, R Positions, and First Part of the Elementerie; see J Oliphant 1903, The educational writings of Richard Mulcaster, James Maclehorse

CHAPTER 10

LANGUAGE LEARNING IN 17TH CENTURY ENGLAND

1 Social change in seventeenth century England

The seventeenth century typifies the dilemma faced by the researcher: its diversity cannot be reduced to one short chapter. Indeed, some historians (Armytage 1964, Curtis 1968) treat it as two distinct periods, those preceding and succeeding the accession of Charles II, in 1660 – the Restoration. Historians are nevertheless agreed (Morrill 1984) that three crucial elements dominated the century: religious values, demographic change and constitutional power. It is no coincidence that these three factors have already been central to developments in sixteenth century England (chapter 9). Chapter 10 will follow them through.

Religious conflict

Religious conflict continued during the first half of the century, and culminated in both civil and international warfare (Jeffreys 1967, Bowen 1981), but its politicisation reduced after the Restoration (Morrill 1984). However, as chapter 9 has found, no longer was division simply between the Catholic and Protestant churches: Puritan belief now split Protestantism itself. The opposition of divine authority to temporal power moved to a new plane as international alliances were formed, facilitated by greater and faster means of communication and travel abroad. Thanks to technology, the world was opening up, permitting unusual alliances (Lawton 1992), ideological groupings that went beyond political boundaries and those of social class, pitching interest groups, as opposed to nations, against one another.

Demographic changes

As always, factors were iterative, religious divisions and demography contributing to England's changing social values. Dissenters now had an alternative option to capitulation to the Anglican Church: emigration. It has been claimed (Morgan 1984:294) that more than a third of a million (mainly) male adults left England for the West Indies and Americas in the course of the century. The implications of such loss of male adults for the labour force and population renewal are patent.

Constitutional conflict

At constitutional levels, religious values and the financial repercussions of warfare combined to affect one of the nation's most important ISAs (Althusser 1971): they led to hostilities between the king and Parliament, the body on which the crown depended for legitimising its policies. When, in 1629, Charles I sought additional resources from Parliament, he could not have anticipated the change in attitude that had occurred since Henry VIII had exercised his monarchical power (chapter 9). Values had changed and no longer was Parliament in obeisance to an authority founded on earthly tradition. Consequently, after five years of dispute over the king's foreign policy, his fiscal demands and his resort to imprisonment of opponents (Morrill 1984), Parliament refused his latest request. Charles famously responded by dissolving Parliament, in one fell swoop alienating this powerful group and losing his legislative body.

Ironically, by the late 1630s, the king had succeeded in balancing the budget and created effective social policies (Morrill 1984). But religious differences underlay his difficulties with Parliament: the new social capital had become so well established that, in a reversal of roles, Parliament was fearful of a king whose religious affinities smacked of the old Roman Catholicism.

Crucially, Charles had now alienated two of the institutions he needed for social stability, the Church and Parliament. He reaped the fruits of this alienation in the subsequent Civil War (1642-46); in the course of this, through an ill-advised attempt paradoxically to impose Protestant bishops on the Church of Scotland, he antagonised yet another powerful sector of the nation. New alliances would be formed and the schism between religious and political groups thereafter manifested itself in the alternating control of Crown, Cromwell and Parliament¹, as the authority founded on tradition struggled against that legitimised by the institution of Parliament (Weber, 1978, Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), and the divine authority of the Church.

The social repercussions of war for the ordinary citizen were soaring fiscal demands, which coincided with a phenomenal increase in the population (Bowen 1981)². Food production was outstripped by demand, with the result that prices rose and the poor became yet more impoverished. Conversely, those who produced essential goods became richer. So, too, did, landlords when the Crown was forced to raise duties in order to provide relief for the poor. Traditional social strata were therefore changing. Adding to the problem, there was a population movement to the towns, as people sought a more stable income. By the end of the century, manufactures had grown, producing a new merchant class: wealth was no longer associated with the landed gentry alone.

Changing capital

Technology is also inextricable from these developments. As greater travel found new markets, and colonisation produced new resources as well as markets, industry burgeoned and the merchant class was able to purchase lands confiscated from the Church during the Reformation (Lawson and Silver 1973, Curtis 1968). These *nouveaux riches* posed a serious threat to the aristocracy: the economic wealth of this new group was of far greater practical value to the nation than was that of people whose authority rested upon possession of hereditary titles. Conflict between the two groups was predictable. Economic capital was effectively challenging traditional social capital, pitching temporal against established values.

A period of political calm was heralded with the restoration of Charles II in 1660 and his subsequent calling of a new Parliament, but a series of natural disasters then struck. The plague of 1664-5 was followed by the Fire of London, decimating the population³. In the long term, though, these tragedies would be a blessing: the demographic explosion would have been unsustainable, disease was purged and the capital was rebuilt by modern craftsmen to meet the needs of a developing nation.

Nor should religious and economic change be perceived as purely destructive:

the second dominant tenet in the Puritan ethos designated social welfare, the good of the many, as a goal ever to be held in mind. (Merton 1968)

The sixteenth century's Humanist values were fundamental to Puritan belief in social responsibility and the importance of education for the 'glory of the creator and the relief of man's estate' (Bacon 1620). As chapter 9 has shown, the danger of this

drive for knowledge was that it provided an impetus to scientific inquiry and the 'canonisation' of empiricism and rationalism (Merton 1968, Weber 1920). Enlightenment was a threat to a cultural capital that was based on unquestioning acceptance of traditional values and practices.

Already, political and religious disputes had damaged the relationship between the Crown, Parliament and the Church, undermining the Crown's ability to reproduce social values through two of its primary systems; the role of a third, formal education, became all the more important for ideological reproduction. But change was afoot in education, too.

2 Educational values in seventeenth century England

Chapter 9 has set the scene for the schools' difficulties: Humanist investment in education was defying political attempts to restrict learning and, although excluded from the state institutions and positions of power, non-conformists were pursuing their beliefs through their own institutions. The grammar schools and universities were not only faced by unlawful competition: their task of reproducing cultural values was further exacerbated by the social changes outlined above.

Pressures for change

The chiasmatic structure of society was again experiencing conflict throughout its discrete but overlapping fields. The emergence of a group whose power derived from economic capital (Morrill 1984) pitted their political value to the nation against the traditional status of landowners whose power was non-practical, reliant on the symbol of a title. The Crown and Parliament needed the resources this new group could bring, but there was an implicit conflict between this economic and traditional cultural values.

As well as bringing stress between wider social values, the rise of this merchant class had educational implications. Their wealth derived from industrial and commercial practices. In order to produce workers and managers for these enterprises, a different form of education was required from that of the Latin-based curriculum. Effectively, what was demanded was a Product/Instrument model, one which would meet a whole range of different functional needs, 'skills', as opposed to the Content/Transmission – Product/Instrument model currently offered by the grammar schools.

At the academic level, rivalries were therefore triggered between different forms of learning (Young 1998). Again, the tension was between academic capital which was imbued with associations of high social class and non-practical learning, and low status learning of a practical nature, unconsciously associated with the class of those who undertook the occupations where such skills were needed.

During the years of civil unrest, educational issues would have been relatively low on the political agenda, and resources constrained. The diet of basic literacy for the majority, a classics-based curriculum in the grammar schools, and a liberal education in the public schools and universities therefore continued (Robins 1967), despite mounting demand for a more appropriate 'curriculum'.

Nevertheless, by mid-century, as the Restoration heralded a period of calm, education was a burning issue and

the dichotomy between liberal and mechanical arts became the most striking feature of the education system: Latin and Greek were subjects for gentlemen, merely useful or practical subjects were for tradesmen and artificers. (Lawson and Silver 1973:145)

Popular demand for a functional education that would prepare learners for vocational needs, as England advanced scientifically and technologically, was understandable and clearly necessary for the nation's functional success, but the danger of providing a Product/Instrument model was that the schools would no longer be able to reproduce the traditional social capital. As has been seen in the previous chapters, values were rooted in acceptance of a divinely structured society, wherein a minority enjoyed the benefits of high social and economic capital.

Chapter 9 has traced the origins of conflation between social status, institution and education which helped to sustain this hierarchical structure. Now, though, the pressures for change were coming from several directions: non-conformists had recognised the practical needs for a new form of learning, but this group had low social capital, so the Crown and Parliament had been able to ignore them; the middle classes⁴ attending the grammar school did not have any political power, and could also be resisted; the economic capital of the *nouveaux riches* was a different matter, though, and eventually, the combination of voices calling for modernisation would have to be heard. The academics would nevertheless have to be persuaded of new values if change were to be enacted.

How, then, were these conflicting demands resolved? The institutional framework will be considered next, before section 4 focuses specifically on the changes in foreign language learning.

3 Seventeenth century England's educational institutions

The grammar schools

Chapter 9 has followed the process of self-exclusion (Bourdieu 1984, Jenkins 1992) that occurred when the curriculum of the grammar schools was perceived as functionally unsuited to the needs of the majority of the population, and so the schools gradually became associated with the middle classes. Although the researcher has attributed the origin of exclusion to an act of symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), the situation was consensual because of the assumptions of educational utility. This effectively negated the provision of a putative educational ladder (Curtis 1968, Bowen 1981) that offered the opportunity for a limited number of non-fee paying boys to benefit from grammar schooling.

As fee payers, the middle classes attending these schools had some power and did, indeed, call for modernisation of the curriculum, but the schools themselves had lost their independence once the Crown assumed control of their statutes (Lawson and Silver 1973, Armytage 1964). Ultimately, the legal authority of the Crown overruled academic and popular values in order to sustain social norms. A few schools did innovate, e.g. Dartmouth Grammar School, where mathematics and navigation were introduced in 1679 (Curtis 1968), but they were the exception and had a demonstrable vocational role in their community.

Consequently, for the moment, Latin remained, providing no practical tool for most boys, and with decreasing ability to reproduce the traditional cultural capital in a nation whose values were diversifying.

The private academies

One innovation did recognise the need for change: the private academies (as distinct from the dissenting academies discussed below). These were specialist institutions, modelled on those established in France and Italy, designed to meet the needs of the merchant and wealthy classes. They included such specialisms as oriental languages and mathematics (e.g. Gloucester Academy) and were based on the Product/Instrument model of curriculum, veering also towards the Process/Development needs of these privileged groups.

The public schools

The public schools were meanwhile experiencing greater change than the grammar schools, thanks to political and religious conflict between nations, and to social changes at home. On the one hand, international conflict had rendered foreign travel unsafe, so the upper classes who would previously have sent their sons on an educational tour abroad now sent them to the boarding, 'public', schools (Lawson and Silver 1973), whilst, on the other hand, the *nouveaux riches* who aspired to the trappings of those with social capital could now afford to patronise these schools. At both ends of the social group, the public schools were thus extending.

However, symbols such as attending a public school did not provide for the practical needs of the *nouveaux riches*. Social differences were ultimately manifested in different educational requirements: the *nouveaux riches* needed a functional, Product/Instrument, form of education in order to maintain their economic state. From the ranks of these wealthy landowners would come the

Ministers of the Crown ... local Justices of the Peace, [who] became the mainstay of the government, the leaders of the House of Commons, the real rulers of the countryside.... The Tudors were not democrats, but they had prepared the way for middle-class power, because in the State refashioned by their hands there was no independent authority left between Crown and people. (Trevelyan 1952: 372/3).

The nobility, meanwhile, expected the Process/Development, liberal, education which travel abroad would have given them.

Dual demands were therefore being made on the public schools. Unlike the grammar schools, they had the political freedom and financial means to be able to meet both: the traditional Latin grammar curriculum, with Greek and/or Hebrew remained central, but 'modern' subjects were introduced alongside it. So, for instance, French or another modern language might be offered. But distinct academic values were attached to these two forms of language, reflecting the social hierarchy that was discussed in chapter 9; to challenge this was also to challenge the teachers' authority.

The perceived value of classical and modern languages was symbolised in the degree of expertise (representing academic capital) devoted to each: where a modern language was taught, the task generally fell to the classics master. He had only his Latin methods and non-specialist texts, available now thanks to printing, to guide him. So, the classics benefited from high academic knowledge, modern languages relied on limited expertise. Apart from these symbolic differences, both classical and modern languages were taught through their written, not spoken, form raising serious doubts as to the practical value of the latter.

The professional response to modern languages is again understood from Bourdieu's (1998) perspective of chiasmic structure: the teaching profession was taking

hierarchical positions mirroring those of society at large when the cultural arbitrary, attributed high value, is challenged by novel ideas which lack proven value and require a change in practice that implicitly undermines the right of the academics to determine values within their field.

The universities

Arguably the greatest institutional changes for education were to be found in the universities.

Oxford and Cambridge had supported opposing political (*ergo* religious) sides during the Civil War; although both had subsequently returned to Protestantism, fears remained that they still harboured Puritan elements, whose danger has been seen to lie in

the combination of *rationalism and empiricism* which is so pronounced in the Puritan ethic [and] forms the essence of the spirit of modern science. (Merton 1968:633)

Here was the fundamental threat to the Crown and Parliament: cultural capital was man-made, temporal, whereas Puritan belief answered to divine authority and was effectively irrepressible. However, the power of Puritanism lay less in the number of believers than in the academic authority of these men. Still, religion and scholarship are inextricable.

Virtually by definition, those engaged in scientific research of an empirical nature were men whose religious belief led them in this direction, so it is little wonder that England's foremost thinkers of the time should be Puritans. When, in 1645, an embryonic form of the Royal Society created the 'invisible college', only one member was overtly non-Puritan (Stemson 1935). It and the subsequent Royal Society held strong academic capital, potentially creating and directing England's intellectual discourse (Ball 1994). This made the scientists a serious threat to existing cultural capital if their values were different from the Crown's, but they were simultaneously a potential source of prestige for England on the international stage. The conflict between national and international needs, internal stasis and external development is thus emerging: this is the kernel of the dilemma that underpins globalisation, the digital divide, and the researcher's proposed linguistic divide (chapter 7): how to balance existing social capital against the nation's international role.

Chapter 9 has seen that manipulation of the curriculum (then languages) was one means of defending against changes that threatened social capital. But how realistic was this when Latin and Greek were patently unable to meet the functional needs of the nation? Effectively, practical and ideological needs were in conflict.

4 Linguistic developments in the seventeenth century

Developments in linguistic study are also closely related to religious values, and to scientific methodology, and affect the century's school and universities. Building on scholasticism and speculative grammar, two discrete fields of language study had emerged (Wheeler 1995), one rooted in Roman Catholicism and Latin, the other in inductive methodology:

- (1) rational grammar, the basic principles of language, and

(2) particular grammar, the study of an individual language.

One posed a threat to England's social capital, the other supported it.

Rational Grammar

Although founded in religious belief, Rational Grammar was a potential danger because of its Roman heritage. It derived from the Jansenists⁵, an extreme group of Roman Catholics, whose grammarians were seeking to understand the origin of language. By comparing Latin, Greek, Hebrew and modern European languages, they sought the universal rules of language, those which would have characterised the single pre-Babel tongue (Kelly 1969), the language of man before his geographical dispersal.

Their fundamental tenet was that Man must redeem himself from original sin. Recalling Puritan ideology, and pre-empting case study 1, Comenius (chapter 14), the Jansenists saw learning as a means towards spiritual salvation: knowledge was for the beatification of God. Like Comenius, their interest was pedagogical but, in an era when learning was conducted through Latin, they were inevitably forced to consider language learning. Their interest lay in finding the most expeditious means of learning Latin, the key for accessing religious texts, in order that students could proceed to the more important stage, that of studying the ancient texts from which spiritual enlightenment might arise. This aim had implications for the grammar schools since it reduced Latin to a linguistic tool, to being the medium of study not an end in itself (Curtis 1968); religious texts were the focus. This was in sharp contrast to the values of a *homo trilinguis* where language itself was the end, and religious texts were strictly controlled.

Notwithstanding political and religious fears, thanks to two leading exponents, Lancelot and Arnauld, the methodology had international impact on language learning. Its analysis of the learning process was pedagogically attractive, but its product, a critical thinker, would be a potential threat to the political *status quo*.

In his *Nouvelle Methode Latino* (1644), drawing from study of psychology and the metaphysical processes involved in language use, Lancelot proposed a set of rules, written in the vernacular, to aid learners. By 1660, he had developed his ideas and, together with Arnauld, produced a work which foreshadowed much of modern linguistic thinking, the *Grammaire Générale et Raisonnée* (GGR). This argued that human reason is constant, irrespective of time or place. Arnauld's next work, *Port Royal Logic* (1662) proposed a methodology that identified four operations of the mind: conception, judgement, reasoning and ordering.

Rational Grammar therefore developed critical thinkers, but in addition to this political danger, it also posed a threat to academic capital: the proposal of learning grammatical rules first in the vernacular, meant that the mother tongue should be studied before the classics. This presupposed that the vernacular had equal status, which chapter 9 has shown to be untrue. It implied that translation would be needed. Despite resistance to a methodology that altered the nature of academic capital, the principles made logical sense, hence it was that the Jansenists ultimately

caused a paradigm shift in all areas of teaching, and particularly in language teaching. (Benson 2002: 521)

Empiricism and language

Where Arnauld and Lancelot worked from a rationalist perspective, linguists of the second school adopted empirical, inductive, methods. They, too, sought the universal rules of grammar, sharing belief in one single original language, but empiricists rejected the notion of innate human knowledge, believing that all knowledge is constructed from sense impressions and through the operation of the mind. Their interest lay in the actual form of language used, its structure as opposed to its origins or the processes of language acquisition (Robins 1967). To this end, the empiricists produced a systematic description of the sounds used for human communication, composed of

- orthography (spelling systems), and
- ortheopy (sound systems)⁶.

The relationship between technological and scientific thinking and this form of linguistic study is clearly of determinist direction (Ebersole 1995). The emphasis was on systematisation, scientific analysis; these were the predecessors of structural linguists.

In its day, the approach validated the analytical methods of England's grammar schools, and chimed with the formation of the *homo trilinguis*. It was therefore consistent with academic values so less likely to challenge professional authority, and it did not threaten social capital by delving into areas of thought beyond that of language itself. It did not, though, serve the functionalist needs of the nation.

A new lingua franca

Alongside these two linguistic methods, a third interest arose, one that was patently seeking a functional application and that can be ascribed to social change as technology advanced: the creation of a new *lingua franca* (Hawkins 1987). Chapter 9 has observed two independent factors that made this necessary: the raised status of vernacular languages, and the non-practical nature of Latin learning.

As well as serving the need for a means of international communication, the aim of creating a new language was characteristic of rationalist preoccupation with regularity and reason and of seventeenth century scholars' confidence in their ability to achieve anything (Robins 1967). However, despite many serious attempts, it was English, not an invented - albeit simpler - language, which rose to replace Latin as the *lingua franca*. The notion of an invented language would nevertheless live on,⁷ as subsequent chapters will observe.

*

Developments in linguistic theory were therefore moving in different directions but one thing they had in common was their academic capital. Pressure for educational change was also coming from a new, broader, source: the 'philosophers' and scientists, whose academic capital was strong. But again, their theories were affiliated with different political and religious beliefs, hence their political influence was variable.

As well as having religious roots, scholars' pedagogical theories were inherently determined by assumptions of class and functional need. So, if Locke (1692) seemed to depart from the norms of his day in preferring *oral* use of Latin (Jeffreys 1967),

and in requiring the student to be competent in French before he learnt Latin, it must be recalled that he wrote not for the grammar schools but for the social elite where individual tutoring was the model, and future occupation that of a gentleman.

By contrast, and revealing both liberal (Process/Development) and vocational (Product/Instrument) objectives, John Milton's *Tractate of Education* (1644) proposed a broad curriculum within which grammar would be just one subject amongst others, the aim of the total being to prepare boys

to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of Peace and War.

Meanwhile, Charles Hoole's Process/Development model (1660) reflects his Humanist concern for the welfare of the individual, which will also be found in the first case study (chapter 14).

Such philosophers were men of high academic repute, whatever their religious values. Exemplifying the process whereby new ideas become invested with authority as renown grows (Kuhn 1962) and in time become established, new pedagogical and linguistic theories were accruing academic support and hence producing another source of pressure for change on England's educational 'system'.

In a nation where social change was rife, it is perhaps understandable that the Crown and Parliament should have acted as they did to safeguard social capital rather than risk changing it further, in face of growing pressure.

5 Political restraint and dissident response

After decades of civil unrest, the accession of Charles II (1660) promised a return to peace. Following the old logic, the first defence against opposing values was to deny opponents access to the country's institutions, to treat them as non-existent. Puritan and Roman Catholic belief have been seen to pose the greatest threat to England's dominant orthodoxies, since believers did not recognise the temporal authority of the Crown as being superior to that of God. The only means of control left to the Crown was to exert its formal powers, those expressed through the legislative system. Consequently, a series of Acts, known collectively as the *Clarendon Code*, was passed, comprising:

- The Act of Uniformity (1662), which demanded that heads of colleges conform to the Book of Common Prayer or be expelled.
- The Five Mile Act (1665), which was aimed directly at the schools (many of which were attached to the universities) and prohibited all religious ministers and schoolmasters who had not embraced the Anglican Church from coming within five miles of a city or town.
- The Test Act (1673), which required additionally that all office holders swear the oath of allegiance.

As these Acts indicate, they sought to control the country's social discourse through access to the 'message systems' (Bernstein 1971) required to reproduce values. Now, the universities came under the control of the Anglican Church and, together with the grammar schools, became a closed system (Bowen 1981:134).

In terms of the researcher's five key factors (table 1.1), in the interests of social capital, the Crown had previously been able to rely on manipulation of *access* to education, prescription of language and *content*, and control of the teachers (*human capital*). Now, action had moved to a broader plane: the *institutions* as a total system. But just as Charles I had found Parliament ready to defy him (section 1), so would his son find non-conformists prepared to deny the legitimacy of his laws.

The dissenting academies

If the Clarendon Code forced them out of the universities and schools, it could not silence them or stop their learning. In response to exclusion, they opened and ran their own alternative ('*dissenting*') *academies*, which attracted both Puritans and Roman Catholics. Since they were beyond the law, the academies were unconstrained by the statutory requirements that prevented the grammar schools from modernising their curriculum (Lawson and Silver 1973, Green 1992). Ironically, it was therefore these schools that first developed the skills and knowledge needed by a developing nation.

For the academies sought to meet the vocational and personal needs of their students, through a Product/Instrument-Process/Development model in the earlier years, and to provide an equivalent to the universities' academic study and research for older students. This was the form of education needed for the functional prosperity of England, but the legislation prevented employment of non-conformists, hence the country was unable to draw on this important human capital.

In short, the Crown had not only failed to exclude from learning those who refused to embrace the new religion, but had actually facilitated the development of precisely those forms of learning which it feared most, whilst not being able to capitalise on their products.

The academies were so successful that they even drew in orthodox Anglicans. The contrast between a curriculum that included oratory, rhetoric, preaching, philosophy of language and grammar, logic, moral and political philosophy, history and historiography, belles-lettres, geography and even short hand (Bowen 1981), and the traditional curriculum, is self-evident, but so, too, is the unwieldiness of this wide curriculum. The academies served an important need during a period of political exclusion (Langford 1984) but it is doubtful how they would have fared in the long run, had legal restrictions not been lifted: prefiguring modern-day reductions in the national curriculum (chapter 1) their overloaded curricula could not have survived without rationalisation.

Latin and the classics were still necessary, since they gave access to the corpus of scholarly work, but modern languages were offered additionally. The academies' more vocational orientation is reflected in the different methods used for teaching modern languages. If everyday, spontaneous, communication is the goal, the grammar-translation method is singularly inappropriate. Once more, the illegal status of these schools facilitated innovation: if there were no constraints on whom they might employ to teach, native speakers of French (probably Catholics, otherwise debarred from teaching in England), could be engaged to teach the language.

Academic values nevertheless cut across religious belief, and, again reflecting the chiasmatic structure of society, changes in methodology and the employment of non-professionals to teach, understandably raised professional rivalries. For the native

speaker ‘teachers’ were often politically displaced individuals who had no experience of teaching and therefore resorted to methods used when ‘teaching’ a child its mother tongue. This introduced a different style of pedagogy, consistent with the oral needs of communication, but contrary to prevailing academic practice: like skills today, the approach was perceived as ‘dumbing down’. The ‘teachers’ did not have the professional credibility or the competence necessary for it to succeed. Indigenous teachers closed ranks against this new approach to language teaching and, in order to survive in the classroom, native-speaking teachers were obliged to fall back upon ‘normal’ grammar-translation methods (Kelly 1969).

*

The overwhelming message conveyed by this brief account of seventeenth century England is that no longer was a single value system respected. Scientific and technological advances had combined with man-made and natural disasters to bring changes in economic, social and cultural values that could not be reversed by resort to legislation. Once the process of enlightenment had begun, the Prometheus was unbound (Landes 1969); the functional need for changed practices was set against the vested interests of those who, for ideological or material reasons, were threatened by change.

Education remained largely within the control of the state, and as the Crown’s primary tool for reproduction of its social capital, this meant Latin-based. Inevitably, there was a growing conflict between reproduction of the nation’s traditional values and production of functional value, as the Crown implicitly placed the former above the latter.

Table 3.3 summarises the nature of language learning at this stage, as found in the main institutions of the day, using the familiar format.

Table 3.3

The aims of language learning in 17th century England

INSTITUTION	LANGUAGE	AIMS
Grammar schools	Latin [+ Greek]	For accessing academe; non-vocational training in analytical thought. Conformists only. Mostly middle classes, but scholarship ladder for some poorer boys.
Public schools	Latin + Greek + modern language	Homo trilinguis, liberal education. For nobility and nouveaux riches.
Dissenting academies	Latin [+ Greek] + modern language	Classics for academe and analytical training; modern languages for practical use. For non-conformists, mainly boys, but also attracting some girls and Anglicans.
Universities	Latin as medium of study. Linguistics	Rational and empirical interest in origin of language, and comparative linguistics. For conformist, upper class elites, but declining numbers.

6 Evidence for the research issues: seventeenth century England

As before, the data are more meaningful if reproduced graphically. Figure 3.7 therefore takes the four institutional types and places them on the research continuum to show both their educational model and the specific languages each embraces. This enables the evidence to be related directly to the three research issues.

R11 Formal foreign language learning in England has been characterised by a lack of coherent policy

The grammar schools have been seen to pursue a mix of Content/Transmission and Product/Instrument aims, so are placed at point 2 on the scale. The public schools, meanwhile, have retained a Process/Development orientation, designed to meet the non-practical, symbolic needs of a gentleman, but at the same time, there has been some recognition of Product/Instrument needs. Their model therefore approaches the centre of the spectrum. Contrary to the grammar schools, the universities are pursuing new forms of linguistic study, not vocationally related. They accordingly veer more towards Process/Development. Finally, the dissenting academies must be added to the figure. Since their aims are functional, for both personal and collective needs, their curriculum is placed centrally on the continuum.

Figure 3.7 also indicates the different languages available in these institutions, using the same colour coding as previously: blue = the classics, red = French (or other modern language).

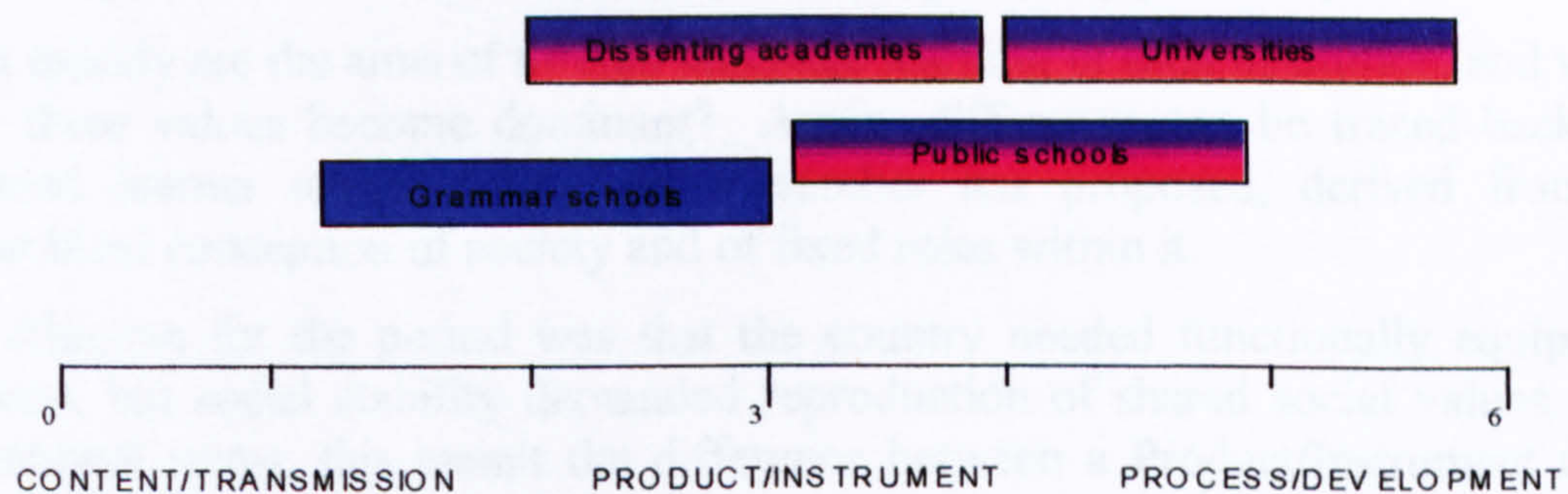


Figure 3.7

The aims of language learning in seventeenth century England

A diversity of aims, including both functional and symbolic, is revealed, but once more this observation does not prove incoherence of policy nor does it permit comparison with previous periods so as to consider continuity.

In order to gauge the historical perspective, figure 3.8 reverses the axes and compares the aims of each institution across the centuries. It develops the longitudinal view of figure 3.5 (chapter 9), adding the seventeenth century, and bringing in the dissenting academies.

When envisaged from this perspective, the degree of change is instantly apparent. Only the grammar schools have remained static, whereas the universities and public schools have altered their aims. The detail of these changes will be extrapolated, but at this point, it should be noted that the public schools and dissenting academies are

moving towards a model that addresses functional needs, whilst the universities are seen to be departing from functional aims in favour of more liberal objectives.

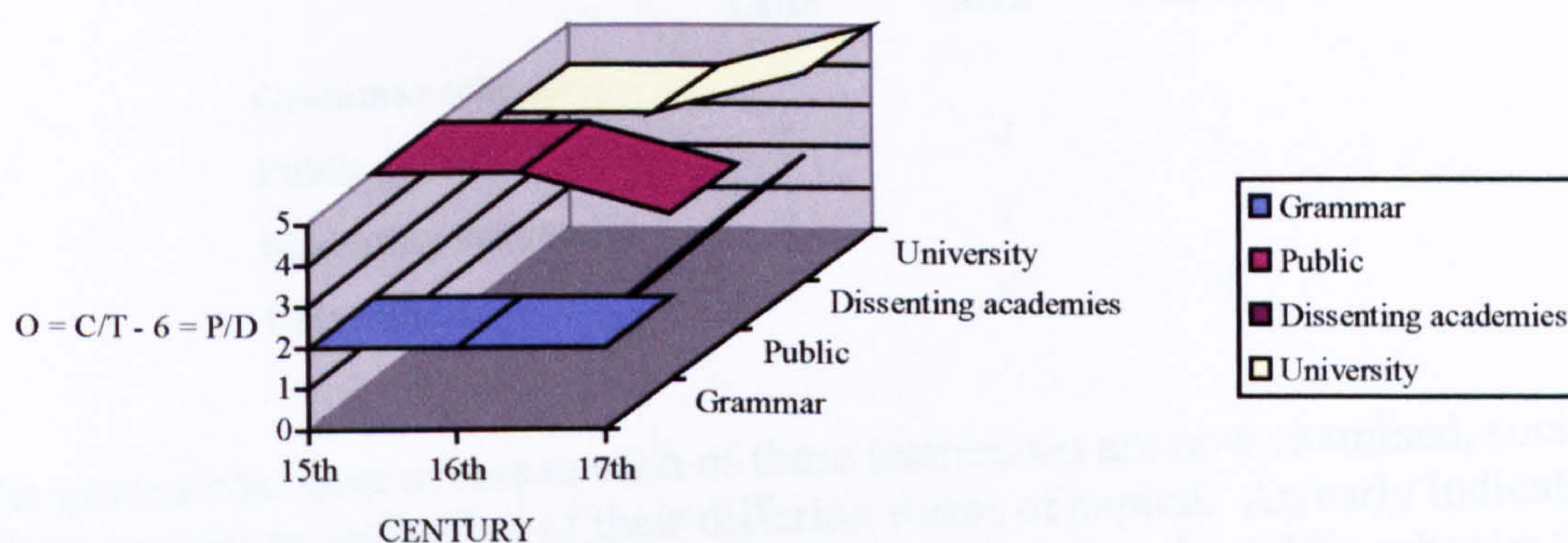


Figure 3.8
Language learning aims by institution and century

Diversity of aims within a period and discontinuity over time are therefore confirmed in some institutions, but in order to investigate whether these are a result of apathy or of policy, the data must be explored in greater detail.

RI2 Whilst this lack of coherence may, superficially, appear to be a question of competing functional needs, it is really a consequence of political factors.

What exactly are the aims of foreign language learning in each institution, and why have these values become dominant? Again, difference can be traced back to assumed learner needs which, the researcher has proposed, derived from a hierarchical conception of society and of fixed roles within it.

The dilemma for the period was that the country needed functionally equipped workers, but social stability demanded reproduction of shared social values. In educational terms, this meant the difference between a Product/Instrument or a Content/Transmission model. Ideally, the country's educational institutions would be able to deliver both but, as this chapter has discussed, the English people were no longer of one mind and mere passive recipients of cultural heritage: values were diversifying.

It has been suggested that the Crown prioritised reproduction of social capital over production of the functional competences necessary for a modernising nation. It did so by clinging to the Latin-based curriculum, which was doubly foolish: it failed functionally, and, given the plurality of values, could not produce sufficient numbers of citizens socialised into acceptance of traditional values, to ward off challenge from new groups.

The researcher has suggested that different curricular aims were a matter of policy, deriving from assumptions of functional need, and that this worked through a conflation of various factors. To begin to understand this, table 3.4 extracts the three language forms taught in this period, and sets them against the place of learning. The

table illustrates clearly that there was a quantitative distinction between institutions' provision. Latin remains common to all, modern languages are increasingly present in the public schools and universities and are clearly deemed relevant in the progressive dissenting academies. Why should this be?

Table 3.4

17th century England's languages by institution

	Latin	MLs	3 classics
Grammar schools	√		
Public schools	√	√	√
Dissenting academies	√	√	
Universities	√	√	√

If the groups who have access to each of these institutions are now examined, social differences appear, indicative of their differing forms of capital. An early indicator of this has been found in the two social groups now attending the public schools: the aristocracy, with social capital derived from tradition, and the *nouveaux riches*, with strong economic capital but no heritage to sustain their status, had different educational needs. Modernisation of the public schools' curricula has been seen to be achieved by adding new, 'modern', subjects for the benefit of the group whose financial status gave them negotiating powers, while the traditional, non-functional curriculum was retained as the base line. A natural division could be expected to arise if students pursued the form of learning which would best prepare them for their future needs. This division would essentially be one of social class, those with symbolic but non-practical status choosing a different model from those with wealth but low social capital.

Breaking table 3.4 down further, describing the learners according to their social class, associations of language with social status can be traced (table 3.5). It is instantly clear that the public schools and universities are patronised mainly by those with high social capital, and that it is these groups for whom the trilingual education is most valuable. Modern languages are associated with two groups who enjoy lesser social standing: those whose power derives from money, and those outlawed by the state. Latin is merely the basic tool of all groups, from which lower social classes are absent.

Table 3.5

17th century England's institutions by social class

	Latin	MLs	3 classics
Grammar schools	Middle classes		
Public schools	Upper classes Middle classes	<i>Nouveaux riches</i>	Upper classes
Dissenting academies	Non-conformist middle classes	Non-conformist middle classes	
Universities	Upper classes	Upper classes	Upper classes

The researcher has suggested unconscious associations have developed between institution, language and learners, deriving from the assumption that foreign languages have a functional role, and thereby failing to recognise their additional, symbolic, importance. The final element of conflation is provided by translating the assumed needs of each group into functional or symbolic terms.

Table 3.6 shows that Latin and modern languages both play functional roles, whereas the study of classics strays into the territory of symbolism. In the public schools, this is because it contributes to the non-functional image of the cultivated *homo trilinguis*. This is the symbol, then, of a group with high social capital. Its symbolism in the universities is different: the scholarly study of languages is the realm of those with high academic capital. Such study is not of a practical nature, but has status within the academic community.

Table 3.6

Functional and symbolic roles of languages in seventeenth century England			
	Latin	MLs	3 classics
Grammar schools	Functional		
Public schools	Functional	Functional	Symbolic
Dissenting academies	Functional	Functional	
Universities	Functional	Functional	Symbolic

The researcher has argued (chapter 9) that originally the curriculum – hence access to foreign language learning – was subject to an act of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1984), that it was manipulated in order to induce self-exclusion on the part of those who would not feel it relevant to their functional needs. By the seventeenth century, assumed functionalism still underpinned the form of language learning considered appropriate for each institution, and this can be explained as the source of conflation between function, social class of learner, institution and language.

The problem now was that these assumptions had become normalised into the *habitus* (chapter 5), and so sustained the internal hierarchical structure of England. Attempts to change the values this represented would be perceived as undermining social capital and had, as this chapter has seen, incurred political action designed to curb change. This confirms that there is evidence to support RI2, political manipulation of foreign language learning.

Nevertheless, it was becoming increasingly obvious that the Latin-based curriculum could not meet the functional needs of an advancing nation. The reasons for this relate to the third research issue, the role of technology.

RI3 Foreign language learning has changed in the context of new technology but the functional value of new technologies as pedagogical tools has both orchestrated a new discourse for foreign languages, and provided a mask for political manipulation.

The impact of technological and scientific development has been present throughout this chapter. As before, a spiral of cause and effect has brought about changed values as new instruments have been developed and human knowledge grown; attempts to resist change have been vying with those to modernise England. These contradictory

aims have been externalised in the dual ideological and functional demands placed upon the educational institutions. Again, the unconscious conflation of social class, occupation and language has supported the ability of foreign languages to sustain an ideology based on social distinctions.

As Latin's functional value for international communication has diminished, the language has been given an alternative role: it has been retained ostensibly as a means of developing analytical thinking. This reduction in practical value has been complemented by an increase in symbolic value: Latin has become associated with a certain form of education, that which can be expected of the middle classes who will assume bureaucratic roles in society; they will have absorbed orthodox values, but they will not have been prepared functionally for those roles.

However, the fact that this form of knowledge is non-practical gives it a mystique: it represents academic capital, which serves to distinguish those who have been through a grammar school form of learning from those who have not. Latin is therefore a means of exclusion, endowing learners with higher status than those who remain monolingual.

But Latin's symbolic value is also used in the formal selection process: without such knowledge, admission to the universities is denied. As its functional value as the *lingua franca* of scholars has been lost, it has played an increasingly exclusive role, supporting England's social stratification. This operates at two levels: as just noted, it gives status above the majority of the population to the middle classes who have been through a grammar school education, but it also serves to control admission to the universities (and hence to senior positions). Here, the researcher proposes, the illusion of choice appears to make it a matter of individual decision whether or not to proceed to higher education. In fact, the financial implications of doing so render it an unrealistic ambition for most; subtle manipulation of the university education can also be applied in order to deter infiltration into a largely exclusive social group. Once more, this appears to be a matter of self-exclusion, but is actually the result of political manoeuvring. A cycle of social reproduction is thereby facilitated.

The role of modern languages has been different. They have been introduced in order to meet functional, communicative needs, needs which have clearly grown with the increase in international communication facilitated by technological development. Once more, functional aims have lower academic and social prestige than non-functional, hence the need to control access to modern languages is less than that relating to Latin. Like Latin, they serve as a symbol that differentiates speakers from the monolingual majority of England, but they rank lower down the hierarchy of languages than the non-practical classics.

The classical languages are shown in the above tables to be solely the preserve of social elites, serving no functional aim other than to be a symbol of the breeding or affluence of those who speak them. Knowledge is a means of excluding the *ὀποιοί*.

These changes in foreign language learning are outwardly attributable to functional need. However, it has been shown that the functional value of the classics is defunct, and it is not the grammar schools but the illicit dissenting academies and economically independent public schools that have responded to functional need, in the case of languages, that of communicating externally.

Consequently, the researcher contends that these changes in language learning represent the implicit conflict between the values of the ruling elites, supported by the teachers, who seek to sustain social differences, and those who have accepted that change requires reaching outward, through language, beyond the nation. By failing to recognise the country's need to communicate externally, and thereby implicitly placing reproduction of social capital above the functional requirements of England in a technologically expanding world, the Crown and Parliament ultimately ignore the role of the nation in a 'globalising' world.

Figure 3.9 illustrates the differences in functionalism and symbolism, inward looking and outward looking, educational models. This discussion suggests that as model A becomes increasingly defunct, England retains two linguistic attitudes: B, exclusive, and supportive of internal social stratification, and C, inclusive, so willing to respond to a growing international need for communication. The evidence appears to indicate political preference for B, but some groups are willing to risk moving towards model C. The researcher will trace these conflicting values through to the present day, where globalisation in the context of ICTs is forcing England to decide finally between its inward looking, exclusive, attitude and an outward looking, inclusive, alternative.

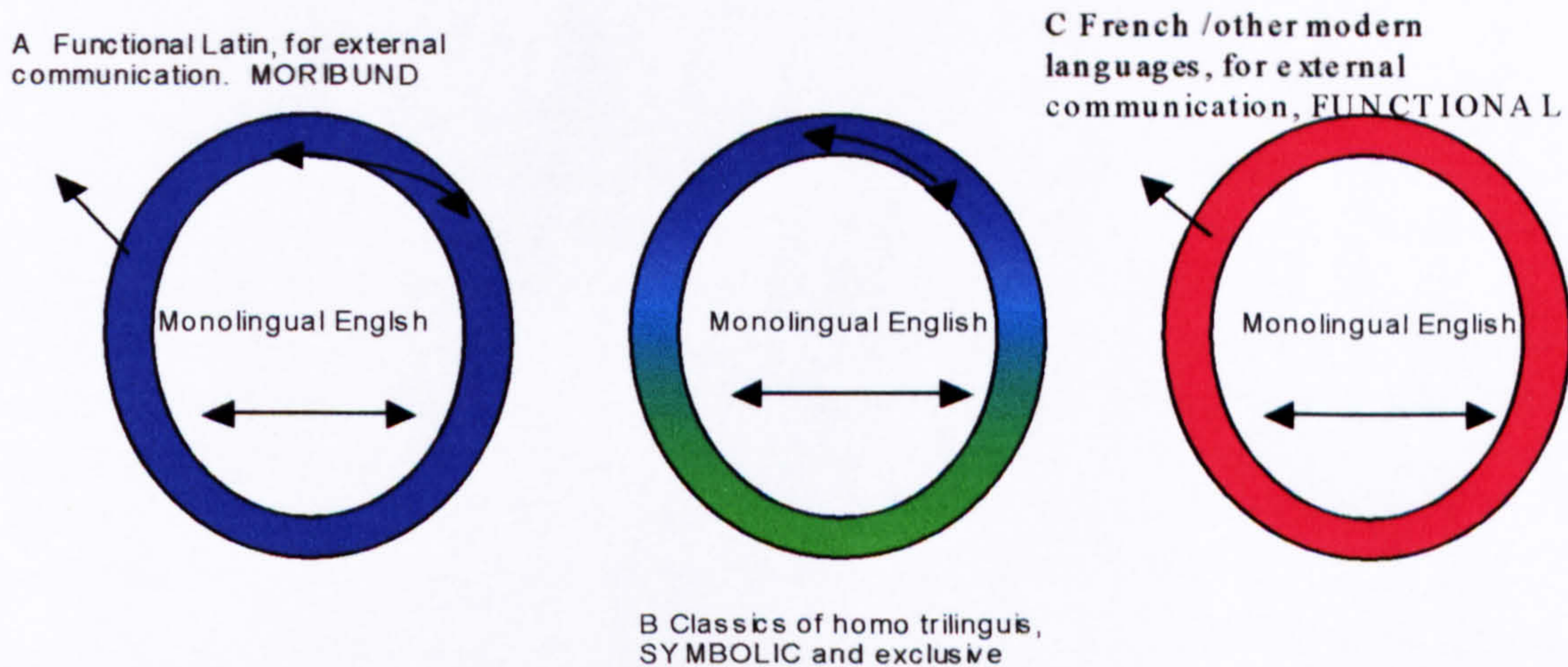


Figure 3.9

Overview of the roles of language learning in 17th century England

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The evidence produced from the seventeenth century therefore leads to the same conclusions as those of previous years, namely that it supports RI2 and RI3 and, in respect of RI1, diversity is found by this is representative of policy not of incoherence. Chapter 11 will now briefly consider that for the eighteenth century.

¹ In 1649, Commonwealth established under Cromwell; 1655 Cromwell dissolved Parliament

² The population rose from c.4.1 million in England, plus 1.9 million in Scotland, Ireland and Wales combined in 1600 to a total of 7.7 by mid century (Morrill 1984)

³ 68,596 people were killed in the south east of England, almost 20% of the population of London

⁴ The term 'middle class' is used in the sense of hierarchical position, and should not be confused with the scale customary today [e.g. Institute of Practitioners of Advertising: Class A= Upper middle class, B = Middle class, C1 = Lower middle class, C2 = Skilled working class, d = Working class, E = those at lowest levels of subsistence, or the Standard Occupational Classification (SCI-SCV) used by HEFCE]

⁵ A group of extreme religious figures from Port Royal who established educational foundations between 1637 and 1661

⁶ The term 'phonetics' is found first in the 19th century

⁷ e.g. in 1887, L Zamenhof invented Esperanto

CHAPTER 11

LANGUAGE LEARNING IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

1 Technology and social change

Like chapters 8 and 9, chapter 11 is not complemented by a case study. Its function is therefore purely to provide a continuous link in the history of foreign language learning, particularly in regard to RI1, the degree of continuity and coherence of policy.

Its brevity is partially determined by this factor, but it is also due to the relative indistinguishability of the late seventeenth from the eighteenth century. The years remained characterised by ambivalence towards changing social relationships (Wrightson 1991) as England continued to recover from the ravages of civil war and to make the transition from an agricultural to an industrial nation. Technology, religious values and political action are still intricately interwoven in an iterative, functional and determinist, spiral of development.

Before the role of foreign languages can be discussed, it is necessary to appreciate the turbulence of England in this century, and the growing clamour for universal elementary education.

The changing value of capital

As chapter 10 has seen, literacy, mechanisation and greater mobility were contributing to changed economic relationships in England; a wealthy middle class had emerged and traditional social values were being shaken. It has been suggested that the nation was 'the outstanding example in eighteenth century Europe of a plutocratic society' (Langford 1984:388). But plutocracy was not universally welcome: the traditional power of groups whose authority rested on symbolic status was implicitly threatened by those with economic capital. Although they would co-exist for a time, in an ostrich-like state of *laissez-faire* denial, their differences and perceived inequalities were festering and must eventually boil over.

Interdependent with these changes, chapter 10 has shown how belief in the divine stratification of society (Barnard 1971) was increasingly challenged by rational and empirical science. In a spiral of determinist and functional influence, technology and the nation's social capital were changing, as were the vocations for which education must prepare the nation's youth. Central to these developments were the new technological tools, which accelerated the range and speed of communication. These were used by both supporters and opponents of change, and were to play a particularly important role in the educational debate. For, following the Printing Act of 1695, and thanks to the availability of cheap and accessible materials, a huge expansion in the number of newspaper titles and pamphlets occurred (Lawson and Silver 1973); the debate was conducted through the press, which was variously allied to those for or against change.

Demands for universal elementary education

The crux of the debate was popular literacy; for some, its value lay in its potential for individual social advancement, for others, it was desired as a means of social control (divide) or of advancement (inclusion). Where previously it was the Crown and Church that had sought to direct social capital, now other interest groups (Simon

1969) competed with them, as academic and economic capital empowered them, thereby threatening the traditional values and systems of England.

The new media were both a tool for rallying support and a source of threat to orthodoxies. Particularly worrying for the Crown and Parliament were the ideas and example of revolutionary France, which were permeating across the Channel and were blamed for sporadic acts of disorder erupting in England¹.

The French philosophers, the *Encyclopédistes*, posed the principal danger since their aims, whilst founded in strong moral values, were to replace superstitious (religious) belief with scientific understanding. This would clearly undermine a social order based on Christian belief.

It was not only the political values of these *philosophes* that made them dangerous to England's establishment: because of their high academic capital, they were influential and their pedagogical works in particular endangered the educational 'message system' (Bernstein 1971). This was a real threat, as enlightened English educators of the day, amongst them the renowned Edgeworths (1789) (Lawson and Silver 1973), drew on the principles of Rousseau, through his influence on Pestalozzi. Their Humanist aim was to develop 'the whole man, the head, the hand and the heart' (Pestalozzi 1781) and, through exposure to models of behaviour, a process of *Anschauung* (observation) would lead the child to internalise appropriate values. This was wholly incompatible with the overtly directive, Latin-based form of Content/Transmission, still favoured in England.

This is not to suggest that the Crown and Parliament sought to keep the people in ignorance; it was recognised that social capital was undermined by illiteracy and that

the more they [the poor] are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition. (Adam Smith 1785)

But to develop literacy required elementary education and provision of this raised two fundamental questions:

- Should access be universal?
- Who should pay for it?

Whilst parties might agree on the desirability of universal access to learning, the second question was more contentious. Not that there was a shortage of would-be private investors, both religious and secular, since on the one hand, the Wesleyan spirit of Methodism encouraged philanthropic donation (Merton 1968) whilst on the other, alternative forms of private investment were already supporting a range of initiatives, from fee-charging dame and day schools, to free charity, Sunday and industrial schools (Barnard 1971). The government's dilemma was, rather, that though economically attractive, private sponsorship implied shared responsibility. Financial investment would be made in the expectation of receiving something in return. For some, this might be the provision of religious education of their choosing; for others, it might entail involvement in the management of the school. Any such exchange would empower investors, to the detriment of central control.

Yet to achieve the objective of exposing the whole nation to the social values it sought and to establish policy as discourse (Ball 1994) not just as text, would be expensive. To levy taxes for this purpose would be politically unpopular. Perhaps fortuitously, another consideration intervened: a corollary of universal provision for

such purposes was that education would have to be compulsory. This raised moral issues relating to freedom of choice; it was also a harsh reality that the poorest members of society simply could not afford to forego the wages that would be lost to the family if their children were attending school rather than working, so enforcement would be difficult.

Opposing stands were taken on these issues. From the utilitarian perspective, state funding was justified by the concept of what would today be called the 'social wage' (Adams 1978): the government would provide education designed to prepare the individual for his social and vocational roles, and both he and society would derive a benefit from the investment.

This was a stance supported by the Literary and Philosophical Societies movement (Simon 1969). Superficially, it might appear to be consistent with the government's needs, but there was a crucial difference: unlike the Crown and Parliament, the Societies had a desire for change as well as for social order. For, by

rejecting the values of eighteenth century society, and breaking out of the narrow circle of provincial dissent, they picked up the strands of materialist philosophy and psychology and attempted to advance new and relevant designs for living. (Simon 1969: 25)

Conversely, there were those (e.g. Godwin 1793) who were ideologically opposed to any state sponsorship of elementary provision. Amongst them, Thomas Malthus (1798) argued that the human condition is essentially unequal and that men should therefore be educated each according to his own abilities. This is reminiscent of the Process/Development model of learning, whereby the individual's needs are ostensibly met and he is responsible for his own destiny thereafter. It is an educational principle that is argued to this day, but it presupposes identifiable needs, and risks reproducing social stratification. Malthus certainly had a more political motive than altruism. He believed that by

raising their condition and making them happier men [they would become] more peaceful subjects. (Malthus 1798: 203-4)

On balance, the political answers to the two initial questions appear to have been that

- yes, universal elementary education was desirable, but it should not to be made compulsory; and
- it should be provided by private sponsors, notwithstanding their different religious, political or ethical values.

Typical of eighteenth century England's indecisiveness, this effectively meant that no central action was taken. Inevitably, private investment resulted in uncoordinated and disparate provision. Being 'voluntary', the poorest groups understandably 'excluded themselves' (Bourdieu 1984) from elementary education, illustrating again the nature of symbolic violence, here the consequence not of political action so much as of inaction. The losers were both the individuals who were locked into a cycle of deprivation, and the nation which failed to develop its human capital.

2 Foreign language learning in eighteenth century England

The same *laissez-faire* attitudes surrounded secondary education (hence foreign language learning) where, despite popular demand for modernisation,

tradition offered passive resistance to any subject unrelated to religion or the languages of religion: Latin, Greek, Hebrew. (Watson 1909)

The grammar schools

The grammar schools remained tied by their foundation statutes to an outmoded Latin-based model which sought to reproduce social capital, but failed to meet the instrumental needs of the nation. The

unending grind of grammar, translation, Latin and Greek prose, and verse exercises that went on (Curtis 1968:126-7)

was tedious and of little practical value. Unsurprisingly, self-exclusion operated, rolls fell to a point where the grammar schools were

empty walls without scholars and everything neglected except the receipt of the salaries and emoluments (Lord Chief Justice Kenyon)²

and many either closed or were downgraded to elementary schools.

The extreme difficulties that had to be overcome by those few schools that did update their curricula are vividly conveyed by the notorious case of Leeds Grammar School (Lawson and Silver 1973), where the headmaster himself opposed modernisation of the curriculum. After many years and following the intervention of the Lord Chancellor, nothing more than a dubious compromise was reached: the school might theoretically add modern subjects to the traditional curriculum, but this was unlikely to be practicable. It was a model lesson in the competing expectations being placed upon education, and of the headmaster's fight to preserve academic capital (Bourdieu 1998).

The public schools

Meanwhile, the public schools continued to meet the needs of their dual social groups. Revealing again the chiasmatic structure of conflict, academic capital was disputed according to an assumed hierarchy of forms of learning; traditional values were placed above innovation. So, where modern subjects were introduced, these were as an addition to the norm, and their low status was symbolised in their being taught on holidays. Self-exclusion was once more being manufactured, this time through academic resistance to new forms of learning.

It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that radical changes began, thanks to a new generation of outstanding headmasters (Lawson and Silver 1973). Yet their progressiveness was ambivalent, and their academic capital gave them extensive political power within their institutions. An example of this is found in Samuel Butler, Headmaster of Shrewsbury School from 1798, who drew upon anti-French feeling aroused by war with France to revive the Classics, in the belief that regular testing and grading through Latin and Greek were 'the one thing worth living for' (Armytage 1964). A combination of personal political and academic values dictated the orientation of a leading school.

The dissenting academies

Chapter 10 has observed that the dissenting academies were proving to be an attractive rival to the grammar schools

for parents who were unwilling to allow their children to mix with the sons of tradesmen at the town endowed schools, or too poor to send their boys to a public boarding school, or too

apprehensive of the moral dangers and roughness of life to be found there. (Barnard 1971: 20)

If they were, on the one hand, indirectly obliged to provide the traditional classical education, since this was essential for accessing scholarly works, they could, on the other hand, innovate, free from statutory constraints. Consequently,

there was no gainsaying the competition of private schools offering a curriculum more suited to commercial needs than that fixed for many grammar schools by their Tudor and Stuart founders. (Armytage 1964:61)

As before, religious values were posing a challenge to the authority of the Crown and Parliament, and restriction of access to learning was shown no longer to be effective.

The universities

Like the grammar schools, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge found their admissions falling, though there was an increase in their number of fee-paying students (Simon 1969). Here, perhaps, lies the beginning of another conflation, one which underlies the continuing association of these universities with higher social class. Self-exclusion was again operating, one reason for which lay in the universities' past political affiliations during the civil wars, but there was also a systemic obstacle: since access to the universities was restricted to conformists and subject to their knowing the classics, only the public and grammar schools could produce eligible students. Just as the grammar school curriculum encouraged self-exclusion (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) on the part of the working classes, so did the universities' non-practical education implicitly deter those who needed preparation for a working career. Once more, this was open to manipulation, making exclusion the result of an original act of symbolic violence, which in time became obscured by custom and practice. By mid-eighteenth century, Oxford and Cambridge did not prepare the talented for a future role in society;

instead of being places of learning, they had degenerated to a large extent into a preserve for the idle and the rich. (Barnard 1971:24)

Academic capital was being lost, and this affected the perceived status of subjects studied, not least classical and modern languages. The reasons for modern languages' low status have already been seen (chapter 10), but now political factors exacerbated perceptions: as England engaged in war with France, the Netherlands and other European nations (Jeffreys 1967), anything that symbolised these countries was despised. Their languages were obvious victims of this prejudice. Paradoxically, there was a growing need for competence in modern languages as England's ambassadors and tradesmen travelled the world, but political ideology was once more in conflict with this functionalism.

In vain did the Crown attempt to encourage language learning, by creating King's scholarships (1724) to provide professorships and lectureships in modern languages at Oxford and Cambridge, in order to

train recruits for the foreign service, since the 'continual correspondence with foreign courts and agencies' required 'in a peculiar manner the knowledge of the modern or living languages both in speaking or writing, for which no provision hath yet been made in either of the universities'. (Armytage 1964:36)

Whether because of their low academic status, or through nationalist prejudice, the response was negligible and posts degenerated into sinecures.

Another cause might have been pedagogical unpreparedness: the traditional grammar/translation methodology did not produce linguists capable of teaching oral and interactive skills. How could this vicious circle be broken into? The initiative had come from an external source, hence did not correspond with academic capital as perceived by the academics, so it can be assumed that there was no great professional support for moving away from traditional classical studies to oral, modern language learning. Without professional support (in terms of the critical factors, that of human capital), or coercion, the initiative could not succeed and the cycle of inadequacy would be perpetuated.

The higher Academies

By contrast with Oxford and Cambridge, the universities' non-conformist counterparts, the higher Academies, were providing a standard of education which attracted non-dissenters and dissenters alike. They offered a four-year course that was utilitarian and encouraged scientific enquiry, so appealed to those seeking vocational preparation and those wishing to pursue 'pure' research. This addressed both Product/Instrument and Process/Development needs, meeting needs which crossed the social barriers of class and religion. The higher academies shared the same freedom from control as did the dissenting academies (chapter 10), so it was in these institutions that innovative – or, from a conservative perspective, seditious – research could more easily take place. Because of their innovative research, the higher Academies were accruing academic capital whilst Oxford and Cambridge lost theirs.

3 Linguistic theory in the eighteenth century

Their research is another reminder of the impossibility of preventing human inquiry once acceptance of traditional values breaks down, and technology has reached a point where communication is beyond control. As earlier chapters have shown, linguistic study holds a particular danger for reproduction of a social capital that relies on religious belief: in seeking the origins of language, scholars posed an inherent threat to religious and political groups.

The origin of language

As with political ideology (section 1), Europe offered a major influence on academic values. Unlike England, other nations were investing in research into the very questions of linguistic origin which this country's leaders feared. Theories abounded, ranging from the scientific to the speculative (Kelly 1969, Hawkins 1987). For instance, in France, Condillac (1796) adopted a rationalist stance and attributed the development of speech to its being a more efficient means of communication than gesturing, whilst Rousseau (1755) took a more sociological view. But this was also a more political one for his Romantic vision of language as a means to individual freedom had ominous implications for social control. Although for different reasons, theories such as these were all challenging to England's existing religious and political discourse.

Prussia was another rich source of ideas on the origin of language, and the dangers this posed to religious belief are exemplified by Süssmilch (1756), who used the logic of syllogism to conclude that Man could indeed have thought without language, but he could not have thought rationally. In the hope of resolving the question, and

of thereby achieving high academic prestige, the Prussian Academy in 1769 offered a prize for the best essay on whether Man could, unaided, have evolved language, and, if so, how (Saloman 1995).

Universal rules of language

It will be recalled (chapter 10) that a second branch of linguistic study was directed towards identification of the universal rules of language, founded on the flawed assumption that these would be revealed through comparison of the historical similarities between languages. The inherent danger of this form of study was that it would impact directly on language pedagogy as well as have grave implications for religious belief.

Paradoxically, it was England itself that produced a linguist, James Harris, who would influence one of history's most important figures in the field, the Scot, James Burnett (Lord Monboddo).

It was another Scot, Sir William Jones, who symbolically launched,

albeit artificially ... the start of the contemporary world of linguistic science ... Historical questions had been tackled before ... But hitherto, observations in these areas of linguistics had been in the main isolated and fragmentary. (Robins 1967:134)

The event that triggered this was his report on the 'discovery' of a Sanskrit grammar, written by Pànini somewhere between 300 and 600 BC. Although the language had been known to scholars since the sixteenth century (Kelly 1969), this discovery demonstrated the incontrovertible relationship between Sanskrit, Latin, Greek and the Germanic languages. The inescapable conclusion was that Sanskrit was the common source of all languages, hence was older than the Classics. If it pre-dated Latin and Greek, this grammar cast doubt on the Babel account of linguistic diversification. The truth of religious orthodoxy was thereby denied.

Educationally, the discovery implicitly undermined any justification for the traditional prioritisation of Latin. At the linguistic level, and illustrating an instrumental relationship between technology and language learning, the grammar was important for pedagogical method, as the Sanskrit scribes had invented a method of phonetic transcription which enabled *sounds* to be recorded and therefore studied. This methodology both added to historical, comparative, analysis of the classics, and provided a tool for the study of modern languages, the known range of which was expanding as travel and exploration opened up unimagined cultures and their tongues.

Characteristic of a growing science (Kuhn 1962), the field of language study now fragmented into new specialisms, notably:

- Comparative and historical linguistics, study of the similarities between Sanskrit and European languages.
- Study of phonetics, in imitation of the Indian model of sound recording.

Soon, these linguistic developments (the '*content*' of foreign language learning) would come together with the *institutional* and *access* issues triggered by calls for universal elementary education. These complex, serendipitous, events were changing social values as scientific and technological knowledge advanced, bringing about different functional needs; pressure for change could no longer be ignored.

Before chapter 12 explores the outcome of these pressures, a summary of the eighteenth century's contribution to the research issues is needed.

4 The research issues and the eighteenth century

Table 3.7 brings together the forms of language learning found within the main educational institutions of the century, using the familiar format, which allows for vertical or horizontal reading.

Table 3.7
Foreign language learning in eighteenth century England

INSTITUTION	LANGUAGE	AIM
Grammar schools	Latin [+ Greek]	Latin as academic lingua franca; analytical training; requirement for accessing higher education. For mainly middle class, plus few scholarship places; conformists only.
Public schools	Latin, Greek, (+ Modern language)	For affluent Conformist nobility and <i>nouveaux riches</i> . Symbolic value for social role; practical value in analytical training for minority; necessary for access to university.
Dissenting (and higher) academies	Latin + Modern language	Classics for access to academe, and for analytical training; modern languages for practical use. For non-conformists, mainly boys, but also attracting Protestants.
Universities	Classics; Sanskrit	For social and academic capital. Increasingly exclusive as reliance on fees and non-practical education.

R11 Formal foreign language learning in England has been characterised by a lack of coherent policy

Figure 3.10 converts these data into the three generic curricular models (chapter 7), and locates the institutions on the continuum of aims, using the usual colour coding (blue = classics, red = French and other modern languages). The differences between institutions becomes immediately visible, with aims ranging from the socially controlling Content/Transmission model of the grammar schools through the relatively neutral Product/Instrument model of the dissenting academies on to the Process/Development focus of the universities. At this stage, the higher academies have not been separated from their junior counterparts, but would be positioned to the right of the central point.

The colour coding highlights linguistic differences, only the grammar schools now failing to offer modern languages of any significant quantity. The figure shows that

language learning between institutional types is different, but as always, it is necessary to view the data from an alternative perspective if continuity and coherence over time are to be tested.

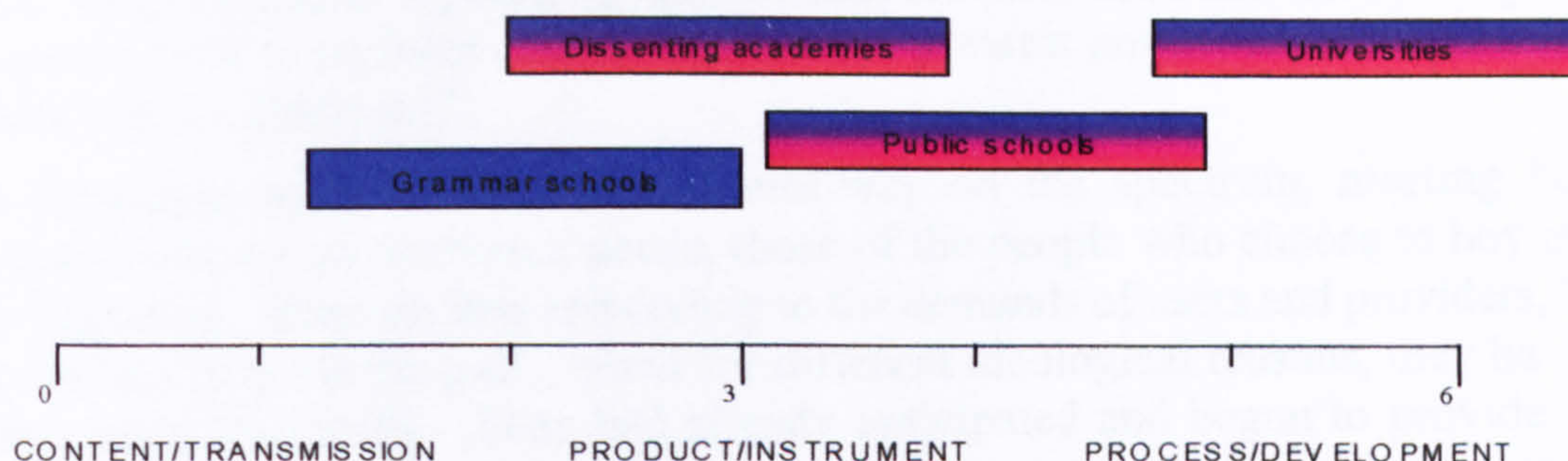


Figure 3.10

The aims of foreign language learning in eighteenth century England

Figure 3.11 therefore adds the eighteenth century to the longitudinal data. It is now apparent that, whereas the grammar schools and dissenting academies continue to pursue the same educational model as before, the public schools and universities have moved in opposing directions. The public schools have come closer to Product/Instrumental objectives, whilst the universities have moved further away from practical aims.

In response, then to R11, it seems that there is growing change in the form of language learning offered, and that this is occurring in those institutions which have been found (chapter 10) to serve the needs of groups with high social and/or economic status. As always, change does not imply absence of policy; to probe this question, the data need to be examined in further detail.

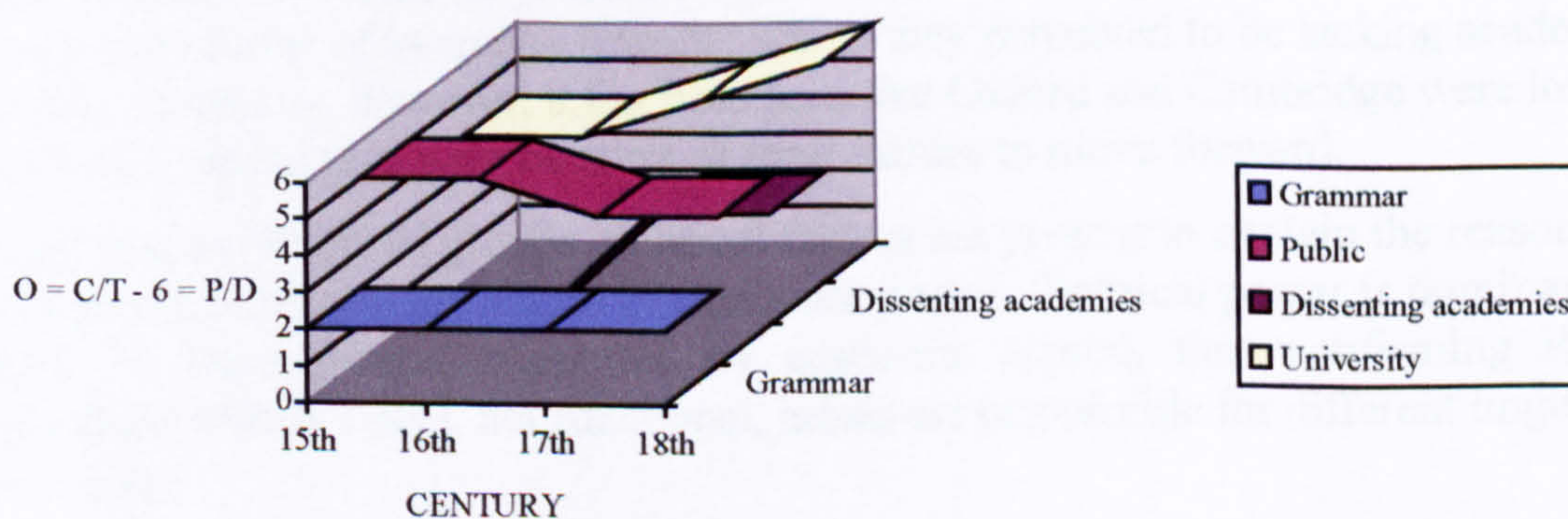


Figure 3.11

Language learning aims by institution and century to end 18th century

RI2 Whilst this lack of coherence may, superficially, appear to be a question of competing functional needs, it is really a consequence of political factors.

Turning, then, to their differences, and accepting that these may not be attributable to 'incoherence', what has or has not changed in institutions and why?

The two institutions that have not changed are the grammar schools and dissenting academies. Does this indicate that their curricula are meeting perceived needs? The answer to this question depends on whose needs are prioritised and hence brings the discussion back to political issues: who has the greatest power, and what is it that enables it to be dominant?

The dissenting academies are placed mid-way on the spectrum, meeting both individual and social *functional* needs, those of the people who choose to buy into their education. They are thus responding to the demands of users and providers, but since all are 'beyond the pale', albeit for different ideological reasons, they have a shared sense of identity. They had already anticipated and begun to provide for functional needs as society was changing in the seventeenth century. Ironically, political factors unwittingly acted in favour of these groups, enabling them to meet such needs. Functional need appears here to lead curriculum content.

The grammar schools, by contrast, were subject to statutory, hence political, control. As this chapter has seen, users were dissatisfied with their outmoded curriculum, but did not have the power to overrule political and academic values. In this instance, the curriculum was therefore determined more by tradition than by functionality.

The public schools have been forced to modernise their curricula, recognising the functional needs of some students. Economic capital has given parents the power to instigate this change, but academic values have intervened to sustain a hierarchy between traditional and modern subjects. In terms of languages, this places modern below classical languages, representing the difference between non-practical and practical learning, this in turn being associated with different social classes. This suggests that both change and stasis in the curriculum of these schools are highly political at academic and wider levels.

The universities have meanwhile become increasingly exclusive, those attending them having high social and/or economic capital. The researcher has proposed that this was effected through another act of symbolic violence, which supported social stratification whilst appearing to make exclusion a matter of personal choice. The process operated thanks to professional resistance to change, to scholars' refusal to accept new forms of language learning which they perceived to be lacking academic capital. Ironically, however, it has been seen that Oxford and Cambridge were losing academic capital precisely because of their failure to move forward.

In all four institutional groups, political factors are present to explain the reason for change or stasis, and the nature of dominant power. Political power is dominant in three of these groups, supported by academic capital, thus confirming RI2's hypothesis that political, not functional, issues are responsible for different linguistic provision.

RI3 Foreign language learning has changed in the context of new technology but the functional value of new technologies as pedagogical tools has both orchestrated a new discourse for foreign languages, and provided a mask for political manipulation.

The source of these political factors is inextricable from changing social values which are in turn bound up with technological development. This chapter has illustrated how public debate was focusing increasingly on educational change both to support and to defend against the impact of scientific and technological 'advances'.

One development in this century has been the expansion of self-exclusion through a process of 'synoptic illusion' (Bourdieu 1990). Now, within the grammar schools and universities, stratification is supported through the rejection by social groups of a form of education which does not meet their perceived functional requirements. Whether mismatch is a neutral occurrence or is contrived through political manipulation of the curriculum, in time, the *habitus* evolves, and groups apparently opt into or out of education according to its practical use to them. The *habitus* has been shown (chapter 10) to involve a conflation of vocational/social aims, institution, the social class of those attending it and curriculum (language). It is by reason of the potential for manipulation, but coincidental, functional, implications of changing social circumstances that the researcher argues that technology has been able to offer a screen to those who wish to control the educational process: aims can be changed and attributed to a desire to meet these new functional needs when, in fact, the covert manipulation operates to sustain social stratification.

This is a more subtle process than the overtly political exclusion of groups from education of a particular type according to their social or economic capital. It relies on covert acceptance of the rules of this 'game' (Bourdieu) but, as the following chapters will show, it becomes increasingly difficult to achieve this compliance as technology and values change, communication becomes faster and broader, and the balance of power changes.

¹ e.g. riots took place in a Manchester theatre, in 1796.

² Cited by de Montmorency State Intervention in English Education: 180

CHAPTER 12

LANGUAGE LEARNING IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

1 Introduction

It is difficult, when considering the nineteenth century with the benefit of hindsight, to balance

what is significant now as against what was significant then. The first directs us to industrial changes, new processes developing in obscure workshops; the second reminds us how slowly the power of the pre-industrialised elites ebbed, how tenacious religion proved in the scientific age. (Harvie 1984:419)

For again, the turn of the century did not mark any significant change in the nature of conflict between religious belief and technological advancement. The same ambivalent response was made to the ideological and functional impact of change. Furthermore, the century cannot be characterised as a single entity, yet to divide it into two apparently logical periods, pre- and post- Education Act 1870, is simplistic, not to say, inaccurate. This chapter will, of necessity, be selective, but it aims to give sufficient flavour of the period for the second case study, Henry Sweet (chapter 15) to be meaningful.

Changing social and economic capital

Like its predecessor, the nineteenth century was struggling with the repercussions of man-made and natural events. Demographic movement and expansion - from a population of 8.3 million in 1801 to 16.9 million by 1851 (Morgan 1984) - was exacerbated by the financial costs of warfare, and extreme meteorological conditions which caused poor harvests and brought disease (Lawson and Silver 1973). On the other hand, the nation's health was improved through such developments as the introduction of smallpox vaccination in 1853 and, two years later, the building of a comprehensive sewer system for London.

Although the term, 'industrialisation', was not coined until the 1820s, manufacturing in Britain was soaring, and estimated to represent 25% of the national income, whilst transport provided a further 23% by the year 1800 (Harvie 1984). Exploration and foreign travel were adding to both the economic capital of the nation, and its international academic capital: examples of this are symbolised in the birth of the Royal Geographical Society (1830), and Charles Darwin's (1859) seminal theory of evolution.

Increasing literacy

At home, literacy continued to increase and with it the range of newspaper titles¹, aided by a reduction in, then abolition (1855) of, the newspaper tax; in 1850, the Public Libraries Act permitted authorities to subsidise libraries from the rates (Munford 1951). But literacy remained a source of ambivalence, for, while it brought economic revenue, it increased popular knowledge, posing an inherent threat to the stability of social values.

Communications technology was meanwhile producing other instruments which facilitated data collection and dissemination. Amongst these, Babbage's first computer had been created in 1823, statistical societies were spawned (Lawson and Silver 1973), and Edison's phonograph appeared in 1878; a universal penny post was

introduced (1840) and by 1863, the first underground system was under construction in London (Matthew 1984).

England was in the vanguard of technological development and, to show off to the world the nation's expertise, the Great Exhibition of 1851 was organised. Paradoxically, though, and perhaps indicative of the lower academic capital traditionally attributed to technological expertise, education had not adapted to support the practical needs of this fast-developing nation. Diversity and a mixture of private and state provision persisted.

As chapter 11 has noted, the country's leaders were indecisive, and preferred to adopt a 'weak' perception of equality (Banting 1985), one where individuals were assumed to have differing needs, hence different forms of education were justified. But as that chapter also observed, politically motivated interest groups were forming and popular demand for educational change was increasing. The new communications media were vital to their causes.

2 Elementary education and political division

After decades of debate, the question of universal elementary education (chapter 11) had still not been resolved. The diversity of provision might have prevented any strong rival to traditional values from emerging, but it did not provide an adequate means of reproducing either social capital or appropriately trained workers. Since religious and ethical values underpinned differences, groups naturally crossed the boundaries of social class, however, a society that had traditionally been hierarchically structured was suspicious of such new relationships. As so often, the chiasmatic structure of society would reveal struggles for power at micro- and macro-political levels.

The demand for elementary education had become more politicised than it had been when the Corresponding Societies of the 1790s and the Sunday School movement had first championed it. Now, the collective power of associations was being exploited with the express aim of bringing about social change. By the late 1830s, calls for elementary education had become intertwined with those for electoral and governmental reform, and were formally presented in demand for a People's Charter (1838) (Harvie 1984).

Chartist groups

For these supporters, the Chartists, education had become the assumed key to collective social mobility, as unemployment and food prices rose. In the absence of free, universal, elementary schooling, workers were educated by means of lectures in the Halls of Science; they engaged in debate through the columns of the *Poor Man's Guardian* and the *Northern Star*, journals which were readily available in the coffee houses (Barnard 1971). Looking to the next generation, the Chartists established their own schools to educate their children.

However, illustrating the coalescing of unlikely groups (Lawton 1992), it was a middle-class² industrialist, Robert Owen, who promulgated early co-operative, socialist, ideals. But if he genuinely believed that

human nature is one and the same in all ... by judicious training the infants of any one class in the world may be readily transformed into men of any other class (Owen 18 :72)

the belief was both a threat to social norms, and viewed with suspicion by the working classes.

Their fear was that the middle class liberals wanted to educate the working classes in order to keep them in their state of inferiority. One of their journals, the *Northern Star*, wrote:

Ah, gentlemen, we see through your craft ... You would educate us, not, as you would sometimes pretend, to fit us for the exercise of our political rights, but to make us indifferent to these rights. And you call yourselves 'Philosophical Radicals'. (*Northern Star* 29 January 1848)

The old class divisions proved to be stronger than the group's political consensus. The Chartist movement split into two factions, illustrating the implicitly different assumptions which underlay their common call for a charter: Lovett's middle class moderates' Humanist ideals were mocked as 'Knowledge Chartism,' whereas the working class militants' expectations of social reform were too extreme for the former.

Charitable groups

Universal elementary education was also supported by middle class charitable groups, though for different reasons from those of the Chartists. Andrew Bell's vision was patently founded in social control, if of a paternalistic, benevolent, form, his aim being

that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, or even taught to write and to cypher It may suffice to teach the generality, on an economical plan, to read their bible and understand the doctrines of our holy religion. (Bell 1805:62)

This would appear to justify working class fears that they were being politically manipulated. But again, sectional interests would provoke division, this time based on different perceptions of religious capital. Bell and his prestigious partner, Joseph Lancaster, belonged to different religious denominations. Unable to agree on the nature of a daily act of collective worship, they, too, split³, to form respectively the Anglican National Society, and the Protestant British and Foreign School Society.

Radical and philanthropical groups

In addition to political and religious support for universal elementary education, the successors of the eighteenth century radical *Philosophes* also endorsed the call, believing of the working classes that

the more instructed they are, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which, among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders. (Smith 1838, Chapt. 1 Art. ii: 350)

Like his predecessors, Smith expressed a political objective for the working classes, which would have aroused fears in the establishment:

they are more disposed to examine, and more capable of seeing through the interested complaints of faction and sedition, and they are, upon that account, less apt to be misled into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of government. (Smith 1838: 353)

Rather than education for suppression, this was education for liberation.

Less confrontational was the utilitarian view of Associationist philanthropists such as J Mill (1829) and J Kay (1832), who saw education as the means first, to

individual happiness and, by extension, to social benefit. Reminiscent of Comenius' seventeenth century aspirations (Part IV, below), the aim was to

render the Individual as an instrument of happiness, first to himself, and next to other beings
(Mill 1829)

but this objective fell between two stools, being too weak for the radicals and too imprecise for utilitarian purposes.

Political response

The political response to these demands was that of familiar ambivalence: the practical need for education was understood and even appreciated on a humanist level in the light of statistical data that testified to the dire factory conditions under which children laboured, but the possible repercussions it would bring for social capital were feared. The Tory position, as presented by Davies Giddy, expressed this vividly:

However specious in theory the project might be of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would, in effect, be found to be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture, and other laborious employments to which their rank in society had destined them; instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them factious and refractory, as was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors; and, in a few years, the result would be, that the legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power towards them. (Hansard 13 July 1807)

Nearly thirty years later, little appeared to have changed, as Brougham (May 1835) advised the House of Lords that his aim was 'to drum sound doctrine into the people'.

Political action was contradictory and indirect: whilst taxes were levied on the press with the intention of curtailing access, a series of Factory Acts was passed between 1819 and 1843, which reduced the hours children could work and made time available for education (Curtis 1968), and a Committee of the Privy Council (forerunner to a Department of Education) was created by Royal Prerogative in 1839 (Armytage 1964).

Despite decades of debate on the question of elementary education, Parliament was not agreed on the benefits that education might hold for the poor, and therefore numerous education bills would fail.

3 Demands for modernisation of secondary education

The arguments surrounding 'secondary' education were met with equal ambivalence, with the result the first three or four decades of the nineteenth century saw little change (Barnard 1971). Demands for and against modernisation again produced unlikely alliances (Lawton 1992).

Boarding schools

At the radical extreme, successors of the Lunar and Literary and Philosophical Societies brought together middle class groups of manufacturers and professionals who shared a common sense of exclusion by the ancient landowners and established Church from institutions with high academic capital. One solution was to establish

their own schools, so, in emulation of the Great (public) Schools, and thank to the expansion of travel (Matthew 1984), middle class boarding schools emerged. However, even in their time, their academic credibility was questionable: they amounted

very frequently to mere egastula, to which boys are sent out of the way to be boarded and birched at £20 a year. (Wyse 1837:46/7)

Proprietary schools

Alternatives were for ownership through share-holding schemes of 'proprietary' schools, which could offer a more functional, utilitarian, curriculum (Lawson and Silver 1973). The utilitarian movement was embodied in John Bentam's *Chrestomathia* (1816), which also had strong moral foundations, continuing the Comenian tradition (chapter 14), namely to

place[s] and keep[s] boys in a condition in which there is little opportunity of doing wrong. Their time is completely occupied; their attention is constantly fixed; they are never idle: they never deviate from a steady and regular course; whence the habit is founded of doing everything in its proper hour and place. (Westminster Review January 1824)

It was a model that did not pose any obvious threat to social capital, but it was too weak for those conservative voices calling for a return to moral values, regretting that

too little attention is paid to the general improvement of understanding and formation of the moral character (RL and M Edgeworth 1801)

a deficiency they attributed to the spread of non-conformist and private schools.

Political positions

A source of such fear derived from the middle class radicals who, mirroring the elementary debate, were demanding change in secondary education as part of a wider package of social reform, including the right to vote. The chiasmatic structure of social conflict is again illustrated, the same values underpinning resistance and demand for change: whereas the elementary debate implied new powers for the working classes, changes in secondary education would empower the middle classes, thus threatening the upper classes.

As with elementary issues, the press - especially the *Westminster* and *Edinburgh Reviews* - offered them a powerful medium for rallying support. But though the overt call was for recognition of the middle classes' value as

the glory of England; ... that which alone has given to us our eminence among nations;... that portion of our people to whom every thing that is good among us may with certainty be traced (Westminster Review 12 October 1826)

there was also an overt challenge to the authority of both the Church and the Crown. Through the pages of this same newspaper, Mill expressed his aspirations for the middle classes:

[we] shall be able to do, and much better than we do now, with a far less costly ecclesiastical establishment; and the whole of the tythes and church lands may be rendered available to the discharge of the national debt. Even 'the decent splendour of royalty' must part with some feathers to avert the calamity of a national bankruptcy. [ibid]

At parliamentary level, too, the press was harnessed to calls for modernisation of the secondary schools. In 1816 the Whig radical, Brougham, had secured a Select Committee enquiry into the state of the grammar schools. Its report exposed the inadequacy of a Latin-based curriculum, whereby

in ten years of this labour, privation, punishment, slavery, and expense, what is gained even of this useless trash? Nothing. (Westminster Review 7 July 1825)

Nevertheless, some twelve years later, Wyse (1837) revealed that

if we find in the county and town schools little preparation for the occupations, still less for the future agriculturist or mechanic, we find in the grammar schools much greater defects. The middle class, in all its sections, except the mere learned professions, finds no instruction which can suit their special middle class wants. They are fed with the dry husks of ancient learning, when they should be taking sound and substantial food from the great treasury of modern discovery. (Central Society of Education 1837)

As chapter 11 anticipated, the greatest change took place, ironically, in the public schools. This was facilitated by such visionary headmasters as Thomas Arnold and Samuel Butler (Barnard 1971) who revealed a mixture of professional liberalism and political conservatism which, because of their strong academic capital, was able to take their schools forward without jeopardising their traditional values.

4 Change in the universities

Contrary to relative stagnation in the schools and old universities, new universities were thriving (Kelly 1969). These were founded on chrestomatic principles, to provide utilitarian, vocational, learning, and included University College (London); the London Mechanics' Institute, predecessor of Birkbeck College, which offered evening classes in the sciences, and the Royal Institution, founded in 1800 with the aim of spreading knowledge of a scientific and technical nature. Like the dissenting academies, these universities appealed across social and political boundaries and were already posing a threat to such traditional subjects as the law and medicine: their academic capital was challenged by these new institutions.

This threat was again symbolic, deriving from the process of 'synoptic illusion' (Bourdieu; Jenkins 1993) that the researcher has attributed to conflation of institution, social class, and subject (chapter 10). As chapter 11 has seen, the higher dissenting academies had produced their own 'academic capital' and this was challenging the inherent social status of the traditional universities.

One Oxford Professor, Baden-Powell, clearly recognised this and warned his peers that

scientific knowledge is rapidly spreading among all classes EXCEPT THE HIGHER, and the consequence must be, that that class will not long remain THE HIGHER. If its members would continue to retain their superiority, they must preserve a real pre-eminence in knowledge, and must make advances at least in proportion to the classes who have hitherto been below them. (Quarterly Journal of Education 8 October 1832)

In other words, he acknowledged that restriction of access to authorised education was no longer providing an effective means of social stratification. Scientific investigation was beyond suppression once traditional values were not accepted without question. Chapter 9 has traced this back to differences in religious affiliation, which placed divine above human authority, and encouraged non-conformists to undertake scientific study for the glorification of God. Across Europe,

statistical data point to a marked tendency for Protestants, as contrasted with Catholics, to pursue scientific and technological studies. (Merton 1968: 647)

Consequently, the new universities, free of the shackles imposed by Catholicism, and encouraged by the Puritan ethic, were a major source of threat to those seeking social

stasis both because of their denial of social capital, and because of their potential to accrue higher academic capital. Once such exclusion on religious grounds was lifted, civic universities were founded, in the 1860s-70s, in the leading industrial cities (Matthews 1984), but these, too, had implicitly lesser status than the old universities given their 'modern' subjects and their associations with 'functional' knowledge.

Developments in linguistic study were particularly affected by academic licence, and their threat to religious orthodoxy has been seen to lie in their investigation of the origin of language. What developments in the field took place in this century?

5 Linguistic developments in the nineteenth century

Historical and comparative linguistics

European ideologies continued to influence England. The Berlin Academy prize for linguists (chapter 11) was won, following the rediscovery of Sanskrit, by Jenisch in 1794. The framework for nineteenth century linguistic research was now set (Hawkins 1987) and the two emergent strands advanced. Historical linguistics had reached a point where

a vast change in the science of language, as in other sciences ... viewed both (modern and classical) as being in a constant flux, as growing, as moving, as continually changing... more light seemed also to be thrown on objects outside the proper sphere of language, such as ethnology and the early history of mankind at large and of particular countries. (Jespersen 1922 II§1)

Comparative grammar, meanwhile, had broadened to accept that

no language should be condemned or deprecated, not even that of the most savage tribe, for each language is a picture of the original aptitude for language. (von Humboldt 1836:304)

Researchers sought to raise the academic status of their work, hence Jespersen (1922) would retrospectively designate these two strands the 'science of language (or languages),' 'linguistics'. This was no longer the 'handmaiden to philology;' it was a discrete discipline comprised of two groups: the

- philologists, concerned with syntax and dead languages, and
- linguists, who developed the Darwinian perception of language being in constant flux.

Parent sciences

Section 7 will examine the impact of these studies on language pedagogy, the source of which came from different parent sciences. So, von Humboldt was concerned with the *psychological processes* involved in speech. Building on Kantian ideas, he devised a theory of *innere Sprachform*, whereby Man is believed to possess an innate linguistic ability, but one that differs between cultures and affects the means

responsible for the ordering and categorising of the data of experience, so that speakers of different languages live partly in different worlds and have different systems of thinking. (Robins 1967: 176)

This was a theory readily exploited by nationalists of his day, but he had identified a concept which remains an important element of linguistic debate.

Characteristic of an era which had seen the foundation of the Royal College of Surgeons (1800) and developments in medical treatment (Morgan 1984), and writing

at the time of evolutionary theory's birth, Schleicher championed a mechanistic, *physiological perception* of language. In his work of 1863, *Darwinian theory and linguistics*, he argued that

language is nothing but the result, perceptible through the ear, of the action of a complex of material substances in the structure of the brain and of the origins of speech, with the nerves, bones, muscles etc. (Jespersen 1922: III§4)

This, too, was a theory which, like Darwinianism itself, could be manipulated for political purposes.

Superseding the model offered by Pāṇini's Sanskrit grammar (chapter 11), *technological developments* such as the telegraph and phonograph, enabled linguists to focus better on the *spoken* word (Matthews 1984). This suggests that study was being technology led, and it had controversial implications for the academic capital of linguistics. This can only be understood in the context of traditional perceptions of a hierarchy of 'skills', with written language ranking higher than spoken competence. Hostility to such innovation was still to be found in the 1920s, when Jespersen wrote disparagingly of the period that

the 'blind' operation of phonetic laws became the chief tenet of a new school of 'young grammarians' or 'Junggrammatiker' (Brugmann, Delbrück, Osthoff, Paul and others) who somewhat noisily flourished their advance upon earlier linguists. (Jespersen 1922: IV§3)

Towards the end of the century, reflecting *sociological interest* in the individual, some linguists focused not on collective use of language but on that of the individual, and on change over time within the individual's speech patterns. From the perspective of the 'idealistic school', the source of language change was the individual. It was in this spirit that the *Société de Linguistique*, founded in Paris in 1866, declared:

La Société n'admet aucune communication concernant, soit l'origine du langage, soit la création d'une langue universelle.

[The Society will engage in no communication, on either the origins of language or the creation of a universal language]

Together, these diverse parent sciences had led to fragmentation of linguistic study, to include, amongst others, morphology, syntax and semantics; study of words not in isolation, but as parts of sentences, as connected speech; in texts; the individual act of speech; the socio-cultural role of language. Typical of a growing paradigm, diversification preceded crisis point, and would be followed by establishment of new orthodoxies (Kuhn 1962). Reflecting chiasma again (chapter 6), the field itself was developing hierarchies of academic status.

This developing academic capital coincided with formation of professional associations (Lawson and Silver 1973), and new means of communication. The relationship of these factors is impossible to separate into cause and effect, each feeding off the other to produce further developments. The importance for this study is that now, academic capital and technology were to have a clear impact on the pedagogy of languages within the schools and universities. This did not happen until the latter decades of the century (Kelly 1969) so, before the pedagogical issues are examined, one additional factor must be put in place: the political values and institutional structures that the government promulgated in those decades.

6 Political response and educational change in the late nineteenth century

Despite the establishment of an Education Department in 1856 (Simon 1969), political ambivalence and adoption of a 'weak' definition of equality (*supra*) had resulted in unmanageable diversity. Electoral reform and social unrest contributed to political acceptance that England's educational system, this vital message system (Bernstein) and producer of human capital, must be modernised. Since no one knew precisely what was actually happening in the schools of England, three inquiries were launched, each focused on a different element of the educational 'system'. In chronological order, these began with the Newcastle Commission.

The Newcastle Commission 1858: elementary education

This inquiry opened in 1858 and reported three years later. Its brief was

to examine the present state of Popular Education in England, in order to determine what, if any, measures were required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people. (Royal [Newcastle] Commission 1858)

At last, the two key issues (chapter 11), were to be addressed: finance and compulsion to attend. Disappointingly for those who hoped for change, the Commission concluded that

Government has, ordinarily speaking, no educational duties, except towards those whom destitution, vagrancy, or crime casts upon its hands (Newcastle Commission 1858, Chapter 6: 297)

and that provision should not be made compulsory since

feelings, both political, social and religious to which it would be opposed; and also on the ground that our education is advancing successfully without it. (ibid Chapter 6: 300)

Plurality would continue, thereby sparing the state expense, and ostensibly respecting different religious values and the principle of freedom of choice. Although there was no overt political control of the curriculum, it could be achieved covertly by restricting financial support to the achievement of results. The state would hope to inculcate its social values, but it failed to take measures to reach the whole populace.

Significantly, the Commission's recommendations, were distorted, with the result that essential, not additional, grants that became subject to performance, a distortion which divided Parliament and delayed implementation of a Revised Code until 1863.

The Clarendon Commission 1861: the public schools

This second inquiry began in 1861, to investigate the condition of the nine leading public schools (Lawson and Silver 1973). This was in the wake of changes in the universities, and following the introduction of a competitive entrance system for the civil and other services (Simon 1969) for whom these schools were feeders (chapters 10 and 11) or, in Clarendon's own words (Volume 1: 56), provided the 'chief nurseries of our statesmen'.

The Commission's recommendations reflect a liberal concern for equality of opportunity, but still of a weak nature. They explicitly recognised the dual nature of the public schools' student bodies (chapter 10): in order to solve the 'problem' of having to accept lower class, scholarship, boys, they proposed that the Harrow model be adopted. This meant making separate provision for them, in 'English forms' (Carlisle 1818).

The very name of these forms indicates how access to foreign languages symbolises a social hierarchy. Again, this was ostensibly based on functional grounds, but it exemplifies once more the symbolic violence that this focus can facilitate (chapters 9-11), and which perpetuates social stratification. Together with the raising of fees for foundation scholars, perceived functional needs enabled self-exclusion to operate, thereby preserving the social elitism of these schools.

The Commission recognised the need for modernisation but quite openly expressed its perception that it was the lower social groups who should have access to such practical subjects. It envisaged

modern subjects, to meet the needs of that large class of boys who are not destined for the universities, but for early professional life. (Clarendon Vol. I: 55)

Contrary to this cautious response to change, it did, however, make a politically and academically challenging proposal: that schools' governing bodies be broadened to include

men conversant with the requirements of public and professional life and acquainted with the general progress of science and literature. (Clarendon Vol I: 6)

It displayed, then, a familiar ambivalence, on the one hand accepting that the country's functional needs had changed, yet trying, on the other, to retain the old social structure.

The Taunton Commission 1864: secondary education other than in the public schools

Finally, the third commission, Taunton, was formed at the end of 1864, with the brief of examining secondary education in all those schools not covered by the previous two inquiries, whether private, endowed or proprietary, for boys or for girls.

Although the Commission did provide a 'ladder' for lower class, able, boys 'who are to make education a means of rising' (Vol. I: 596), its perception was clearly that schools were for the middle classes. Its recommendations were rooted in notions of social immobility, with fixed, functional, roles. To this end, it proposed three distinct types of school, each of which 'needed to have their work defined and then to be kept to that work.' (Taunton Vol. I: 576)

Their model demonstrates the patent conflation of intellectual ability and social class (Bourdieu, Jenkins 1993) discerned in previous chapters. By altering the curriculum and leaving age of each type of school, appropriateness of the curriculum and economic factors would naturally result in 'self-exclusion'; in effect, the notion of real choice was merely 'synoptic illusion' (Jenkins 1993). Whether this differentiation was manipulated for political reasons or whether it sprang from a sincere belief in the 'weak' model of equality, its effect was discriminatory by today's standards.

At the top of the hierarchy, the Commission proposed *First-grade schools*,

for the sons of men with considerable incomes independent of their own exertions, or professional men, and men in business, whose profits put them on the same level. (Taunton vol. I: 15-21)

These schools might also admit

a lesser breed of pupil the offspring of the majority of professional men, especially the clergy, medical men, and lawyers; the poorer gentry. (ibid)

Boys would remain until aged eighteen, and the curriculum deemed appropriate for them would be similar to that of the public schools, where the classical subjects were retained but with the addition of modern subjects.

Moving down the social ladder, boys at the *Second-grade schools* would leave at the age of sixteen. These schools would also serve two different social groups:

those who could afford for their sons to stay at school two more years, but who were aiming towards professions with apprenticeships, as, for instance, the army, all but the highest branches of the medical and legal professions, civil engineering, and some others, (ibid)

and those parents who simply could not afford to keep their sons at school once they were capable of earning a wage.

Latin might be included in the curriculum of these schools,

partly because it is in some cases of real practical use in these professions, partly because of its social value, partly because it is acknowledged to facilitate a thorough knowledge of modern languages, partly because almost all teachers agree in praising its excellence as a mental discipline, (ibid)

but Greek was not considered appropriate. The remaining subjects should be English literature, political economy, mathematics, and science. The old justifications for learning Latin were therefore preserved, but modern languages were not felt necessary for this group.

Finally, education in the *Third-grade schools* would end at age fourteen, and was aimed at 'a class distinctly lower in the scale' (ibid), such as small tenant farmers, tradesmen or superior artisans. Recognising the sheer volume of such schools, representative of a large sector of society, the Commission recommended a curriculum of elementary instruction in either Latin or a modern language, English, history, elementary mathematics, geography and science – none of which should exceed the prescribed level. Languages were therefore assumed to play a non-practical role, offering instead a process of analytical training.

Such, then, were the political ideals for England's educational 'system' that led to the Education Act 1870. The Act would, in fact, bring little change to the framework in which foreign languages were valued, so is not discussed here⁴.

These six sections have set the social, institutional and linguistic framework for language learning in the nineteenth century. Section 7 will now examine developments in language pedagogy, in order to provide the microcosmic, field, context for case study 2 (chapter 15).

7 Language pedagogy in nineteenth century England

Section 5 has traced the diversification of linguistic research in this century and, although interest in pedagogy had, throughout the period, been 'unflagging' (Hawkins 1987:89), it was in the latter decades of nineteenth century England that the impact of theory on pedagogy began to be undeniable. Four leading methodologies were to be found:

- grammar-translation
- the Natural Method
- the Direct Method

- phonetics.

Whilst they had their own foci, they were balancing the same issues. All four are reviewed briefly so that the subject of case study 2, Henry Sweet (chapter 15), can be located in the field as a whole.

Grammar-Translation

As has been seen, the classics remained central to secondary education, with modern languages accorded lower academic status, but it was nevertheless recognised that traditional methodologies were both boring and failing to serve any practical value. Technology provided a means of alleviating the boredom, if not yet of addressing practical issues.

The printed word was nevertheless adapted in some highly original ways to produce resources which aimed to increase motivation and to reduce the workload of language learning. Typical of such resources was a course of 48 lessons, produced in 1823 by James Hamilton (Kelly 1969), which claimed to enable the learner to 'speak' a language in one month. The course consisted of interlinear translation of the Greek Gospel of St John into the target language. This was novel in two respects: no formal grammar was involved, and the aim was oral competence. By reason of these two differences, the method would have had low academic capital, but is an early demonstration of an innovator taking the technology of his time to address a recognised 'problem.'

The influence of psychology was evident in Jacques Jacot's *Télémaque* (1826), a reader that the student reader was instructed to start from the beginning each day, and daily read a little bit further, thereby building his self-confidence. This was a concern which Claude Marcel (1853), a leading exponent of the Natural Method, would later develop.

Marcel's aim was, through translation, to reach a stage of 'thinking in a foreign language (through) immediate association of signs and ideas.' Grammar would be learnt through induction. As case study 1, Comenius (chapter 14) will show, these were objectives that preoccupied innovators two centuries previously.

The Natural Method

Discussion of Marcel leads to the second methodology: the Natural Method, so called because it relies on imitating the process whereby a child learns its mother tongue, and founded in child development. Speech comes before reading and, in order to simulate the mother tongue experience, teachers must use only the target language. The Natural Method was widely criticised, and practitioners mocked (not least by Henry Sweet) for the extremes they would go to in avoiding use of the mother tongue.

The reasons for this are partly that oral competence was traditionally lacking the academic status of written language skills, but there must also be a suspicion of some political influence, since the method was of French origin, notwithstanding having some prestigious English supporters, amongst whom Jowett (1887), Master of Balliol, who argued that 'nature taught us to begin with the ear and not the eye.'

With the benefit of today's knowledge, it is easy to see that the method was predisposed to fail because it was grounded in an erroneous conflation of first and second, child and adult, language learning.

The Direct Method

While the Natural Method derived from theories of child development, the Direct Method emphasised a more analytical, pedagogical application of behavioural psychology to the learning process. This would prove the most successful of the four methods and, again, revolved around the precedence of the 'ear' (spoken) over the 'eye' (written word).

A leading exponent, J S Blackie, stressed the need for the teacher to speak clearly and with a correct accent. He, too, sought to establish

direct association of objects with the foreign word, and to overcome the evil habit of continuing to think in the mother tongue (Blackie 1852)

as well as to reduce the role of grammar. The question of association was thus common to both the Natural and the Direct Method, as was avoidance of the mother tongue. Although open to ridicule when taken to extremes (Kelly 1969), and implicitly challenging of traditional academic capital, it was popular, functional, and remains valid today.

By the last two decades of the century, it was reported (Jespersen 1894) that there were some nineteen different names in use to describe what is now termed the Direct Method. Jespersen himself raised many of the issues familiar to contemporary language teachers: the importance of relevant and interesting resources to boost learner motivation; the use of drawing to demonstrate comprehension; and the potential of phonetics to transcribe sound.

The role of technology is of particular interest here. It seems that the preference for oral competence predated the availability of hardware that would aid the pedagogical process, suggesting that curriculum was not led by technology: even when Edison's phonograph offered a potential solution to the problems of pronunciation and drilling (Kelly 1969), it proved inadequate for the task. However, if technology is broadened to the scientific level, developments in behavioural theory had a determinist relationship with language learning, illustrating the spiral of interaction between scientific and technological development and educational change.

The Phonetic Method

The final method, Phonetics, has been traced through previous chapters since seventeenth century linguists attempted to invent a new *lingua franca*, and vastly aided by the discovery of Pànini's grammar (chapter 11). The subject of case study 2, Henry Sweet, Reader in Phonetics at Oxford, was a leading exponent of this, his 'living philology' (Sweet 1899).

As chapter 11 noted, philologists aimed to raise the academic status of their field by adopting scientific methods. Hence they drew upon work from other disciplines. Amongst this was that of A Bell (1865) who analysed and classified sounds according to the position and movement of parts of the mouth. This idea was later developed by Daniel Jones who, using X-ray photography, defined what would become the standard vowel trapezium. Complementary work that informed the movement was that of Rousselot, who developed a kymograph - an instrument that produced a rough picture of the vibrations in the vocal parts, according to whether they were voiced or unvoiced, aspirated or not (Kelly 1969). In this instance, technology appears to have been leading linguistic developments and permitting new discoveries, in a functionalist relationship.

Phonetics supported an emphasis on spoken language; it was now possible to study not only differences between languages, but also between accents and dialects within a given language. But within the classroom, this approach still encountered academic prejudice against oral skills.

The impact of Viëtor

It will be obvious that, despite their differences, these four methodological approaches had a common concern with the motivation of learners, and the precedence of oral or written language. Communications media had disseminated linguistic ideas and, like other interest groups, language teachers were coming together in professional associations.

The year 1882 is seen as seminal in the history of language learning: it saw the publication of a pamphlet by Viëtor, *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren*. Whether this was the cause or result of interest in the subject is open to dispute (Hawkins 1987) but it came from a man with high academic capital.

At first glance, it might seem that Viëtor was merely reproducing existing notions; like Sweet, he believed that all teachers of languages should have a sound knowledge of phonetics; on the question of grammar/translation, he favoured Sayce's view that grammar rules should be induced rather than taught explicitly. What was novel, though, was that Viëtor's methods distinguished between living and dead languages, recognising that the former are in a constant state of flux whereas the latter have an unchanging corpus of language.

Contrary to contemporary practice, Viëtor opposed translation into the foreign language, whether this be a classical or modern tongue, and demanded that reading be *in context*, if the learner were to achieve the ultimate goal of being able to 'think outside his mother tongue in the foreign language'.

Recalling Comenius (case study one, chapter 14), he warned against the dangers of overload, pleading:

come now! language teachers – show that half a field, well tended and tilled, bears more fruit than the whole field on which one repeatedly scatters handfuls of impure seed. This will leave more time to get out on to the playground or into the woods! (Quoted by Hawkins 1987)

Viëtor's work was timely for people were travelling more extensively, for political, commercial and missionary purposes; their needs were to be able to speak and understand the spoken language, and to do so without having to undergo years of study. There was, then, a practical need to find the most expeditious means of achieving these objectives.

Practical and non-practical linguistic needs

Another writer of the late nineteenth century had, in fact, acknowledged that language learners had different needs and hence different methodologies were called for. Predating the twentieth century concept of a 'black box' (Chomsky 1964), Felix Francke (1884) had observed that

all speech utterances flow out of the dark room of the unconscious, where all speech material of the individual lies,

but that this 'dark room' served both analytical and practical purposes. His conclusion was that each demanded a different pedagogical approach:

- the grammatical method, where the learner tries to make conscious the unconscious, was suited to learning where language itself was the focus;
- what would become known as the Direct Method, was appropriate for the learner whose aims were to use language for practical purposes.

Perhaps for the first time, there was an explicit recognition that language learning had been attempting the impossible, that it had sought to meet functional and non-functional aims through a common methodology. Like the wider social structure, the field of language learning must acknowledge this conflict, and accept that,

like the choice between competing political institutions, that between competing paradigms proves to be a choice between incompatible modes of community life (Kuhn 1970: 94)

Competing professional associations

The coincidence of professional fragmentation with unionisation enabled groups of like-minded teachers to come together. Showing once more the chiasmatic layers of conflict, they struggled for power over their preferred model of academic capital. Paradoxically, the very foreign national teachers of modern languages who had previously been deemed socially and academically inferior to their English counterparts (chapters 10 and 11) were the first group to form a language related professional association in England. This, the *Société des Professeurs de Français en Angleterre*, passed two significant resolutions at its first meeting in 1882: that

- French should be taught as a living language, the initial emphasis being on pronunciation and conversation;
- it should be taught by native speakers of French.

Collective strength through a professional association was giving them the power to assert themselves against those who had traditionally held academic capital, and to make demands which would clearly place their native English-speaking teachers of French in an inferior position. Whether by instinct or political design, they moved to reinforce their model, by calling upon a second of the 'educational message systems' (Bernstein 1971): the introduction of oral examinations to validate this form of learning.

English national teachers of foreign languages had initially come together through the medium of journals, but, in 1890, they organised a conference at Cheltenham. Here, they passed resolutions which recognised the limitations of applying linguistic theory to pedagogy; they called for more oral work, as well as reading, but they stopped short of abandoning all grammar, fearing that to do so would undermine their claim to language learning as a mental discipline. Instead, they advocated that the study of grammar be more concrete and systematic. So, like political groups, their response to change was ambivalent: they accepted the need for modernisation but were hesitant because they realised that this would impact on existing notions of academic capital.

So long as there was no professional unanimity, and without any structural changes to enforce change, no single group of innovators could become a threat to existing values – political or academic. The teachers were being permitted apparent professional licence so far as pedagogy was concerned, but, in reality, their powers were constrained by the curricular framework and an examination system which did not reflect the oral objectives many espoused. Two of Bernstein's (1971) message

systems remained firmly under central control: curriculum and formal validation. However exciting the new methodologies might be, the status of modern languages and oral skills remained inferior, as had been acknowledged by one of the Commissions:

the modern languages hold the lowest place in the estimation of masters (Harrow) St Paul's boys do not look upon French as an important part of schoolwork. (The Clarendon Commission 1861, quoted by Hawkins 1987)

Even though endorsed by respected academics such as Jowett, oral competence was not recognised in Oxford language degree courses until 1903. A vicious circle meant that, if they were not assessed and accredited, there was no need to teach them (Kelly 1969). Graduates were neither linguistically capable nor professionally prepared for language teaching of a communicative nature. As a consequence, graduates were not prepared for teaching languages in a communicative way. But neither were graduates in languages taught to teach⁵, a deficiency which would continue for nearly another century.

It was a situation where no-one was the winner: neither the mother tongue proponents of oral skills, the indigenous teachers of foreign languages, generations of school children nor the country. At best, it was a Pyrrhic victory for those seeking to restrict educational, and potentially, social or professional change. This mirrored the response to calls for change in education at the broader level. Fear of change vied with tentative, incremental steps towards modernisation. A chaotic mix of old and new obtained, with dual systems co-existing in a combination of

the education of the past age, and the education of the coming age: one with the object of holding back, or keeping still, the eternally moving man; the other of moving onward with him, of accompanying, and in some instances of moving beyond him in the course. (Wyse 1937: 46/7)

After decades of educational debate, the classics remained at the heart of the secondary curriculum, despite Latin's demise as the international *lingua franca*, and competition from more practical subjects. The latter, including modern languages, were now accepted as additional subjects for the higher social groups; modern languages were permitted to replace the classics for the lower middle classes, and no foreign language at all was provided at elementary level, where the majority of working class children would end their studies. The linguistic continued to symbolise the social hierarchy.

The most commonly offered modern language was French, with German a close second, due to the high status of German philosophical and artistic achievement. As before, these languages were delivered either by the classics' teacher, or by immigrant native speakers. Their lower academic status was often complemented by bigoted political views.

English, meanwhile, was not only the common vernacular at home, but increasingly the language of colonisation. There was, then, an implicit ambivalence between its low status in England but high status in the lands where it was a symbol of the ruling elite. Though the mother tongue had little academic value, it nevertheless held social value as a symbol of the collective identity. A conflict between English's internal and external values was imperceptibly developing, accompanied by decreasing practical need for the average Englishman to learn a foreign language.

Table 3.8 summarises the nature of language learning extant within the educational institutions and as advocated by the three Commissions. This uses the familiar format and shading, to enable vertical or horizontal reading, but as it shows, the range of institutions was now more complex, with two or three types within a group.

Table 3.8

Foreign languages in nineteenth century England's model system

INSTITUTION	LANGUAGE	AIM
First grade schools	Latin, Greek + modern language	For assumed vocational needs and as preparation for university. For sons of higher professionals, some scholarships; to age 18.
Second grade schools	Latin (maybe also a modern language)	For assumed lower vocational needs. For sons of lesser professions; to age 16.
Third grade schools	Elementary level of either Latin or modern language	For assumed vocational needs. For lower middle class boys; to age 14.
Public schools - mainstream	Latin, Greek + modern language	For social role and as preparation for university. For wealthy nobility and nouveaux riches, fee payers.
Public schools - English forms	Elementary Latin	For vocational role and enabling access to university. For scholarship boys.
Old universities	Ancient Greats	For higher vocations, academia and social role. Ladder from public and first grade schools; effective exclusion as fee paying.
New universities	Classics + modern subjects	For professional and academic vocations

8 Evidence for the research issues: nineteenth century England

When presented in this way, the data are too dense to permit easy comparison. Figure 3.12 therefore reproduces them graphically, plotting the curricular aims of each institution on the research continuum, and using the same colour coding as in earlier figures (blue = Latin and the classics, red = modern languages).

R11 Formal foreign language learning in England has been characterised by a lack of coherent policy

It is now immediately visible where common models are being pursued, although the precise aims of a model may differ, an issue which will be explored shortly.

All three types of grammar school are found to follow a Product/Instrument model where students are prepared for their assumed functional roles in society. By

contrast, the aims of the old universities and public schools are shown to have dual objectives, of a Process/Development, non-practical, plus Product/Instrument, functional, nature. However, there is a degree of difference between the old and the new universities, parallel to that between the two 'grades' of public schools. The latter types are closer to the centre of the spectrum, prioritising functionality over 'liberal' education, an indicator that the researcher attributes to a *habitus* (chapter 6) where social class and occupation have become merged.

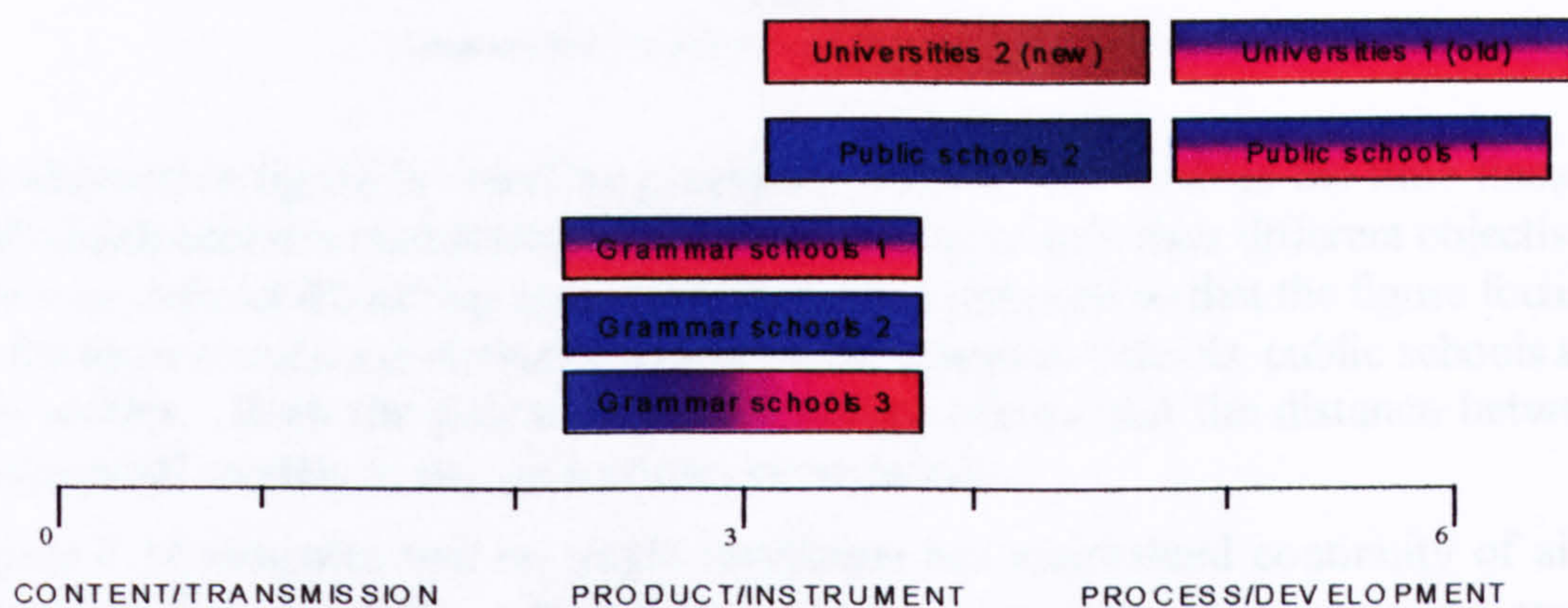


Figure 3.12

Institutional models of foreign language learning in nineteenth century England

The distribution of colour in figure 3.12 highlights, too, the differing roles of modern and classical languages. A combination of both is associated with the more prestigious institutions, those with high social or academic capital. As has been seen in the discussion, the three grades of grammar school are explicitly distinguished by the languages they offer, and the depth of language studied (indicated in level 3 schools by the vertical shading, in contrast with horizontal shading in other institutions).

As previous chapters have noted, the representation permitted by this figure suffices to show the differences between institutions at a fixed point in time, but it does not allow for exploration of the longitudinal coherence of 'policy' (RI1). Again, then, the data are visualised from another perspective: figure 3.13 places them on the chronological plane.

Now, though, because of the sub-divisions within an institutional group, the data are too multi-aspectual for the figure to be simultaneously accurate and clear. While it is satisfactory for the grammar schools, where all three models share a common objective, it is inadequate for the universities and public schools where different aims exist. The format is useful in highlighting some trends, and showing the appearance then demise of the dissenting academies, but it is incomplete.

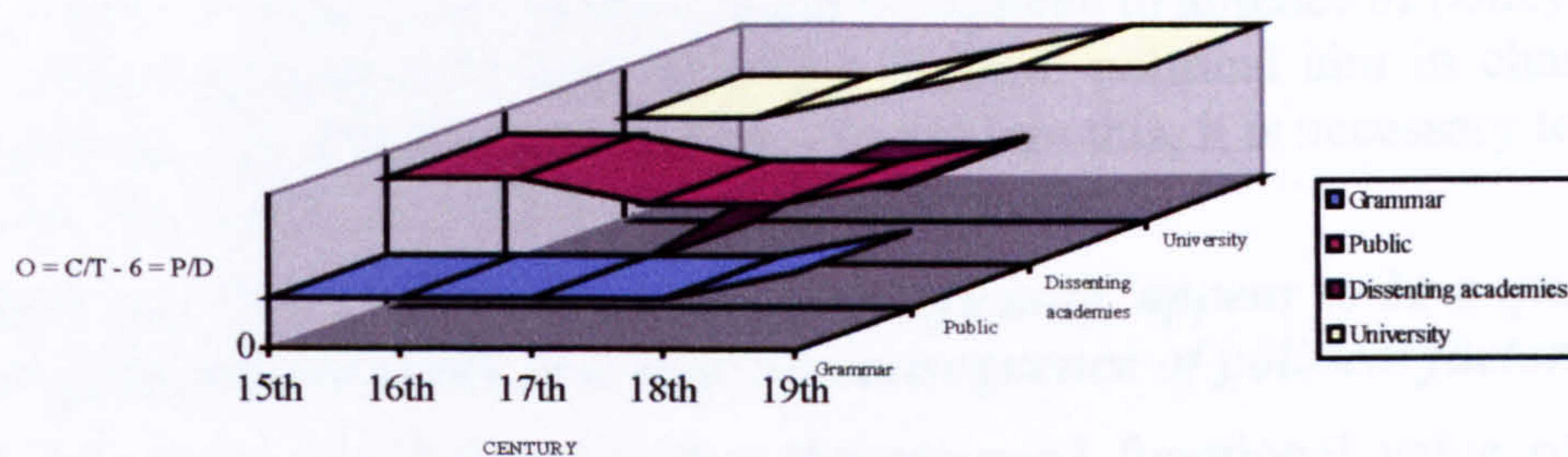


Figure 3.13
Language learning aims by institution to end 19th century

An alternative figure is therefore proposed. Figure 3.14 enables the time lines to distinguish between institutional sub-types, showing clearly their different objectives. The now defunct dissenting academies have been removed so that the figure focuses on the three continuous institutional groups: the grammar schools, public schools and universities. Both the period in which change occurs and the distance between institutional models at any given time are revealed.

Figure 3.14 indicates that no single institution has maintained continuity of aims across all five centuries, which would not be surprising given changing social circumstances, but their respective patterns of change are seen to be diverse. The grammar schools have moved towards the centre of the spectrum and become more Product/Instrument oriented, as have the new universities. Conversely, the old universities have retained the old liberal, non-functional model. Meanwhile, the public schools, which were seen to have been responding to the functional needs of their newly enriched clientele in the eighteenth century, have now been able to return to their old Process/Development orientation, by subdividing into English and standard forms.

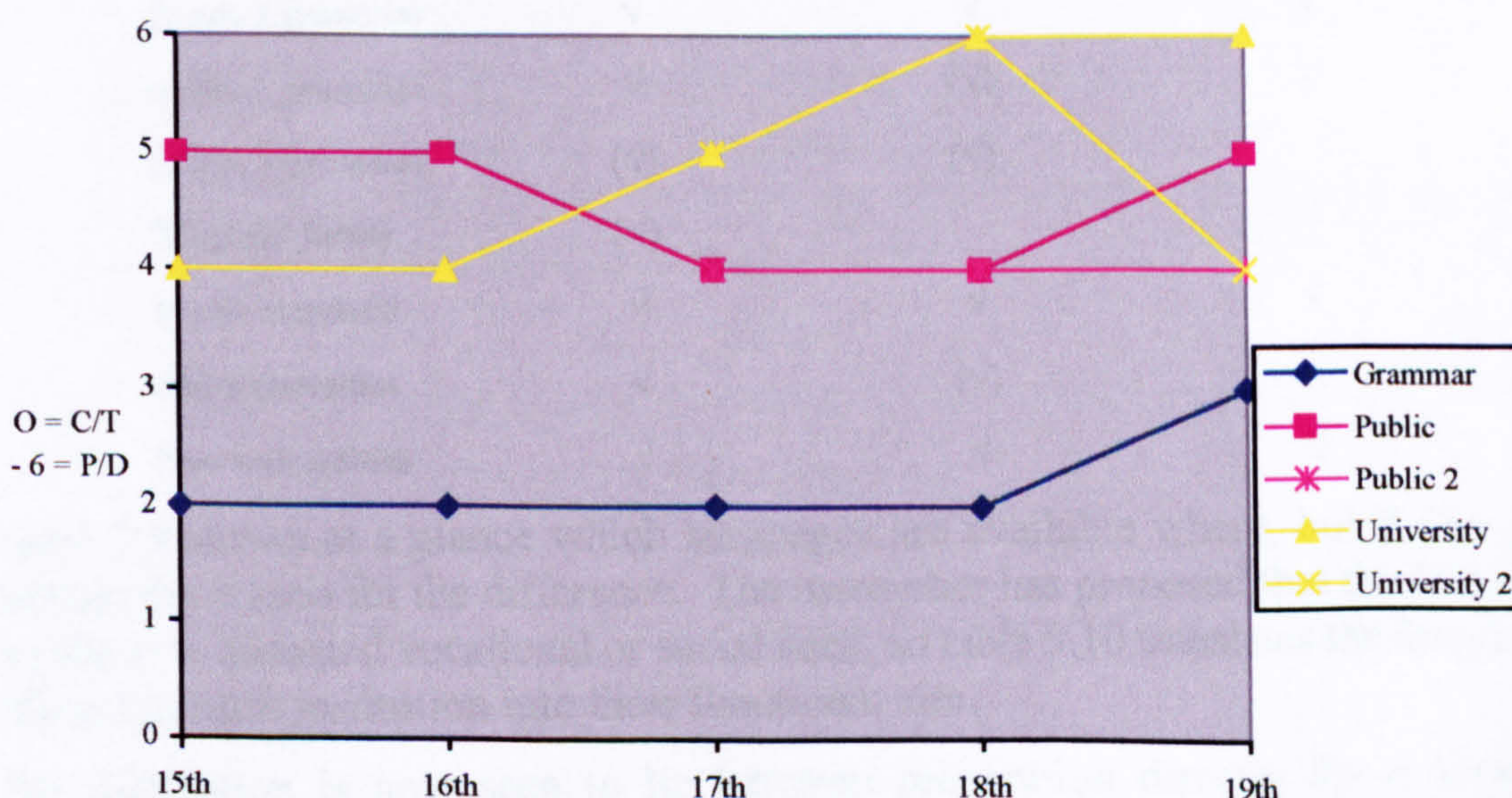


Figure 3.14
Language learning aims to end 19th century

Once again, diversity and discontinuity of language learning objectives (RI1) are confirmed by the figure, with the difference that, where this was previously within a period and between institutions, the institutions themselves now reveal

discontinuity over time. Still, change cannot be equated to absence of policy: indeed, the researcher has proposed that there is a definite political aim in changing or retaining the model of language learning. To explain this, it is necessary to explore the precise aims embraced within the curricular model.

RI2 Whilst this lack of coherence may, superficially, appear to be a question of competing functional needs, it is really a consequence of political factors.

It is evident from the discussion that the assumed functional value of foreign languages to the individual continues to determine which language is offered and the depth to which it is studied. This has been attributed to a conflation of the social class (hence assumed vocational needs) of students, the institution they attend, and the language, and results in a hierarchy of language which reflects social status. The principles of this conflation can once more be demonstrated through a series of images, which bring together the five key issues for social divide or inclusivity (table 1.1).

First, table 3.9 plots the languages (*content*) offered by each of the main institutions of the period. As this illustrates, two institutions, the third grade grammar schools and 'English' forms of the public schools have restricted *access* to Latin; modern languages are confined to the higher level grammar and public schools and universities, as are other classical languages. Where modern languages are available in the lower level grammar schools, the depth of study is minimal. Classics are therefore more exclusive than Latin alone, whilst modern languages are predominantly available in the upper grammar and public schools, and the modern universities. A hierarchy of language is emerging, parallel to that of school status.

Table 3.9
Foreign languages by institution, 19th century England

	Latin	Modern language	Other classics
Grade 1 grammar	√	√	√
Grade 2 grammar	√	(√)	
Grade 3 grammar	(√)	(√)	
'English' forms	(√)		
Public standard	√	√	√
Old universities	√	(√)	√
New universities	√	√	√

Table 3.9 shows at a glance which languages are available where, but it does not explain the reason for the difference. The researcher has proposed that the language is related to assumed vocational or social need, so table 3.10 translates the languages offered in each institution into their functional aim.

The distinction is now seen to lie between preparation directly for a level of professional occupation, or for entry to university. In neither case does Latin provide a practical tool; at best, it is claimed to develop analytical thinking. In terms of access to university, it is symbolic, representing an assumed degree of academic ability and providing a tool for selection. The question of access to Latin learning becomes significant at this point, since only those who have had the opportunity to learn the language can be eligible for progression to the universities. Once again, this

offers a means of social control to those who may wish to prevent a group from having access to higher education, but the non-practical nature of the subject simultaneously deters groups themselves from wanting to learn it. As before, a process of self-exclusion can arise or be manipulated, recreating a cycle of assumed values and functions.

It must nevertheless be remembered that all of these schools provide a greater linguistic experience than do the elementary schools, whose students represent the larger proportion of their age group, and who remain monolingual.

An additional, academic, layer of association grows, Latin being a symbol of higher forms of secondary and university education, and modern languages serving a more practical purpose. Latin and the other classics combined are of no functional value, but are symbols of the institutions which have higher social or academic status.

Table 3.10

Foreign languages by institution and function, 19th century England

	Latin	Modern language	Other classics
Grade 1 grammar	Higher professions and access to university -----		
Grade 2 grammar	Lesser professions -----		X
Grade 3 grammar	Commerce and industry -----		X
'English' forms	Professions and access to university		X
Public standard	Preparation for social role and access to university		
Old universities	Preparation for social role and higher professions		
New universities	Higher professional and academic vocations		

This leads to the final element of conflation: how institution, language and social class relate to assumed function. Social class is determined either by traditional status e.g. through possession of a title, or through economic capital, but by reason of a person's political or financial power, he can acquire the learning which is likely to maintain him in this position. Table 3.11 now replaces function with the groups who have access to the schools and hence subsequently to a function. There is a clear socially descending order within the grammar schools, and in the public schools, represented through different linguistic provision.

Table 3.11

Foreign languages by institution and social class, 19th century England

	Social class of students
Grade 1 grammar	Sons of higher professionals, upper middle class
Grade 2 grammar	Sons of lesser professionals, middle class
Grade 3 grammar	Sons of lower middle class
'English' forms	Middle class, scholarship boys
Public standard	Aristocracy and <i>nouveaux riches</i>
Old universities	Preparation for social role and higher professions
New universities	Middle classes, academic capital

Functionality and academic status are bound up in hierarchical assumptions: they in turn reflect the *habitus*, wherein practical learning is deemed inferior to 'liberal' education, which, if traced back, will be seen to derive from the social groups who engaged in respective forms of activity. This accounts for what the researcher has attributed to symbolic violence (Bourdieu).

The traditional social hierarchy descended from the aristocracy, through the *nouveaux riches*, to middle class groups distinguished by degrees of academic and economic capital, to working class groups whose level of literacy would vary, and would in turn determine vocational role and hence economic status. It was mirrored by access to learning, as permitted through a differentiated institutional structure, within which the form of languages taught was similarly hierarchical. There was no 'violence' so long as access remained open, but the researcher has suggested that political manipulation operated not only overtly in order to restrict access, but also covertly. This was by provision of a curriculum that would be too expensive for some social groups, and would appear to be inappropriate to the functional needs of most, in a society whose *habitus* was conditioned to expectations of social immobility.

Three of Warschauer's key factors, *access*, *content* and *institutional* arrangements, were therefore contributing to reproduction of *social capital* in nineteenth century England. *Human capital*, both the teaching profession and (non) learners, were able to complete this process of social divide, but why did they do so? Did they fail to see that it was divisive or were they content to accept this traditional stratification? The researcher suggests that the changes in foreign language learning are indicative of the struggle now taking place between those seeking social change and those attempting to retain existing capital.

RI3 Foreign language learning has changed in the context of new technology but the functional value of new technologies as pedagogical tools has both orchestrated a new discourse for foreign languages, and provided a mask for political manipulation.

One of the sources of conflict comes from developments in science and technology, which have changed the values and forms of capital possessed by some groups. Whereas in the past, traditional acceptance of the 'cultural arbitrary' (Bourdieu) prevailed, enlightenment had gradually eroded this; technology both demanded new forms of education and produced new sources of academic and economic capital.

Foreign languages illustrate the principles underlying this conflict since they held assumptions of class, which in turn perpetuated social and economic stratification. However, because of the chiasmatic structure of society, challenge to established values brought conflict at different levels. Whilst social changes were afoot at the broader level, for the reasons discussed above, within the academic field, professional resistance to change was inherently allying itself with political resistance, in order to sustain existing values at respective levels.

In concrete terms, once Latin was functionally superfluous, it was nevertheless retained thanks to professional refusal to renounce a symbol of academic status. A new role was therefore found for the language: it became a tool for academic selection. The political value of Latin was therefore greater than that of modern languages, explaining its higher prestige. Academic status was sustained, and the

political establishment retained social divisions based on education, which would covertly reproduce differentiation.

Now, though, a different form of academic capital had grown through the dissenting academies and the new universities: academic status that results from new theoretical work and which achieves high recognition amongst peers, both nationally and internationally. This had begun to challenge the old form of academic capital. But if it posed a challenge within the field, in an age where it was increasingly economic capital that held the greatest power, new academic capital did not offer a great danger to political groups.

The potential power of professional groups was further reduced by their lack of unanimity on what ranked as linguistic capital. Consequently following the chiasma through to a more microscopic level, schools' traditional language learning programmes and pedagogy were unlikely to be threatened by innovative ideas. Furthermore, compliance with political objectives was effectively ensured by an examination system which would determine a school's academic image and underpin its state funding.

The conclusion emerging for RI3 must, then, be that technology has been responsible for changing values and the means of accruing political power in England. The nature of (Latin) language learning within the schools has changed in order to sustain micro and macro political objectives, but not meeting the nation's functional linguistic needs, though new technologies are appearing which provide instruments supportive of new linguistic aims. At this stage, academic and political resistance to the forms of learning these new aim would entail have been able to resist calls for change. This is because functionality has not been perceived in the outward looking sense, but, instead, in an inward looking direction. Foreign languages may contribute to social stratification, but political groups have not recognised their importance to the nation in its relationship with other countries.

Their ignorance was about to be exposed as the twentieth century moved towards international warfare.

¹ e.g. 1821 Manchester Guardian ; 1846 News of the World; 1855 Daily Telegraph

² As noted in chapter 11, contemporary definitions of class are inappropriate when discussing this period, though their hierarchy is beginning to resemble that of the Standard Occupation Classification (see e.g. HEFCE 2001/69)

³ Bell and Lancaster would subsequently hold joint responsibility for the distribution of government educational grants (Lawson and Silver 1973).

⁴ Interested readers will find accounts of the 1870 Education Act in e.g. Simon 1969, Barnard 1971, Lawson and Silver 1973, Curtis 1968.

⁵ Only since 1973 has a secondary school teacher in the state sector been required to hold a formal teaching qualification as well as a degree in the relevant subject

CHAPTER 13

LANGUAGE LEARNING IN TWENTIETH CENTURY ENGLAND

1 Introduction

The difficulty of capturing the educational essence of a period within a single chapter is stretched to the limits with the twentieth century. Social, technological, national and international, circumstances have undergone such frequent and extensive change that the period cannot be treated as a single entity. But to break it into sections once more raises questions of balance and selectivity. Some degree of detail is required, in order to track continuity or discontinuity of language learning aims (RI1) and to provide the context for case study 3 (chapter 16). The dilemma is how to strike a balance between fairness to the richness of history and fairness to the equilibrium of a longitudinal study.

Recognising that readers will have lived through differing periods of the era, so will bring to this chapter their own experiences and interpretations of events, and at the risk of failing to meet either objective, a compromise has been reached: the chapter is divided into five periods, and, in the interests of objectivity, these are defined by a major piece of educational legislation. Language-specific official guidance of the day is placed alongside this general framework. The five periods and their related documentation are:

- **1902 – 1914**

The Education Act, 1902 (Balfour)

Board of Education Circular 797, 1912

- **From World War I to II**

The Education of the Adolescent (Hadow), 1926

Modern Studies (Leathes), 1918

- **1944 – 1965**

The Education (Butler) Act, 1944

Circular 10/65: The organisation of secondary education

Foreign Languages in Industry (FBI, 1962)

- **1966 – 1987**

Green Paper, Education in Schools, 1977

Primary French in the Balance, NFER, 1974

- **1987 to the end of the century**

The Education Reform Act, 1988

The National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education (Dearing) 1996

Curriculum Matters 8, Modern Foreign Languages, DES 1987

2 Language learning from 1902-1914

The Education Act, 1902

Modernisation of the secondary curriculum had remained torn between competing strong and weak conceptions (e.g. Kogan 1985) of equality. In 1895, the Bryce Commission had condemned the 'confessedly defective' (Bryce 1895:2) nature of secondary education but remedial action was delayed both by changes in ruling party - hence dominant ideology - and by the economic and human consequences of engaging in war in southern Africa (Lawson and Silver 1973). When, at last, Parliament did address the issue, through the Education Act of 1902, it still failed to resolve two key questions:

- that of universality, or equality, of provision; and
- the educational role of the Church in the reproduction of social capital.

The 1902 (Balfour) Act proved to be yet another compromise between progressive and conservative ideas: it shared Dewey's (1900) utilitarian perception of curriculum as skills, rather than 'knowledge', and took a child-centred approach to the diversity of human need, but it still retained the traditional grammar school model for achieving this. Favouring a 'weak' notion of equality, it assumed that different needs required different types of school, each with a distinct curriculum.

Differentiation would take place at age eleven, and a compulsory ladder system¹ would permit some social mobility. Similarly, access to the universities became theoretically possible for all classes, thanks to local education scholarships, though in practice the language constraints of the state schools' curriculum again created a situation of 'self-exclusion', as will be seen below.

The Act was another ambivalent mix. Although Balfour complained that England

has long seen a vast expenditure of public money which has yet left this country behind all its Continental and American rivals in matters of education (Balfour 24 March 1902)

he nevertheless awarded grants to 'non-provided' (voluntary) schools, thereby provoking public outrage. It may, however, have been an act of political astuteness, since it would bring these schools under the aegis of the newly created Local Education Authorities. Through these bodies, delegation of executive responsibility from the centre was effected, while strategic control lay with central government: the Board of Education laid down codes of practice and monitored these through a system of inspection and the tying of funding to achievement. Additionally, one of the 'message systems of education' (Bernstein 1971), the examination system, was deployed to ensure that, if a school was to retain its professional reputation, it did not digress too far from the requirements of the external examinations.

Ostensibly, Balfour promoted a liberal curriculum, which state funded schools could determine for themselves, following the base line provision of

the English Language and Literature, at least one Language other than English, Geography, History; Mathematics, Science and Drawing. (Department for Education 1904)

Significantly, the specification of Latin had now disappeared, but the subject remained necessary for university admission; for Oxbridge, Greek, too, was required. This had both institutional and individual implications: schools aspiring to meet the needs of future academics and of 'higher' professionals must offer one or both of the classics. Through the familiar process of synoptic illusion (Bourdieu 1977), social

status, academic ability and 'successful' schools would become merged concepts. The schools were effectively obliged to teach what would meet this 'market' criterion. For the individual, an illusion of choice was created but, as before, self-exclusion would operate as a result of economic and social status, but cloaked in the aura of functionality, selection on grounds of fitness for purpose.

Balfour's intention was patently one of Product/Instrument, comparable with that underpinning the three-grade grammar school model. Like that, it derived from a weak notion of equality of opportunity, and assumptions of predetermined status in society:

a process of intellectual training and personal discipline conducted with special regard to the profession or trade to be followed. (Bryce 1895: 80)

The Act therefore introduced more central control, but this was mediated via the LEAs and examination system. Diversity was in reality founded on the old liberal values of a basically hierarchical society; this might provide a solution to the old question of financial responsibility and respond to the need for skilled workers, but it failed to address the religious and moral issues necessary for reproduction of the nation's cultural heritage. It offered a vague sense of 'policy as text' without attending to the need for 'policy as discourse' (Ball 1994).

Language Learning and Circular 747 (1912)

As this has indicated, although schools were theoretically free to exercise their professional judgement, within the broad framework of the Act, in practice the examination system curtailed real curricular licence. Arguments over the place of Latin and the relative merits of grammar and oral competence persisted. The Regulations for Secondary Schools (1904) were of little help, stating simply that

when two Languages other than English are taken, and Latin is not one of them, the Board will require to be satisfied that the omission of Latin is for the advantage of the school

and specifying a notional timetable allocation of 3-3½ hours a week per language.

One notable change though, was the recognition at last of the value of oral skills. A number of factors were contributing to this, amongst them the introduction of teacher exchanges and funded trips abroad for honours students of modern languages, and, in 1909, the Board of Education's agreement to schools' appointing French and German language assistants on one-year contracts. It was in this spirit of expansion that a new partnership between the centre and professional associations was forged: the Board of Education appointed four subject committees, of which one was for modern languages, another, for the Classics (Hawkins 1987), to report on the state of these subjects.

The report on modern languages, Circular 797, was delayed because of their 'special difficulties', not least an inadequate supply of qualified specialist teachers, so appeared only in 1912. Like the 1902 Act, it was a curious mix of innovative thinking and conservatism, but an appendix to the Memorandum containing illustrations of good practice in eight very different schools reveals the degree of impact achieved by the four reform movements discussed in chapter 12.

They show that the international phonetic alphabet (IPA) was generally favoured for teaching *French* beginners (not for the more phonetic German language). All eight schools were still tied to grammar-translation methods, however. Acknowledging

the constraining force of examinations, Tottenham County School explained that they did so 'as a concession to the present requirements of external examinations', but

if the school had a free hand translation would be limited to the last two years at school. (Circular 797, 1912, Appendix)

Like education as a whole, language learning was indirectly controlled by the examination and inspection systems. But contradictorily, while the Inspectors continued to argue that orally based language could not represent 'strenuous work', they were highly critical of the universities, complaining that

the course of work required for a degree in modern languages is far from adequate to qualify these graduates for skilled professional service. (Circular 797, 1912)

Students left university unable to speak the language, and even the forward-looking Modern and Mediaeval Languages *Tripes* at Cambridge had no compulsory oral test: an *optional* test in pronunciation had been introduced, which, in 1909, became a conversation test, but this remained optional.

Both the quality and the quantity of modern linguists England produced was inadequate, as reflected in statistics showing the number of Oxbridge scholarships awarded in 1911/12 (Hawkins 1987): for a total University population of around 13,000, these were:

Classics	205
History	56
Modern languages	8

Despite their lack of practical value, the classics still predominated and the Inspectors were giving no clear lead for change. They appear to have been unable to renounce traditional notions of academic capital, yet were aware that this did not meet functional needs.

Technology had not yet produced instruments to convince the profession of the feasibility of meeting oral needs. Although the phonograph had seemed to promise a panacea for the Direct Method (Hawkins 1987), and despite refinements in the USA, it was insufficiently developed to replace phonetics as the means of teaching pronunciation (Kelly 1969), and the old professional rivalries meant that non-native speakers were employed as models. Conflicting values were thus permeating different professional levels, reflecting again the difficulty of effecting change in a chiasmatically structured society.

Illustrating the security brought by familiarity, it was the older technology, printing, that was invigorating language learning and the Natural Method. Reviving ideas found in Comenius' work, coloured text was employed and illustrations added to text books, now for pedagogical, not ornamental, purposes. A suggestion by Breul (1913) that maps and national emblems be included in texts proved particularly popular. Four-colour printing enabled more attractive resources to be manufactured economically. Coloured wall charts appeared, and some teachers used them with cardboard cut-outs as early prototypes of the flash card. Where such aids were unavailable, the blackboard (Kelly 1969: 269) was used for sketching items. Today's teachers of languages will be familiar still with these methods.

Language learning may have been a more enjoyable experience, but, as World War I approached, England was still failing to produce linguists who were trained in

communicative oral skills, and capable of fluent, spontaneous interaction with native speakers of other languages.

In terms of the research model, languages remained focused on symbolic rather than practical outcomes, serving as a means of internal, social differentiation in preference to outward-looking communication for practical purposes. This was achieved by retention of classics, as a tool for exclusion from the higher forms of learning, hence the positions of social and academic status. Institutional differentiation was based on assumptions of functionality. Political and professional response to the need for change was ambivalent, and those willing to change were constrained by economic and examination controls.

Consequently, England's educational system continued to produce an inward looking, exclusive, model of language learning which may have sustained social stratification, but which failed to produce linguists capable of interacting effectively with external communities. The difference is recalled in figure 3.15: the country retained model A, but increasing international communications were demanding model B.

The familiar colour coding illustrates the continued presence of Latin (model A) and at this stage, modern languages have limited external use. For communicative purposes, a first step would be to move towards model B, where modern languages are taught communicatively, but, as this image indicates, this would lose a source of academic, *ergo* social, differentiation unless knowledge of the modern language replaced Latin as the prerequisite for university entrance. Ultimately, the question was political and required a judgement on the country's respective internal and external relationships.

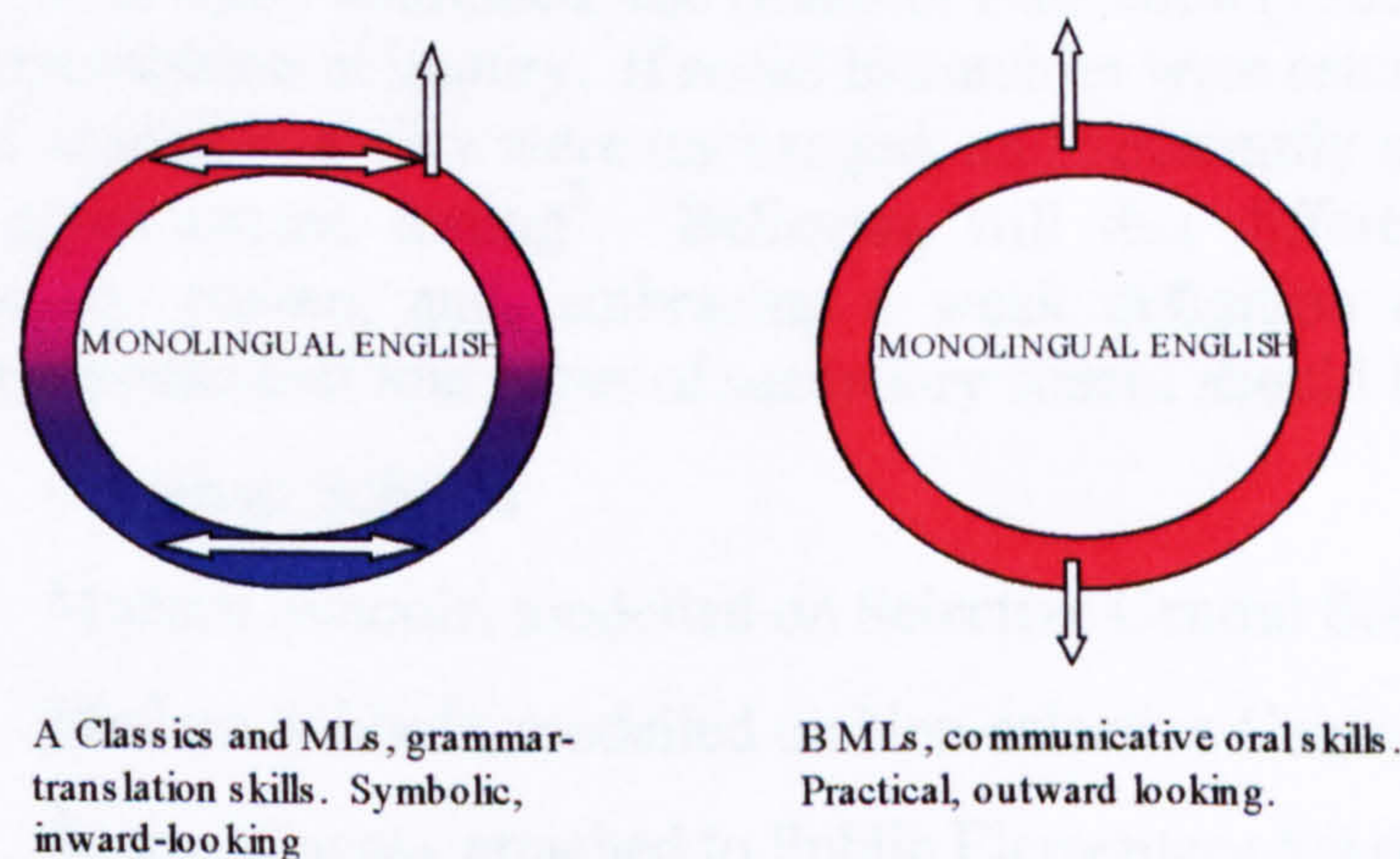


Figure 3.15

Early 20th century inward and outward functions of language learning

3 Language learning in England from World War I to World War II

The general framework of education from World War I to II

The horrific nature of World War I dispelled any lingering doubts as to the collective value of elementary education (Fisher 19 April 1917), and those self-same conditions changed for ever the relationships between England's social groups and the sexes.

The interwar decades at last saw the political commitment necessary for modernisation of the educational system.

Although idealistic, Fisher's proposals for an education bill recognised these new relationships and the perceived value of education:

a new way of thinking about education has sprung up among many of the more reflecting members of our industrial army. They do not want education only in order that they may become better technical workmen and earn higher wages. They do not want it in order that they may rise out of their own class, always a vulgar ambition, they want it because they know that in the treasures of the mind they can find an aid to good citizenship, a source of pure enjoyment and a refuge from the necessary hardships of a life spent in the midst of clanging machinery in our hideous cities of toil. (Fisher 10 August 1917)

But if Fisher was committed to reducing class distinctions and differences between town and country provision, Parliament was less enthusiastic, and the eventual Education Act (1918) is reminiscent of its nineteenth century predecessor: it aimed

to stimulate the civic spirit, to promote general culture and technical knowledge, and to diffuse a steadier judgement and a better-informed opinion through the whole body of the community. (ibid)

Socialisation into the cultural heritage of the nation appeared paramount. However, the Act's important novelty was that, in keeping with the new sense of social equality, its regulations were applicable to all types of school, effectively bringing the non-provided in line with provided institutions. Economic recession prevented the immediate realisation of the Act's social ideals, but they would continue to surface in repeated official reports, and culminate eventually in the Education Act of 1944.

It was in the context of this sense of social parity that the question of secondary education was once more addressed: the Board of Education (1926) set up another (the Hadow) commission of inquiry. If social hierarchies were ostensibly flattening, perceptions of academic ability were unchanged, and apparently supported by the evidence of psychometric testing². Believing still that different talents were identifiable at age eleven, and, embracing a weak definition of equality, the Commission proposed that four types of secondary school should be established:

- Grammar Schools
- Modern Schools, modelled on Selective Central Schools
- Modern Schools, modelled on Non-selective Central Schools
- Senior Classes, attached to Public Elementary Schools

Hadow disingenuously argued that competition between the different institutions could be overcome and parity of esteem could prevail if a common curriculum were pursued in the early years. This curriculum was fundamentally one of Product/Instrument, which assumed fixed roles, based on intellectual ability. Contemporary readers will recognise the difference between performance and ability, and the inextricable relationship of this to social conditions, but it would be erroneous to judge the Commission against these factors: for the era, it was enlightened.

A more adventurous approach was proposed by the *Spens Report* of 1933. Although this commission also endorsed differentiation based on psychological evidence, it

sought to break away from the grammar/public school divide, and even advocated vocational courses. An obvious solution was to establish multilateral schools, but to restructure the system would have been expensive and raised practical as well as political difficulties. The Commission compromised and passed the responsibility to existing schools, recommending that they organise themselves according to multilateral principles.

Education's role in reproduction of the social capital remained prominent in Spens' declaration that

the interest of the State is to see that the schools provide the means by which the nation's life may be maintained in its integrity from generation to generation. (Spens 1998: 147)

This was especially important as post-war euphoria was followed by economic depression, bringing with it apathy and delinquency. Ever greater responsibility fell on education to pre-empt and solve social problems, as well as to prepare the youth for their functional roles. With a view to achieving the latter, a Secondary Schools Examinations Council had been established (1916) and the School Certificate introduced; the schools were expected to determine ways to achieve the latter.

Before Spens' recommendations could be realised, world war again intervened, depleting the teaching work force, destroying many of the schools themselves, and further revolutionising social relationships. The next committee on secondary education and examinations (Norwood) would once more reflect egalitarian ideals, its conclusion being that

we would advocate that there should be three types of education, which we think of as the secondary Grammar, secondary Technical, the secondary Modern, that each type should have such parity as amenities and conditions can bestow (Norwood 1943, chapter 1)

although it acknowledged that

parity of esteem in our view cannot be conferred by administrative decree nor by equality of cost per pupil; it can only be won by the school itself.

In order to provide some mobility, Norwood retained the 'ladder', allowing for transfer within the tripartite system at age 13. The implication of this for linear subjects such as languages was that a common curriculum was necessary up to the age of potential transfer. Somewhat contradictorily, though, Norwood did not propose that all three types of school should teach foreign languages; instead, it placed responsibility on the grammar schools to make special provision for beginners arriving at the age of 13:

pupils admitted to the secondary Grammar School, for example, clearly should begin one or two foreign languages if their best interests are to be served; at the same time, the Grammar School should make it possible for the 13-year old entrants to begin a foreign language, and for this some generosity as regards staffing would be necessary. Pupils who need the most concrete form of education possible in the Modern School should have an appropriate curriculum, though there is no reason why a modern language should not be taught to the pupils for whom it is suitable. (Norwood 1943, Chapter 3:18)

Still, at the dawn of the Welfare State, foreign languages were perceived to be the domain of a minority: whether intentionally or not, they retained an elite academic status. Access to secondary education was no longer in contention, but the secondary curriculum remained tailored to three perceived types of ability, to the higher form of which foreign language learning was symbolically linked.

What, though, was the actual nature of language learning during the inter-war years?

Language learning guidance and practice from World War I to II

World War I had two contradictory effects on the role and form of language learning in England: on the one hand, the status of mother tongues was raised, language being a potent symbol of national identity; on the other, warfare demonstrated the political value of oral competence in modern languages. Where the former reinforced the apparent redundancy of foreign language learning, the latter pointed to a national need for it.

As chapter 12 has found, there was professional resistance to oral skills, which were perceived to have lesser academic capital than traditional competence in grammar/translation. Ignoring warnings from a 1917 Commission for the Civil Service that the nation needed oral competence, the educational system therefore clung to the old model. The examination system³ effectively secured retention of foreign languages as a means of selection for higher education. Central guidance advised against change when the Leathes Committee (1918) declared that development of oral skills would undermine the credibility of language studies, and that

the importance of mere fluency of speech should not be overrated. Grammatical accuracy and scholarship should be demanded. (Leathes 1918, para. 196)

Accordingly the Secondary Schools Examinations Council did not recognise the value of oral skills; prose translation would remain the dominant element of the School Certificate and, subsequently, of GCE examinations, thereby perpetuating the production of linguists who were unequipped for everyday communication in the foreign language, and using the examination 'message system' (Bernstein 1971) to control the schools and their differences.

Typical of the period's ambivalence, Leathes nevertheless recommended that all 6th form students, whatever their path of study, should maintain their knowledge of modern foreign languages, by reading books in the languages. To encourage them to do so, a subsidiary paper of the Higher School Certificate⁴ was introduced. Leathes also called for the creation of 200 annual state scholarships in modern languages, to be awarded by a national advisory committee, and for initial and in-service training for language teachers. The functional need for linguistic change was understood, but the country was still afraid to take the steps necessary to achieve this because, the researcher has argued, they entailed flattening of social and academic hierarchies, a move which was resisted for both political and professional reasons.

Nevertheless, a number of attempts were made during the inter-war years to improve foreign language pedagogy in England, thanks to developments in psychology, technology and linguistics. Urgent measures had been necessary at the Front to teach personnel to *speak* European languages. These, such as the training given at Etaples (Hawkins 1987), involved immersion techniques, but, though very effective, the method is expensive and does not transfer easily to the classroom.

Instead, innovators often adapted methods based on the teaching of English as a foreign language, many reminiscent of proposals put forward by Comenius and other leading figures from the past (chapters 10, 11, 12 and 14). They included schemes devised for reducing the workload of learners, by identifying a '*vocabulaire de base*'. A leading figure in this domain, Ogden (1932), drew on the psychology of learning and on statistical analysis to produce a list of essential words, to form *Basic*,

an International Auxiliary language i.e. a second language (in science, commerce and travel) for all who do not already speak English. (Ogden 1932: 9)

This was initially popular, but *Basic* did not adapt to changing use of language, so its value declined as idioms and vocabulary became outmoded.

Another approach, one which foreshadowed the GCSE syllabus by some seventy years, was to reduce the range of grammar by organising content according to function (e.g. seeking information) or notion (e.g. time, place) (Wilkins 1972). An early model for this can be found in the work of Palmer (1917), which differentiated between 'ergons' (language which functioned) and 'etymons' (inert dictionary items).

It has even been suggested that sexual politics were recognised to be an element of academic resistance to modern languages and oral skills, hence

supporters tried to divest modern languages of this female association by emphasising their intellectual and commercial value and correcting their image as trivial, lightweight subjects. It was not in the interests of their subject, so they thought, to focus on the oral component. (Bayley 1998: 56)

It would be difficult to prove the point, but it is certainly true that modern languages have, in general, been more popular with girls than with boys in recent years⁵, and that there has traditionally been a tendency for German to attract stronger male interest than do French and Spanish (chapter 2).

In order to address learner motivation, technology offered new pedagogical tools, with innovations quickly superseding one another. After the First World War, as the phonograph was refined and ceased to be a luxury item, it began to be recognised as a pedagogical aid. By the early 1920s, Linguaphone courses based on recorded sound were appearing; cylinders were manufactured which could reach a higher range of frequency⁶, rectifying some of the deficiencies found in earlier models, so better meeting learners' needs.

An important development of the 1920s was the production of blank cylinders on to which students could record themselves and compare their pronunciation with that of the model. Perversely, though, as the equipment was refined, it became more expensive and could be afforded by fewer people. However, the concept of a 'language laboratory' was emerging in the USA⁷, which would supplant it.

By this time, radio, too, was employed as a pedagogical tool. From its early use in correspondence courses for many disciplines, its value as a teaching aid was recognised and broadcasting to schools had begun in the early 1930s (Monroe 1931). Foreign language films were by now also available but they had been made for commercial home markets, so were difficult to follow and demotivated students. In the 1930s, though, Walt Disney began to produce animated cartoons specifically for the teaching of *Basic English*, a model which would be extended to other foreign languages and which proved more successful than 'authentic' foreign language films. Later, once sound and vision could be synchronised, filmstrips would offer more practical teaching aids.

The use of illustrated text had meanwhile become more refined, with the introduction of drawings and photographs following the First World War. The complexity and ambiguity of these illustrations decreased towards the 1930s, as line drawings became the norm in both text and children's books, making them more useful for

language teaching. Yet again, the advent of new media had not resulted in the abandonment of older technologies: rather, more sophisticated uses of the old technologies were devised.

4 Evidence for the research issues: pre-Education Act, 1944

In order to track the evidence for the three research issues, it is timely to pause here and to summarise the nature of foreign language learning at this central point in the century, just prior to the momentous Education Act of 1944.

The structural model of secondary education that had emerged from the last four decades was a tripartite one which assumed that individual talent could be determined at age 11 and was, for the majority, fixed. Based upon equity rather than equality (Watts 1985), three generic forms of educational need were identified: academic, technological and practical learning. All three assumed a Product/Instrument objective, with the schools also being expected to reproduce the nation's social values.

Whilst undoubtedly sincere efforts were made to invest the schools with equal status, the academic hierarchy remained, with non-practical, grammar schooling being perceived as superior to practical, technical schooling, which was in turn more prestigious than secondary modern education. If the principles of synoptic illusion are applied, it becomes clear how the different schools, potential vocations they led to, and social class became unconsciously conflated. Again, assumed functionality could both justify tri-partite provision and encourage a process of self-exclusion (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, Jenkins 1993), thereby reproducing social stratification.

Figure 3.16 places the institutions on the research spectrum, using the familiar colour coding; white cells represent monolingual, English, provision.

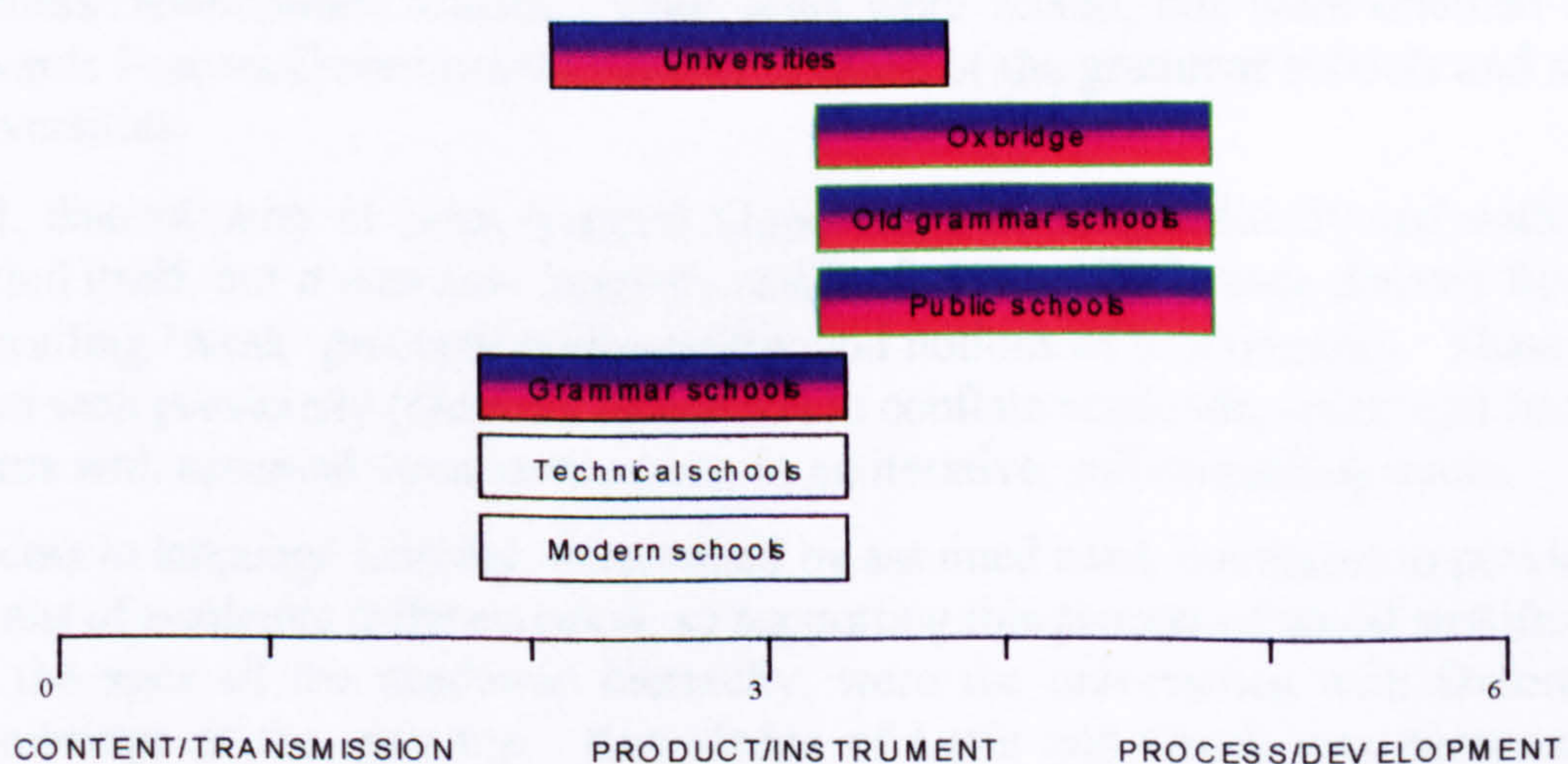


Figure 3.16

Language learning in England prior to the Education Act 1944

As before, this image encapsulates language learning models at a given point in time, but does not allow for longitudinal comparison. By placing the data on the historical continuum, the degree of change within a single institutional type can be illustrated.

Some changes in nomenclature are needed, though: what in the nineteenth century (figure 3.13) was represented by Public Schools 2 has been replaced by the old grammar schools, and the old universities have been redesignated 'Oxbridge'. Figure 3.17 shows the longitudinal situation, using these new names.

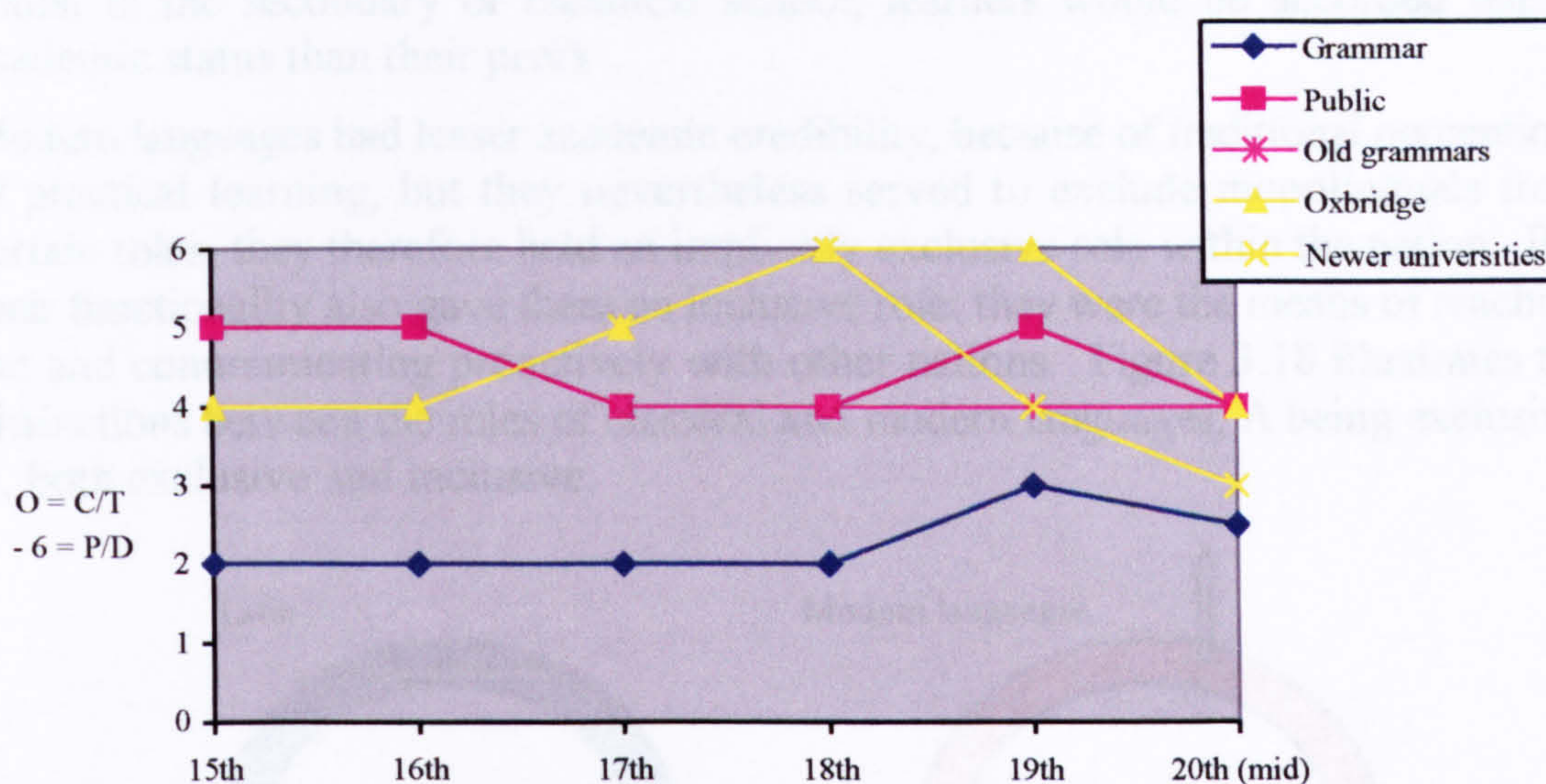


Figure 3.17
Language learning aims to mid 20th century

It is now clear that a more complex pattern of change was occurring. Foreign language learning in the grammar schools was moving back towards the Content/Transmission model, away from pure Product/Instrument. The practical role of modern languages in the universities had brought that model towards the centre of the spectrum, for the first time suggesting that functional use was more important than the old aim of creating academic capital. Even the public and old (voluntary aided) grammar schools and Oxbridge have moved away from the pure Process/Development model. Their aims were mixed, but were oriented more towards Process/Development than were those of the grammar schools and newer universities.

RI1, discontinuity of aims, is again supported, both longitudinally and within the period itself, but it was now overtly a result of policy. Difference derived from the prevailing 'weak' perception of equality, and notions of functionality. These have been seen previously (chapters 11 and 12) to conflate academic, social and financial status with assumed vocational needs, in an iterative, self-sustaining cycle.

Access to language learning, determined by assumed need, continued to provide the means of academic differentiation, so supporting this process of social stratification. At the apex of the academic hierarchy, were the universities with Oxford and Cambridge at the very top. Knowledge of Latin and Greek was necessary for application to Oxbridge, whilst Latin was necessary for access to any university. This meant that those schools which aspired to send candidates to Oxbridge - the public, plus some of the older grammar schools - must teach both classics, and all grammar schools must offer Latin.

The classics were to serve the selection process. But modern languages were needed for practical, functional, purposes. Both public and grammar schools would offer

them but it has been noted that the latter had to make provision for beginners transferring to them at age 13. Some technical and secondary schools might also make modern language provision for potential 13+ leavers. In either case, this would require separate provision: in the grammar schools, such groups would be stigmatised, reminiscent of the public schools' inferior 'English forms' (chapter 12), whilst in the secondary or technical school, learners would be accorded higher academic status than their peers

Modern languages had lesser academic credibility, because of traditional perceptions of practical learning, but they nevertheless served to exclude monolinguals from certain roles; they therefore held an implicitly exclusive role within the nation. But their functionality also gave them an inclusive role: they were the means of reaching out and communicating proactively with other nations. Figure 3.18 illustrates the distinctions between the roles of classical and modern languages, A being exclusive, B, both exclusive and inclusive.

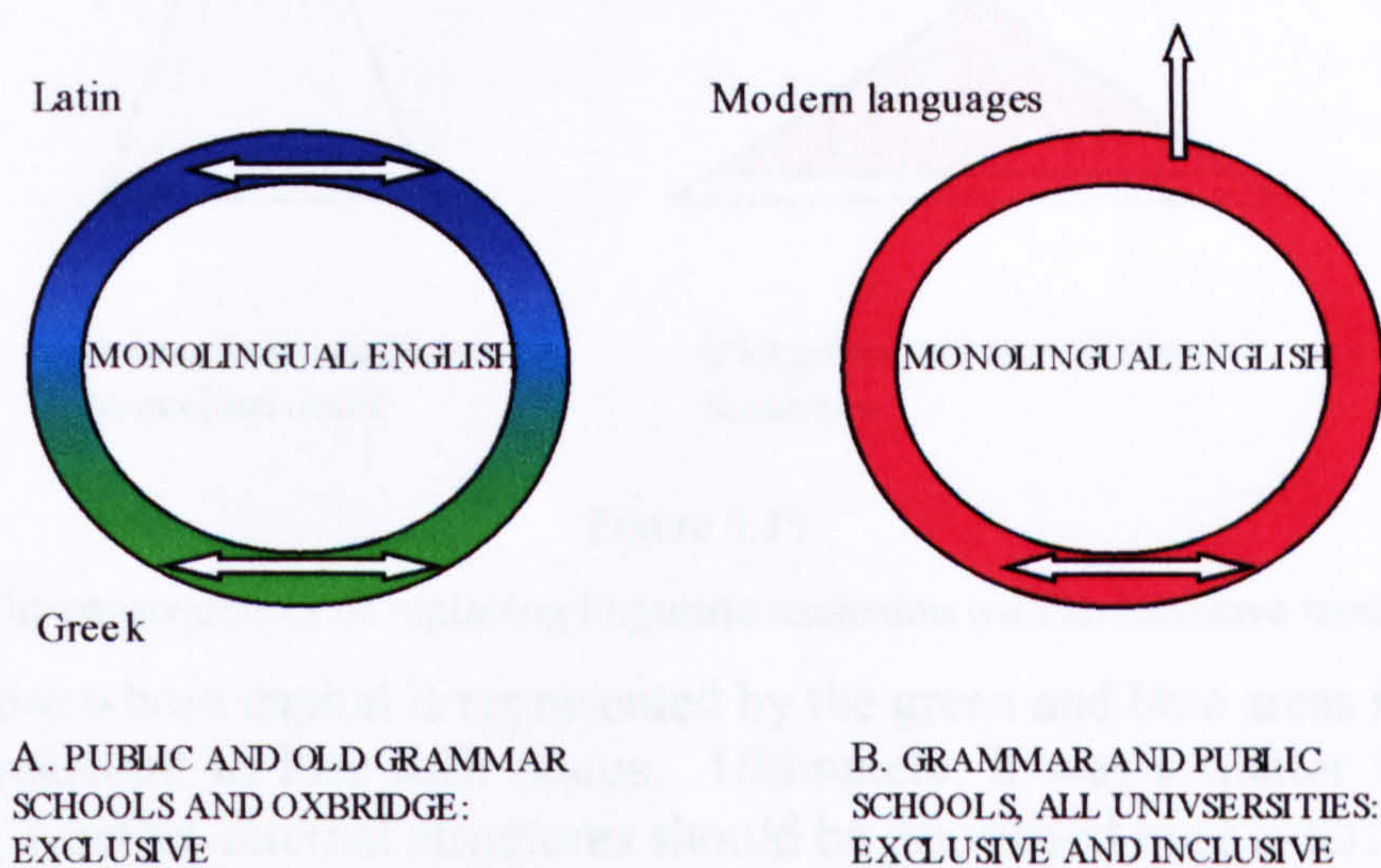


Figure 3.18

Inclusive and exclusive roles of foreign languages in mid 20th century England

Hitherto, foreign languages had been able to play both an inclusive and an exclusive role, largely because of the coexistence of modern and classical languages. The unconscious conflation of languages with social and academic hierarchies had enabled them to support the reproduction of social differences, without raising any apparent dissent. However, England's social relationships were changing as was its international position, following world war, and as technological developments altered commercial and social relations.

The impact of these changes was being demonstrated by the pressures on foreign languages to move away from the exclusive model, to one where functionality was more important than exclusion. In functional terms, the classics would be defunct, and access to modern languages increased to maximise usefulness to the nation. The social implications of this can be understood through the example of languages, their having been shown to represent a hierarchy which mirrored that of social and academic capital. Taking the models of figure 3.18, this means that A would disappear, as would one of the functions of model B, leaving only the inclusive role. If access to B were simultaneously increased, so broadening the percentage of the population in the red area, the social fabric of England would be changed, though the

ability of the nation to communicate proactively with other countries would be enhanced.

Figure 3.19 illustrates the difference. Situation A represents the linguistic hierarchy sustained by existing exclusive models, using the familiar colour coding (green = Greek, blue = Latin, red = modern foreign languages, white = monolingual English). The linguistic hierarchy, and by implication the social and academic ones which it sustained, would be flattened, as shown in situation B, if the nation's external functional needs were placed above maintenance of existing social hierarchies.

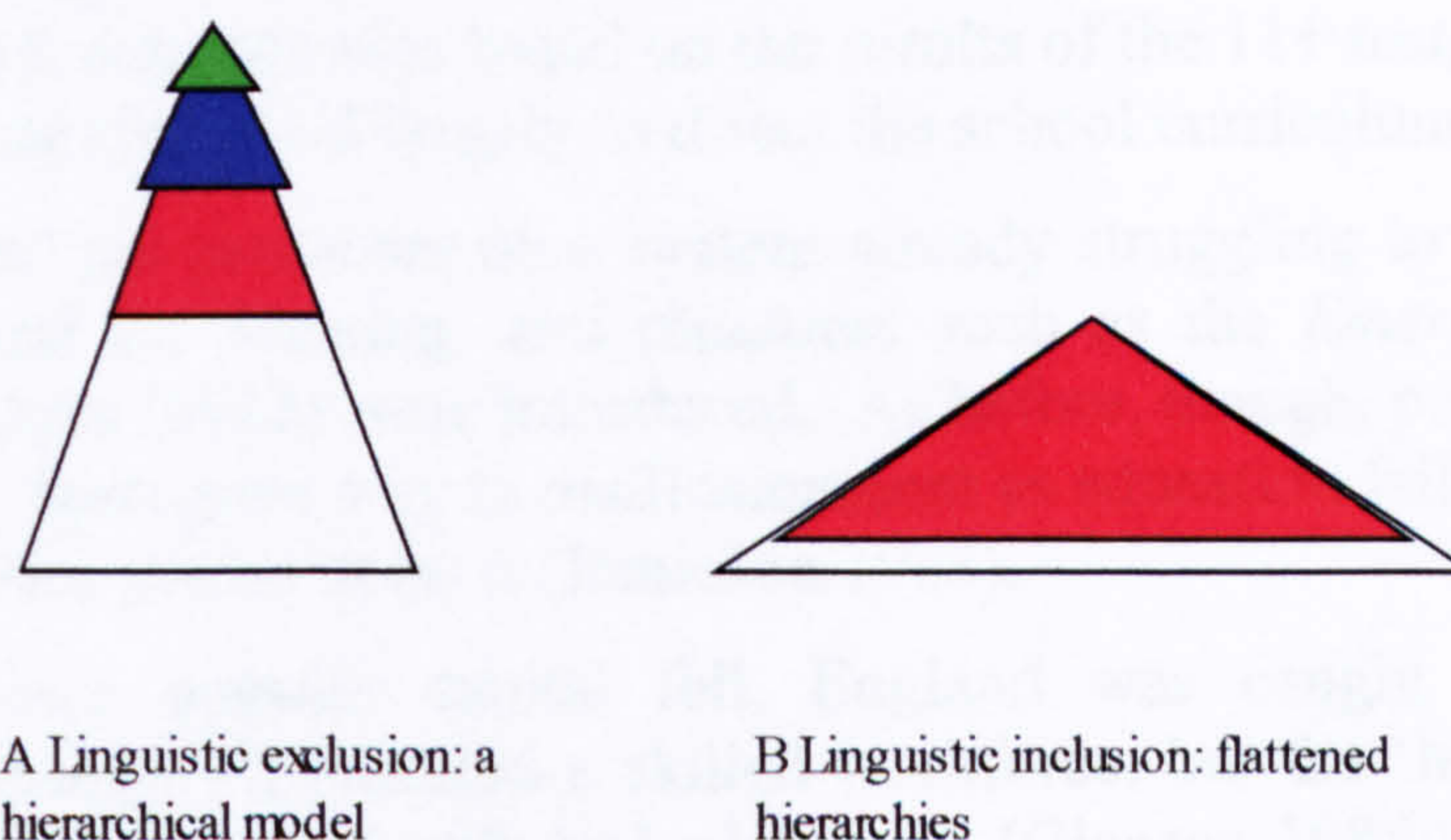


Figure 3.19

The consequences of replacing linguistic exclusion with an inclusive model

Clearly, those whose capital is represented by the green and blue areas in particular would be reluctant to lose their status. Ultimately, it was a matter for political judgement, whether internal structures should be prioritised over external needs.

5 Foreign language learning in England from 1944-1965

Social and educational change

As earlier in the century, world war was followed by a period of optimism for the future, and a renewed sense of egalitarianism, but this time

the congruence between a public commitment to change and a private administrative recognition that pre-war society was dangerously unjust and divisive was the most important legacy of the Second World War for the British people. (Morgan 1985: 565-6)

In order to rebuild the nation, its citizens would need to be educated and *vocationally trained* for different occupations, so the spotlight was about to be focused on an age group hitherto neglected (Lawson and Silver 1985): the 16 – 19 year olds. However, a new element had appeared: the expectation that individuals had personal responsibility towards the community in exchange for their 'social wage'.

Still, though, educational legislation was founded on a 'weak' perception of equality of opportunity (A Crosland in Kogan 1985) and on the belief that

different types of secondary education will be needed to meet the differences that exist between children. (Ministry of Education 1947)

Again, this resulted in variable provision between, and even within, local authorities. In wishing to avoid prescription, the Education Act 1944 delegated responsibility to

the local education authority for every area, so far as their powers extend, to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education throughout those stages shall be available to meet the needs of the population of their area. (Education Act 1944, Part II.7)

Since the Authorities' immediate concerns in the aftermath of war lay in the provision of buildings and trained personnel, responsibility for the curriculum fell by default to the schools themselves⁸. While most areas chose to retain the tripartite system, others preferred multilateral or comprehensive⁹ schooling, added to which were private and grant-aided institutions. In those areas where differentiation of schools remained, entrance was based on the results of the 11+ test, so this and the School Certificate continued largely to direct the school curriculum.

The 'baby boom' put pressures on a system already struggling to provide for the increased demand for learning, and measures such as the *Emergency Training Scheme* for teachers (1943) were introduced. As before, though, post-war euphoria (Plowden 1967) soon gave way to disillusionment as education failed to realise the social expectations placed upon it (Jamieson 1985).

Whilst education's popular capital fell, England was caught in a spiral of technological change. It required a skilled workforce, but the 'low status image traditionally associated with technical education' (Gleeson 1985:57) added to the difficulties of producing one. The lack of human capital and growing disaffection with traditional values demanded central intervention.

The Crowther Report (1959) appeared to have found a solution which would address both social and industrial needs: the school leaving aged would be raised and 15-16 year olds would be trained for work whilst being socialised into the notion of individual responsibility as a citizen:

one starts from the social and personal needs of 15 year-olds, and regards education as one of the basic rights of the citizen; the other is concerned with education as a vital part of the nation's capital investment. (Crowther 1959, Chapter II: 108)

The theme of citizenship, so familiar to today's reader, was now overtly on the political agenda, but the task of instilling values was perhaps underestimated. The twin means of achieving social and economic success were assumed to be a

- sound basic education for all, and
- higher education for the most able.

Consequently, as the nation's first fully educated cohorts moved through the secondary system, political attention followed them to further and higher education. 1963 saw the publication of two reports directed respectively at the two aims: the Newsom Report, *Half our Future* and the Robbins Report, on the needs of Higher Education.

Newsom patently recommended a Product/Instrument model of curriculum in its call

not only for more skilled workers to fill existing jobs, but also for a generally better educated and intelligently adaptable labour force to meet new demands. (Newsom 1963, Chapter 1)

Both commissions recognised two issues which remain important forty years on: the notion of communities having 'a stake' in their conditions, hence a sense of

responsibility for them; and the need for 'adaptable' workers, 'essential to meet competitive pressures in the modern world' (Robbins 1963, Chapter 19: 265).

In order to develop such workers, Robbins controversially proposed that the Colleges of Advanced Technology should be designated universities and that specialist technology universities be created. Whilst the proposal was consistent with efforts to produce parity of esteem, it raised conflict at academic levels, placing practical learning against that which had traditionally held higher status. The nation's economic needs were set against the profession's values, once again reflecting conflict between external reasons for change as opposed to internal pressures for stasis.

Clearly the collective, political and economic, need was more powerful than that of a professional group, particularly when the capital of that group was in popular decline. A stream of measures aimed at modernising the country's workforce (Farley 1985, Finn 1985), ensued, amongst them, the creation in 1964 of twenty-four Industrial Training Boards, foreshadowing the establishment of the Manpower Services Commission (1974).

Using familiar tactics, the examination system was harnessed, with a view to raising the status of these new forms of learning. Single subject GCEs had been introduced in 1951, and were followed in 1964 by the creation of the Schools Council, tasked with reappraising post-16 provision (Nuttall 1985). By manipulating the examination 'message system' (Bernstein 1971), central control of the schools was indirectly maintained, albeit that educational planning may have owed more

to shifts in the occupational structure than to any clearly thought out policy of FE and training. (Gleeson 1985: 60)

Developments in language learning from 1944-1965

In the absence of there being a statutory curriculum for schools, what was the position of modern languages in this post-war period?

Although not formally required, Latin was secure so long as the subject remained a prerequisite for university entrance. Its value remained that of providing a tool for academic selection. Modern languages, though, had no such value in the selection process.

As previously, warfare had exposed the failure of the nation's educational system to produce modern linguists who could *speak* in the language. But this time, another problem had been revealed: modern language teaching in England was predominantly Euro-centric, whereas there was now a need for competence in a broader range of world languages, such as Russian, Japanese and Arabic.

Recalling urgent remedial action during World War I, intensive courses which combined immersion and formal methods had been devised by the Joint Services School. These courses continued after the war, until the end of National Service, in 1958, and were so successful that their methods were taken up elsewhere, most notably at Ealing Technical College (Hawkins 1987). In a domino effect, they spread to innovative universities in the 1960s, then to adventurous schools in the 1970s, as ex-servicemen entered the teaching profession, bringing with them the new methods to which they had been exposed as language learners.

Like many sciences, foreign languages continued to hold an aura of mystique and were seen as 'difficult subjects', partly because of their linear nature which makes penetration difficult, perhaps also by association with the institutions where they had traditionally been taught. They accordingly remained available predominantly in the grammar and public schools, and in the universities.

However, if the nation was to address the linguistic deficiencies highlighted in the war, changes were called for, which raised questions of academic capital, learning motivation, and methodology if new groups were to be included.

Many of the initiatives taking place before the interruption of world conflict were resumed, but the availability of new technologies enhanced them. For instance, using frequency analysis and developing the functional approach foreshadowed in the seventeenth century (chapter 10), the Centre de Recherche pour la Diffusion du Français (Crédif) led the field with *Le Français Fondamental* (Gougenheim et al 1965), refining functional language into that which is 'spoken' and that 'available'. An alternative approach was to teach language for specific functions, for example, for the use of scientists or nurses. These ideas would become fundamental to the examination syllabuses of later years, which were structured around functional themes such as travel and shopping.

Advances in technology and psychology came together in many pedagogical changes during the period, illustrating the linking of technology to learner motivation which has produced a sense of each device being a 'panacea' (Hawkins 1987). The 1940s saw the development of two new machines for recording sound¹⁰: the Mirrophone and the magnetic recorder. Both devices now made the idea of a language laboratory practicable, but it could not be realised in England until after the confiscation of German patents on magnetic tape in 1945 (Kelly 1969).

The use of radio as a tool for language learning had blossomed¹¹ since the BBC's first, modest, five-minute English language lessons were broadcast in 1943, thanks not least to their propaganda role in occupied Europe.

As with most recent technological developments, the formal use of film and television for education began in the USA. Audio-visual courses came to Britain from America, but also from Europe, where NATO personnel were taught French using courses which would have a seminal impact on foreign language learning in England's schools¹². Originally, they linked filmstrip projection with sound. Whilst these methods were exciting compared with those of the past, they were clumsy by today's standards and required a good deal of teacher preparation and organisation. Images were ambiguous and context bound, hence the resources were more useful for introducing new language than for practising it in various situations. They were an example of curriculum leading technology: at this stage, the technology had not kept pace with the innovative, pedagogical, uses envisaged for it. Nevertheless, both the range of languages offered and the nature of skills taught had turned an important corner.

As noted above, pedagogical change was facilitated not only by new hardware and course materials but also by developments in psychology, though, again, the direction of influence would be difficult to disentangle. These developments came from the field of child development and were focused first on mother tongue acquisition, foreign language learning and teaching not yet being recognised as a discrete discipline.

Taking up another of the ideas that Comenius had recognised three centuries earlier, behaviourist methods (Skinner 1957) applied the notion of habit formation through repetition. The methodology shortly came under fire as psychologists warned of learner satiation (Jacobovits and Lambert 1960) and phoneticians questioned the pedagogical value of a method which entailed self-criticism. The death knell for behaviourism was sounded when Chomsky famously challenged the belief that language was a 'habit structure', pointing out that

ordinary linguistic behaviour characteristically involves innovation, formation of new sentences and new patterns in accordance with rules of great abstraction and intricacy. (Chomsky 1966:154)

The critical change was his claim that Man possesses a language learning device (LAD), an innate mechanism which he applies to his own specific linguistic environment, and through which the child internalises the rules of grammar. If this were so, the 'old' methods of repetition and habit formation were inappropriate.

Like Chomsky, the eminent psychologist, Jean Piaget (1962), had posited Man's possession of an innate learning function, though not one that was specific to language acquisition. Assuming that all learning came from the assimilation of new experiences, the important factor for language learning was not drilling and repetition, but exposure to increasingly complex structures and patterns, which the learner would unconsciously refine to conform with the internalised rules of grammar.

Whilst such pedagogical developments were addressing the question of learner motivation, concerns with the range and skills needed by industry were growing (e.g. CBI 1962, Hayter 1961). Professional guidance appeared (e.g. *Modern Languages in the Grammar School*, Nuffield Foundation 1963; Annan 1962), and an initiative which has recently been re-launched was also introduced: early years language learning, piloted in 1963 under the *French from Eight* scheme.

Now, language learning in England was being brought full circle: political and industrial needs were pressing for recognition of languages' functional value as a means of communicating with foreign markets and competitors, and for their being learnt more widely. For such purposes, interactive, oral skills were required, so this was implicitly conflictual with traditional academic capital. The teaching profession (human capital) was therefore likely to resist such changes, particularly if they entailed increasing access to languages. The chiasmatic structure of society would produce resistance at professional levels through fears of 'dumbing down' the academic status of languages.

Meanwhile, after centuries of conditioning against any popular necessity for foreign language learning, England's popular *habitus* (Bourdieu) had developed to a point where languages were assumed to be superfluous to most people's needs, an assumption complemented by international use of English as the *lingua franca*. Added to professional, there would also be resistance on the part of many would-be learners to 'wasting' their time on subjects which had no immediate functional value.

At the political level, there remained both the liberal preference for individuals' freedom of choice, and conservative adherence to a form of education which supported social differentiation, albeit covertly. Resistance came from both wings.

Now, the pressures that had been mounting over recent decades could no longer be ignored: there was a clear discrepancy between traditional forms of education, not least foreign languages, and the country's functional needs. Economic demands for change were in conflict with existing social and academic values. The question for foreign languages was, should the internal, exclusive model of access be retained, thereby sustaining social stratification, or should the nation's functional needs as a member of a global society take precedence?

To resolve these matters, the educational system at large, and languages within it, now became the focus of political and public scrutiny as England embarked upon its 'Great Debate'.

6 Language learning in England from 1966 to 1987

The Great Debate and a new educational framework

The three main sources of pressure for change have already been mentioned: the political establishment, whose requirement for cultural reproduction was expressed as concern over *falling educational standards*; from liberal political positions, where the focus was on providing *equality of opportunity*, and from industry, where the demand was for *functional outputs and adaptable workers*. These demands were the recurrent themes of the Great (education) Debate (Salter and Tapper 1981). Mirroring nineteenth century tactics (chapter 12), the debate began in the media, this time by a series of publications in the right-wing press, and by the 'Black Papers'¹³, though the Debate was not formally launched until 1976, and then by Labour politicians (Callahan 1976).

Hitherto, relationships between the various partners involved in meeting the country's educational needs had been basically consensual, and, within the constraints described above, teaching professionals had been left to much of the curricular decision-making. But by the late 1960s, teachers became the scapegoat for growing disaffection and social disorder. Local autonomy and 'trendy' methods were blamed for the failure of education to reproduce the cultural heritage (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). Popular anxiety fell particularly on the junior schools, with their progressive methods based on new concepts of child development. Fears of extremism and militant infiltration of the education system appeared to be justified by exceptional, but notorious, cases such as that of William Tyndale School (Auld 1976) in London, where professional authority broke down.

Running parallel to conservative fears was socialist rejection of the 'weak' perception of equality, which was seen as detrimental to both the individual and the nation's economy. Consequently, in the late 1960s, the Labour party made plans to introduce a comprehensive system of secondary education. There would be no testing at age 11, nor differentiation in subsequent provision. Again with hindsight, the assumption that natural ability would prevail and individual effort would be automatic was simplistic, and failed to appreciate the effects of environment on achievement and motivation (Halsey 1961, Boudon 1974).

Although the Conservative government that came to power in 1970 withdrew the requirement for comprehensivisation, reorganisation in many LEAs had gone too far to be stopped. The result was that a diversity of provision ensued, with grammar and independent schools co-existing with comprehensives. The latter were often no more

than an amalgamation of an erstwhile secondary modern and rival grammar school, bringing cultural difficulties as well as the practical question of what and how to teach mixed ability children.

As so often, serendipitous events coincided to exacerbate the situation. Youth disaffection was already rife because of high unemployment¹⁴, when, in 1971, the minimum school leaving age was raised from 15 to 16. Intended to address unemployment and social disruption, the legislation was short-sighted and merely moved dissidence from the streets to the schools.

Changing political capital

Public opinion had been activated to enable political intervention, ostensibly necessary in light of falling educational standards and inadequate vocational preparation (Dennison 1985). The educational 'partnership' was being realigned through subtle linguistic shifts: it was now the 'duty' (no longer 'responsibility') of the Secretary of State to exercise control over the school curriculum (DES 1977a), whilst moves were in hand (Taylor 1977, DES 1980) to widen participation on the governing bodies of schools, and bring in more community – lay – involvement.

To force professional cooperation, and recalling seventeenth century tactics (chapter 10), action was taken in order to control the supply and training of teachers (e.g. the James Report 1972; the creation of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education 1984 and restrictions on sponsorship of In-Service Education for Teachers).

Roles were becoming clearly redefined: the government would set the broad agenda, after taking professional advice (albeit from what were seen to be its puppet quangos); local authorities would ensure that schools had in place policies that conformed with their agenda; professional autonomy in the classroom was diminishing.

If central control stopped short of directly prescribing the school curriculum, Bernstein's (1971) two other message systems were nevertheless harnessed: pedagogy and assessment. Curricular responsibility was theoretically passed to the LEAs

to formulate curricular policies and objectives which meet national policies and objectives (DES 1981:2)

but the creation in 1982 of two quangos to replace the Schools Council (the Secondary Schools Council and the School Curriculum Development Council) curbed the power of local agencies to introduce initiatives such as Mode III forms of the Certificate for Secondary Education¹⁵. Once again, the formal assessment system effectively determined the curriculum and covert central control was effected. This favoured a patently Product/Instrument model of curriculum, designed to prepare children for

an increasingly competitive world economy, and ... the prospect of ever more rapid changes arising from technological developments, especially in computer science and information technology. (DES 1981:1)

As has been seen at the subject specific, linguistic level, professional conflict arises over different perceptions of academic value. As demands for vocational learning became more pronounced, conflict at the broader level was sparked through the blurring of boundaries between education and employment. The Industrial Training

Act (1973) had created the *Manpower Services Commission* (MSC) as the executive body of the Secretary of State for Employment. Schools', colleges' and LEAs' fears of eroded powers were apparently confirmed when the White Paper on *Training for Jobs* (1984) removed responsibility for the funding for work-related, non-advanced further education from the LEAs and gave it to the MSC. Ominously, and vividly recalling nineteenth century proposals for a rigid three-grade secondary system (chapter 12), the White Paper advised:

everyone must have a clear understanding of what his or her own responsibilities are and what part others are expected to play. (1984:5)

A series of new schemes¹⁶ aimed at fourteen to eighteen year olds arrived, which gave priority once more to technical-vocational education (Ranson 1985). Vocational examinations and qualifications were established (Raggatt & Weiner 1985) to validate this new emphasis but vocationalism was accompanied by stratification. If comprehensivisation had reduced differentiation in the secondary sector, vocationalism merely moved it to the tertiary. As one anonymous HMI expressed it,

the 'technical', 'business' and 'general' modules are conceived as selective streams for a hierarchy of ability: having divided the age group into sheep and goats, we will then divide the goats into those with horns and those without horns. (Quoted in Raggatt & Weiner 1985:89)

Whether by intent or as a result of incremental planning, the scene was being set for the merging of education and training, and systematisation of education from secondary through to further and higher levels. New alliances and hostilities were forming, as academic capital was threatened by political response to industrial and economic need for vocational skills. External factors could not be divorced from national relationships for, as Britain was plunged into an economic recession through the raising of oil prices by the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC), public expenditure inevitably diminished. Industrialists and central government were brought together through their mutual interest in ensuring that education produced an appropriate workforce, cost effectively; local government and the institutions, meanwhile, saw their erstwhile powers diminishing.

Developments in foreign language learning in England from 1966-1987

Changing academic and political capital was affecting the microcosmic, subject-specific, levels of education. Two key issues were raised for foreign language learning, one related to curricular policy, the other to pedagogy:

- *Equality of opportunity* implied that a chosen curriculum should be offered to all pupils. Local policy makers must therefore decide whether languages were a valuable element of the curriculum, since central guidance merely proposed a framework which included

the aesthetic and creative, the ethical, the linguistic, the mathematical, the physical, the scientific, the social and political, and the spiritual. (DES 1981:para.19)

If an egalitarian ideal prevailed, languages could no longer be used as a tool for differentiating between pupils, but must be taught to all.

- The *child-centred and increasingly skills-dominated* notion of curriculum undermined the validity of traditional, grammar/translation approaches to foreign language learning. If they were to remain an element of the curriculum, languages

must fulfil a more precise function than had hitherto been assumed, which had particular implications for Latin.

Together, these issues were to force decisions which linguists had been reluctant to take. Comprehensive schools and mixed ability groups confronted language teachers with a new pedagogical situation: here were groups of children who, for the reasons traced through these chapters, had little desire to learn languages and had been socialised into assuming that special ability was necessary to succeed in them. Industry was meanwhile expecting the teachers to develop communicative language skills. Ideologically, there were those whose perception of equality was the old, 'weak' one (Kogan 1985). Teachers who were, themselves, the product of a system where foreign languages were perceived to be an elite subject, whether by reason of their academic difficulty or for some more abstruse association with traditional status, were not going to accept easily that all children could or should learn the subject, nor that oral skills were academically valid.

It must also be recalled that this was not simply a question of values: at the practical level, many of the foreign language teachers had had no preparation for the role they were now expected to fulfil. Having been neither teacher trained nor linguistically prepared for oral interaction, they did not have the linguistic competences required for a communicative form of language teaching nor the pedagogical training for dealing with unmotivated, non-academic, children¹⁷.

Nevertheless, there was a clear conflict between old prejudices on the part of learners and teachers, and the demands of industrial and political parties. Political and economic power had overruled that of professionals and learners, but it was the latter parties who were left to respond to the new policy.

Local response to mixed ability and vocationalism

In order to cope with the reality of mixed-ability groups, many language teachers found themselves reinventing strategies proposed three centuries earlier by Comenius (chapter 14). Learner motivation was recognised as paramount, and often achieved only by perseverance and through the production of tailor-made resources, though constrained by external examination requirements. For less able pupils, the most effective methods centred on oral and aural skills, with short-term goals that offered plentiful opportunities for success. However, while this professional licence brought rewards for learners, it challenged traditional academic capital.

It was not only at classroom and institutional levels that successful new models of language learning were devised. One outstanding example of Local Authority response to the challenges of comprehensivisation, vocationalism and equality was the ILEA beginners' French and Spanish courses, *Éclair* and *¡Claro!*, designed for 11-13 year olds. This was an early prototype of multi-media courses based on new technologies, and specifically designed for mixed ability learners. Ahead of its time, it had clear linguistic objectives, which resourceful teachers could test regularly, and which lent themselves to institutional, later LEA, accreditation. Units consisted of visually attractive consumable booklets, highly illustrated using both cartoon and photographic images. Language was introduced through adaptable flash cards, reinforced and practised by listening to/watching audio and video tapes (reel-to-reel, later cassettes), and in pair and small group oral exercises. Depending upon the ability of groups and individuals, grammatical analysis and development could be

induced, and the course included much cultural, background, material intended to sensitise pupils to the lifestyle of French people.

Such courses were successful in motivating learners and disproved assumptions that only able children are capable of foreign language learning. But in devising them, LEAs, groups and individual teachers were exercising the last vestiges of their professional autonomy. This was implicitly threatening to those seeking central control or adherence to traditional values. Of particular political concern at subject and general level, language learning had found a new role: to address prejudice based on gender, race and social class.

There were, then, both political and professional sources of disquiet over initiatives such as these. How political control was regained is reminiscent of attacks on the profession as a whole: doubts were now cast on the competence and track record of foreign language teachers at all levels of the educational system. Their status had been badly damaged by the NFER report, *Primary French in the Balance* (1974), which revealed the failure of attempts to pilot early year language learning. At the other end of the age range, the university teachers were castigated for failing to produce results: for example, the number of male language graduates entering teaching fell by 50% in a single decade, dwindling to only 616 in 1979 (Hawkins 1987). In the secondary schools, the declining numbers of those studying languages to external examination level (Hargreaves 1984) were cited as evidence.

Language teachers would argue that the implicit message conveyed by a relaxation in the requirement of a qualification in foreign languages for entry to university (Standard Conference on University Entrance 1965) had impacted on school option systems and on children's perceptions of the value of languages, but professional power was now diminished. Publication of an HMI survey of 83 schools, *Modern Languages in Comprehensive Schools* (1977), blamed teachers for the parlous state of their subject.

Despite much dynamic work in earlier years, the secondary schools and universities were failing to produce the quantity of linguists the country needed. Ironically, the comprehensive system had removed the restriction of language learning which, the researcher has argued, had been manipulated for reasons of social and academic capital, but learners were not responding to this new opportunity to learn languages. This suggests that the 'cultural arbitrary' (Bourdieu) had been so thoroughly internalised that the majority of the population failed to appreciate any personal value in the subject. Changes in the structure of the educational and examination systems contributed towards the perception of languages' low status, and international use of the country's mother tongue as the *lingua franca* removed any urgent need to learn foreign languages.

But if this was the popular perception, it was not that of industry, and economic capital was politically important, hence industry was powerful. Central action on languages came in the wake of another quango, the Assessment Performance Unit (APU), established in 1983 to monitor standards in all subjects, and of three annual surveys on modern languages: a policy statement appeared, *Foreign Languages in the Secondary Curriculum. A Draft Statement of Policy* (DES 1986). Revealing professional conflict, the teaching profession dismissed this as being 'useful on analysis of the malaise but weak on remedies' (Hawkins 1987:24).

As the country moved towards the most extensive piece of educational legislation to be passed since the Education Act of 1944, the Education Reform Act (1988), expectations placed on language learning were patently polarised, some seeking communicative skills, others seeing intrinsic value in languages, others still pursuing a functional role whereby languages were a means of changing social attitudes. Latin may have been largely displaced by modern languages, and language pedagogy changed by technological devices, but provision was diverse and uncoordinated.

7 Language learning in England from 1988 to the present day

The impact of the Educational Reform Act (1988)

Contrary to the principles of comprehensivisation, the final years of the twentieth century were characterised once more by diversification of provision, ostensibly in the interests of individual choice, but arguably more to meet the functional needs of the nation, and by increased central control¹⁸ through the tying of funding to performance against targets defined by government.

The Education Reform Act (1988) brought both the schools and Further and Higher Education under these two dominant themes. In turn, Conservative then Labour governments used the same tactics to achieve compliance: 'impartial' inquiries were conducted into an issue, reported publicly, legislation enacted in order to rectify apparent deficiencies, and quangos established to manage the process of delivery. To many of those involved in education, the years seemed to bring a never-ending and often incoherent stream of innovation, which overloaded and demoralised both the profession and learners.

Yet despite contradictions (e.g. Maclure 1988, Kelly 1999), the ERA and subsequent legislation continuously addressed these same themes. Although initiatives may have seemed inconsistent, there was an ongoing drive for a Product/Instrument model of education, founded in acceptance of individual social responsibility, and directed towards the country's functional (practical) needs. Concern with standards and value for public money were invoked to justify central action and so win popular support. In order to appreciate action relating to foreign languages, the general principles of the period must first be recalled.

Perhaps the most obvious contradiction in the ERA was its introduction of a common, compulsory, curriculum¹⁹, whilst seeking to deliver it through a plethora of different institutions. The Act was portrayed to parents as a response to their rights to express their preference: they would ostensibly have greater powers of choice under Open Enrolment (ERA Section 26). The rhetoric was that market forces would raise standards: competition was to be encouraged through parental choice amongst secondary institutions that included Grant Maintained schools and City Technology Colleges (ERA Section 105), later expanded to encompass Beacon²⁰ and specialist schools. In practice, the right of expression was different from the guarantee of choice being met, and institutional success or failure was caught in a spiral whereby their academic capital (reputation) brought or detracted from recruitment of high calibre students, which in turn determined their level of state funding.

Adopting the same tactics as previous generations, governments of opposing political persuasions deployed England's 'educational message systems' (Bernstein 1971) in

order to control what and how the young were taught²¹: a national *curriculum* and formal *assessment* (e.g. end of Key Stage tests, GCSE and A levels) were introduced, with results published nationally, and direct responsibility assumed for *Teacher Training*. But also recalling excess in the dissenting academies' curriculum (chapter 11), late twentieth century education proved to be overloaded, had to be scaled down and further change frozen for five years (Dearing 1993). Latterly, additional amendments to the national curriculum (DfEE 1996, 1998 and 1999) have apparently abandoned any pretence to equality of provision for all, and reverted instead to the old, weak, model.

Reform encompassed the whole educational system, highlighting the importance of the nation's functional needs. At tertiary level (ERA Sections 139-155), financial controls²² clearly addressed those of trade and industry, but the colleges and universities were also expected to reproduce the cultural heritage (Bourdieu 1977). The way to this had been prepared by a White Paper, *Higher Education: Meeting the Challenge* (1987), in which Baker had warned

Higher education has a crucial role in helping the nation to meet the economic and social challenges of the final decade of this century and beyond. (White Paper 1987)

Like the schools, the universities and colleges felt emasculated by the ERA:

for nearly a century governments have struggled to insulate universities from political pressure. Now policy has been stood on its head. Universities are to be paid for doing what the Government tells them to do, or not be paid at all. (Maclure 1988:89)

Funding would dictate the nature of higher education. Industrial and political objectives again differed from those of professionals, hence traditional academic capital was under threat. Nevertheless, a National Committee of Inquiry (Dearing, 1996), stressed the country's Product/Instrument needs and the necessity for vocational training of a new form since

the United Kingdom must now compete in increasingly competitive markets where the proliferation of knowledge, technological advances and the information revolution mean that labour market demand for those with higher level education and training is growing. (Dearing 1997 Annex A)

This reference to the nation's international role indicates a growing pressure on education from external needs, an issue which, the researcher argues, has been particularly significant for foreign language learning.

Within the country, the drive for skills (DfES 2001) and widened participation in education (DfES 2000) together brought further professional conflict, as traditional specialisms appeared threatened by newer and more practical subjects which lacked academic capital and changed notions of access. Chiasmatic conflict was therefore endemic throughout the educational system, professional morale low, and special measures became necessary to recruit to the teaching profession (DfEE 1998).

The role of technology

The role of technology in these educational developments was instrumental and determinist, once again providing tools which changed vocational needs, relationships and ideology, and which in turn led to new educational objectives. The impact on practical needs had long been appreciated, but more recently, policy has recognised the ideological implications of information and communications technology (Warschauer 2002), the impact on 'social capital'.

This awareness has been expressed in terms of 'citizenship', which the DfES describes on its website, *NC Online*, as having four dimensions: the self, relationships, society, the environment. Higher education has meanwhile recently seen government investment of \$7.11 million in a multidisciplinary centre in Oxford, dedicated to study of changing human behaviour and interaction in the wake of new technologies, and of the need for legislation to regulate it.²³

Why attention should have become focused on 'social capital' is demonstrated by the failure of many of the ideals of the ERA, and the consequent retraction of requirements. Not least among the causes was the inability to produce sufficient numbers of teachers to realise these ideals. If analysed in terms of the five key issues for change (table 1.1), legislation had addressed the question of *access* to subjects, the *content* of these, and the *institutional structure* within which they would be taught and monitored, but the politicians failed to produce the *social capital* required to provide the *human capital* needed for delivery of the system. For, in bringing about change in the first three areas, professional relationships were undermined; professional commitment to change was insufficient for the system to function. This was a failure on the part of governments to change perceptions of educational values amongst those who would be required to reproduce the 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1977). Ultimately, individuals rejected 'commodity fetishism' (Bourdieu 1993) and an adequate supply of teachers dried up.

Events in the field of foreign language learning during this period offer an object lesson in the principles of this process.

Developments in foreign language learning in England, 1988 to the present day

The future of foreign language learning appeared to be rosy when the ERA made a foreign language compulsory for all pupils in Key Stages 3 and 4 of maintained schools²⁴. However, the nature of language (content) proposed by the government (HMI 1987) changed traditional professional values. It was implicitly political, reflecting more the aims of such courses as those produced in the ILEA (section 6, above) than of the grammar schools. Apart from raising some teachers' political antipathy, this once more challenged traditional academic values and assumptions.

Language learning was now justified on grounds that it

- Allows pupils to explore life style and culture of another land through its language;
- Introduces learners to language awareness;
- Promotes social interaction in and beyond the classroom;
- Develops individual skills e.g. memory;
- Provides skills for adult life e.g. for work or travel.

The HMI had tried to pre-empt professional fears of 'dumbing down' their subject, by reassuring teachers that

a communicative approach to language learning does not exclude an appropriate mastery of grammar but that grammar, like vocabulary, should be learned in context. (HMI 1987, §59)

But professional values are not easily changed; teachers had no option but to work towards these objectives, given the examination system and public reporting of

results, but that did not demonstrate agreement with them. From the learner's perspective, values were equally resistant to change: the nation's *habitus* had established assumptions that foreign languages were 'difficult', the preserve of an academic and social 'elite', and unnecessary in an increasingly anglophone world.

Human capital as represented by both teachers and learners was insufficient to realise the ERA's ambitions, and, under rationalisation of the National Curriculum, foreign languages were effectively downgraded as a foundation subject: whilst they remained a compulsory element of the curriculum in Key Stage 4, students could be offered a short course in lieu of a full GCSE (DfEE 1996). The implicit message this conveyed to students was that languages were less important than other subjects.

Whilst this also demoralised teachers, there were further sources of professional concern: accreditation had been extended, to provide for those students considered unlikely to achieve a grade G at Foundation Level (DfEE 1998), apparently confirming fears of 'dumbing down.'

Languages for international integration

By 1999, a clear shift was perceptible in the aims formally attributed to modern foreign languages by the DfEE:

through the study of a foreign language, pupils understand and appreciate different countries, cultures people and communities – and as they do so, begin to think of themselves as citizens of the world as well as of the UK. Pupils also learn about the basic structures of language. Their listening, reading and memory skills improve, and their speaking and writing become more accurate ... (they) lay the foundations for future study of other languages. (DfEE 1999)

This Content/Transmission model of curriculum, with its focus on socialisation and tolerance, removed the intellectual focus on language structure, contradicting professional values. Where linguists might have been persuaded of the value of developing skills for industry's flexible learners (Hagen 1999), political values, too, were involved in this new model, which has subsequently become more overtly focused on European, as opposed to global, integration, adding to potential conflict.

If legislative changes implicitly recognised the constraints on achieving ideals across the whole educational system, they also attempted to realise them in a more limited area. The introduction of specialist schools, begun in 1994 with technology, was followed in 1995 by a programme for language specialists²⁵. By January 2001, there were 108 specialist language colleges then, linking the scheme with *Excellence in Cities and Educational Action Zones*, a further 18 were announced (DfEE 2001).

On a more restricted scale, the government was able to work towards the external functional, and symbolic, benefits of competence in foreign languages, believing these specialist institutions

will promote an educational culture which is international, technological and vocational. (DfEE 2001)

National dearth of linguistic ability

Justification of specialist provision was claimed through the familiar process of demonstrating failure on the part of existing institutions to meet appropriate standards (e.g. OFSTED 2000; www.dfee.gov.uk/statistics). Comparison with achievement in other countries showed the nation's linguistic weakness - overlooking other possible causes, such as the potentially adverse impact of changed funding arrangements²⁶ for students in HE.

The political fear was that this would subsequently translate into employment immobility for UK workers, putting them, and by extension, the country also, at a disadvantage against European counterparts:

The student mobility figures for 1998/1999 show a further drop to fewer than 10,000 students. Compared with the 1995/96 figure of over 11,700, there has been a gradual decline since that date in UK ERASMUS student mobility. The UK's share of ERASMUS student mobility has declined from 29% in the first year, 1987/88, to 10% in 1998/99. (UK Socrates-Erasmus for the year 1998-1999)

There is evidence (Robey 2001) to show a steady decline in UCAS applications for language courses, particularly noticeable in 1996, when changes in regulations reduced the maximum number of courses for which students may apply from 8 to 6. However, the fall in applications for Spanish was far less than that of other languages, standing in 2000 at 78.95% of the 1994 total, as opposed to French at 47.98%, German at 49.24%, Italian at 68.95% and Russian at 45.04%. It must also be recalled that there was a growing trend in HE for languages to be combined with another discipline, as a minor subject. Again, Spanish shows an annual increase of approximately 2% in such courses between the years 1994 and 2000 (table 3.12).

Table 3.12

Students on combined degree courses with Spanish (minor) in UK (Data source: HESA)

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
A All Spanish courses	1959	2006	2115	2257	2280	2400	2314
B Courses with Spanish minor	211	239	245	358	277	352	380
C (B) as % of (A)	10.77	11.91	11.58	15.86	12.15	14.67	16.42

Apart from individual advantage, linguistic competence is necessary for the nation's economic and political status abroad. It has often been repeated (e.g. Lutzeier 1999) that the inability to speak the language of trading partners may not be harmful when purchasing from them, but it is highly detrimental when selling to them. Data do, however, suggest that the nation may not be addressing appropriate linguistic needs. By combining DTI statistics (for 1996) for the top UK export markets and that year's UCAS applications for courses in the five leading languages, table 3.13 illustrates the degree of mismatch: while the leading foreign language speaking market is Germany, only 15.1% of applicants for languages were for a course including German.

Table 3.13

UK market needs & degree courses including a language, 1996(Data source: DTI & Hagen 1998)

Rank position	Country: % of market	Applications for courses with language as major subject: % of total language applications.
1	Germany 12.3%	French 64.5%
2	USA 11.9%	German 15.1%
3	France 10.1%	Spanish 12.7%
4	Netherlands 7.9%	Italian 6.0%
5	Irish Rep. 5.1%	Russian 1.6%

National resources are misused, though, if the career destinations of new languages graduates are examined. Figure 3.20 converts HESA data into a graphic form, in order to highlight the range and non-specialist nature of their first employment. It is not possible to determine the actual use graduates made of their languages in any of these occupations, nor their long-term career paths, but there must be a strong suspicion that much linguistic expertise is currently going to waste.

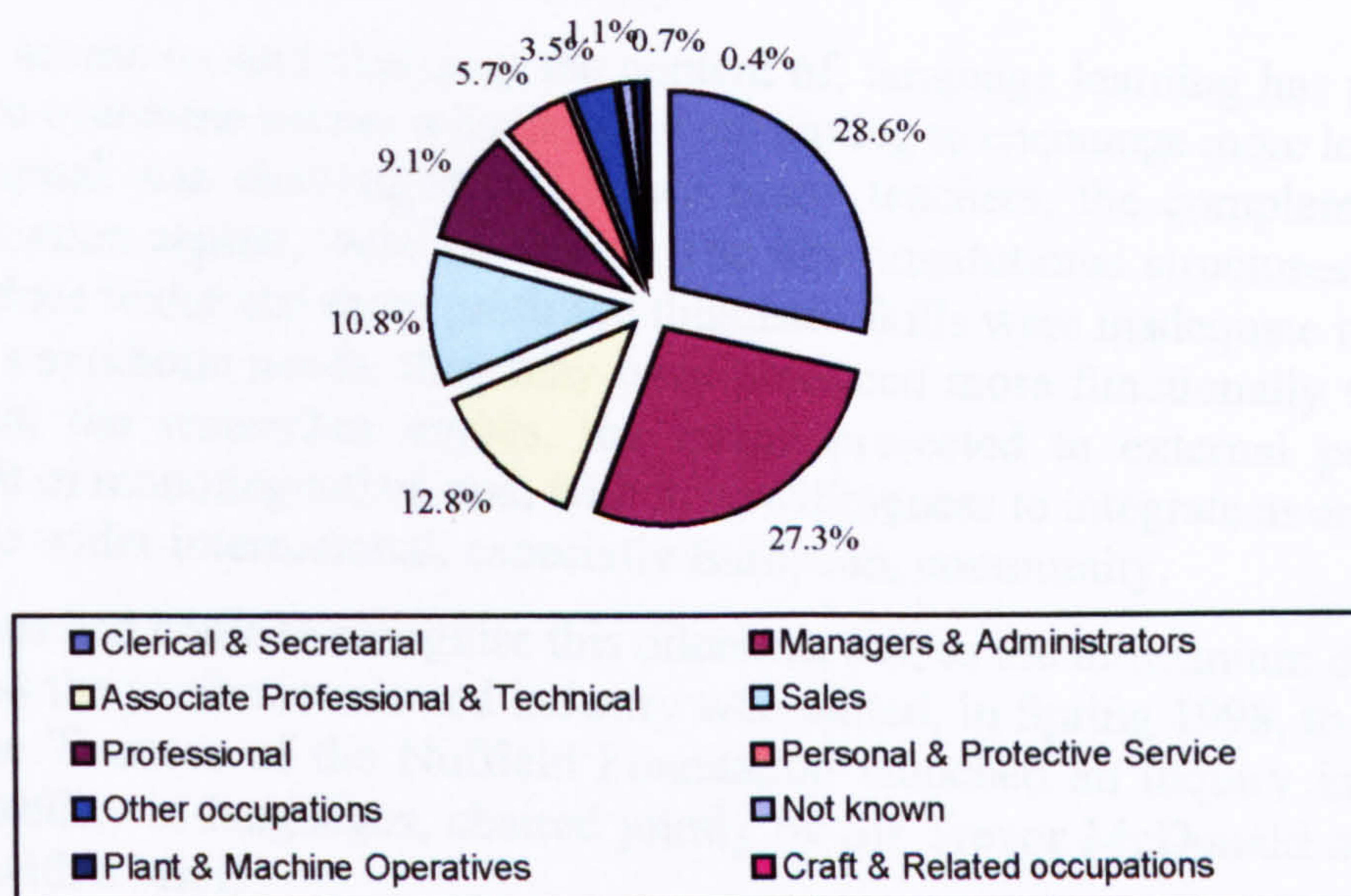


Figure 3.20

First destinations, language graduates 1996 (Data source: Towell 1998)

Figure 3.20 conceals another problem: the dearth of linguists who enter the teaching profession, despite cash incentives to do so (DfEE December 1998). Furthermore, those who do, offer a narrow range of languages: data collated by Sutton (1998) over a five-year period to 1997/8, indicate that while 53% have some knowledge of French, only 0.3% could teach Italian, 0.3% Russian and 0.2% Japanese.

It appears, then, that the range of languages learnt is still caught up in a cycle which reproduces those traditionally learnt; insufficient numbers of the nation's youth are studying languages (BBC 1999, Guardian 20.02.01), and those who do are likely not to make vocational use of their linguistic skills. Added to this, evidence shows that the age at which England's schoolchildren begin a foreign language lags way behind that of European partners (table 3.14), impacting on ultimate fluency.

Table 3.14

Comparative age of introduction to foreign language learning (Data source: TES May 2000)

Begins at age	Country
6	Austria, Norway, Luxembourg
7	Italy
8	Spain, Liechtenstein
9	Greece, France
10	Denmark, Netherlands, Germany, Portugal
11	Iceland, England

Language learning in England is locked into a cycle which reproduces itself: so long as there is no coherent programme or structure of progression from KS2 into KS3, those children who may have begun a foreign language in their primary years find themselves having to start again as novices in year 7. This is due to a combination of inadequate linguistic competence amongst primary school teachers (TES 07.07.00), and elitist attitudes on the part of specialist secondary teachers, who resent 'amateur' encroachment on to their territory.

Opening up access to, and changing the content of, language learning has proved insufficient to overcome learner reluctance; in attempting to encourage more learners, academic capital was challenged and hence many teachers, the complementary element of human capital, were alienated. The new institutional structures put in place to produce wider and more profound linguistic skills were inadequate to meet the country's symbolic needs: they may have produced more functionally trained linguists, but, the researcher argues, the image projected to external partners remained that of monolingualism and, with it, unwillingness to integrate as an equal partner of the wider international, especially European, community.

The politicians had come to recognise this dilemma, but, as the millennium drew to a close, it was the professionals and industry who united, in Spring 1998, to tackle matters. The Trustees of the Nuffield Foundation launched an inquiry into the nation's capability in languages, chaired jointly by Sir Trevor McDonald and Sir John Boyd, with a brief:

... to consider the following questions and to make recommendations.

- What capability in languages will this country need in the next twenty years if it is to fulfil its economic, strategic, social and cultural responsibilities and aims and the aspirations of its citizens?
- To what extent do present policies and arrangements meet these needs?
- What strategic planning and initiatives will be required in the light of the present position? (Nuffield 2000:10)

Here, stated explicitly, was an expression of the practical and ideological roles that foreign language learning was expected to fulfil. It was being acknowledged that a coherent policy on languages was needed, and - by implication - that one did not currently exist. Case study 3 (chapter 16) will take up the findings and recommendations of the Nuffield Inquiry, and will examine progress towards these.

To conclude this chapter, what does the evidence suggest for the research issues at the end of the twentieth century?

8 Evidence for the research issues at the end of the twentieth century

Figure 3.16 summarised the nature of language learning in England just prior to the Education Act of 1944. Clearly, the succeeding fifty years experienced many educational changes, which could each be illustrated graphically to add to the chronology. However, to do this would imbalance the relative degree of detail attached to centuries examined in Part III; this final section will therefore confine itself to summaries of the state of language learning obtaining at the turn of the millennium.

RI1 Formal foreign language learning in England has been characterised by a lack of coherent policy

Figure 3.21 uses the familiar format to locate the curricular model of England's educational institutions at the end of the twentieth century; as before, colour coding indicates the languages offered by each.

The first striking feature is the range of institutions now available. Their titles are new, and, although they may fulfil some of the same functions as previous schools or colleges, they should not be assumed to be identical to them. The increased colour range draws attention to a second important issue: the variety of languages now commonly taught. In addition to the usual coding, yellow has been introduced to represent these new subjects, which include, for example, Japanese, Arabic, and Gujarati. By contrast, it is obvious that the classics have largely disappeared. The final point of note is that all institutions are placed at or near the centre of the continuum, addressing Product/Instrument needs.

Where, previously, it might have been assumed that different curricular models indicated lack of coherence, or of policy, here, consistency of the model might give an impression of coherence. Both assumptions are misguided. The discussion has shown that a policy *has* been pursued but that, because of conflicting economic, practical, professional and social capital, successive amendments have led to diversification of provision and incremental policy development. In order to investigate the implications of this for RI2 and 3, the data must once again be analysed from alternative perspectives.

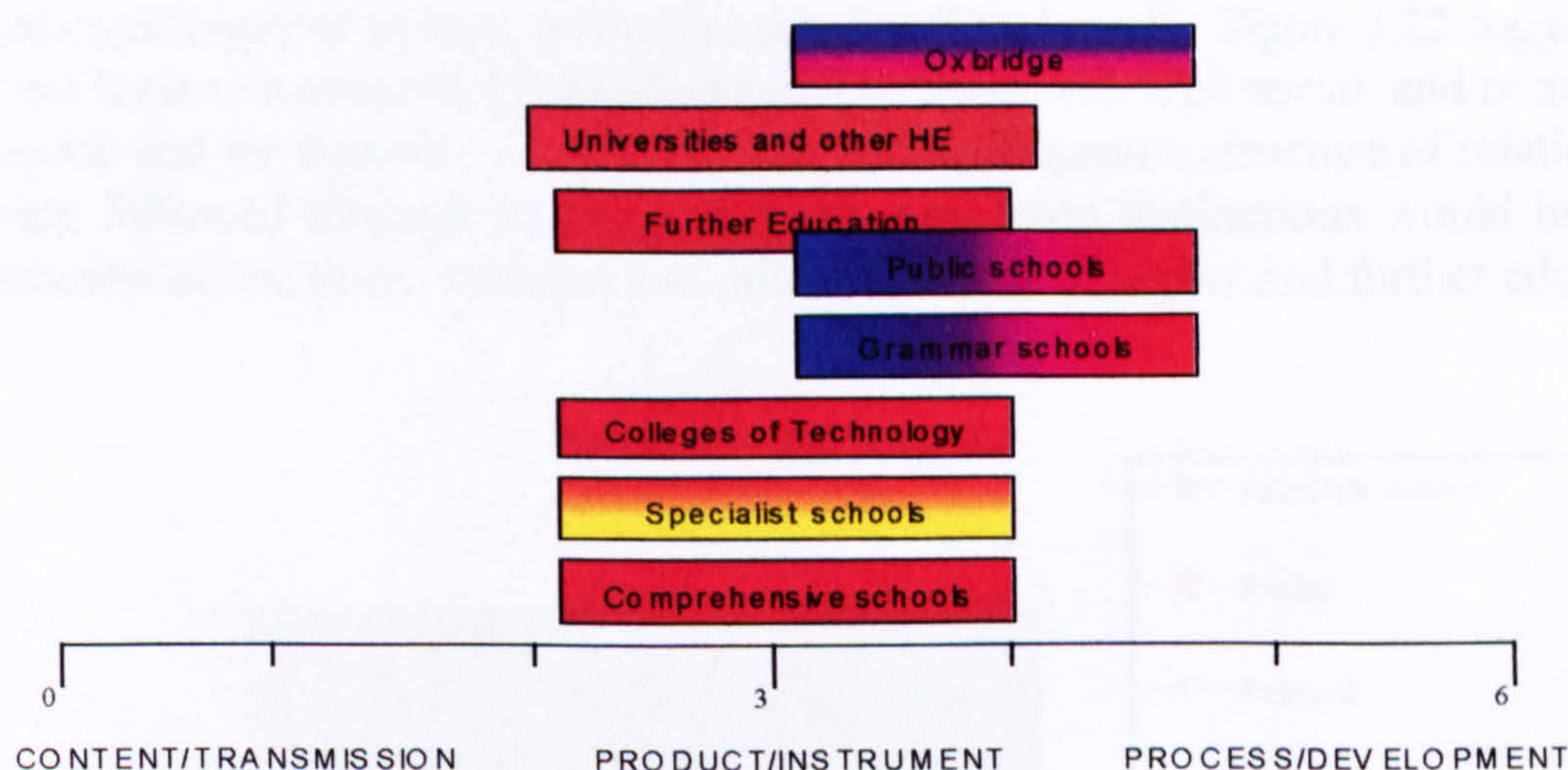


Figure 3.21

Models of language learning in England at the dawn of the third millennium

First, if there appears to be relative consistency within the period, how does this compare with the longitudinal nature of language policy? Figure 3.22 adds the period to the historical account, but as before, this is a somewhat sanitised version of the 'messy' "reality". For changes in nomenclature are more than that: the comprehensive schools are not a replacement for either the technical or the secondary modern schools, though they will be found to include some of the same groups as attended those institutions; meanwhile, the term Oxbridge is used as an umbrella for the old universities, but these should arguably include the 'elite' 'Russell'²⁷ group of universities whose academic capital is high. Furthermore, although the

comprehensive schools have, for this image, been combined with the other state funded secondary schools, all pursuing a similar model of curriculum, they once again do not necessarily share the same objectives or languages for achieving these.

With these provisos, figure 3.22 indicates the general tendency of education designed for different groups across the centuries, ranging from the secondary level deemed appropriate for the state institutions, to that available to those who could afford private schooling, and further and higher levels of language learning.

There are clear patterns of stasis and change, with the state schools remaining steadily oriented towards reproduction of social capital and development of practical competences until the eighteenth century. Diversification of aims occurred in the nineteenth century, with schools working towards discrete functions, but by the present day, these have come together in a common model which is predominantly practical though, as has been observed, the focus on citizenship is increasing.

The private equivalent of these secondary schools moved towards the functional, Product/Instrument model much earlier than did the state schools, for the reasons of social change discussed earlier. After diversification of these schools in the eighteenth century, they have gradually moved to the same focus on practical learning as their state counterparts, reflecting the flattening of social hierarchies and the need for most individuals to work for a living.

The universities also changed at the time of the Renaissance and Reformation, but, for the political reasons considered in chapters 9 and 10, they moved in the opposite direction, becoming the preserve of economic and social elites. When they subdivided, this was to pursue different models but, by the twentieth century, they had come together to meet predominantly functional needs. Figure 3.22 suggests that there is now renewed differentiation between those with high social and/or academic capital and the majority of universities. If the chiasmatic structure of relationships were followed through to the next layer, perceived distinctions would be found between universities, colleges and other providers of higher and further education.

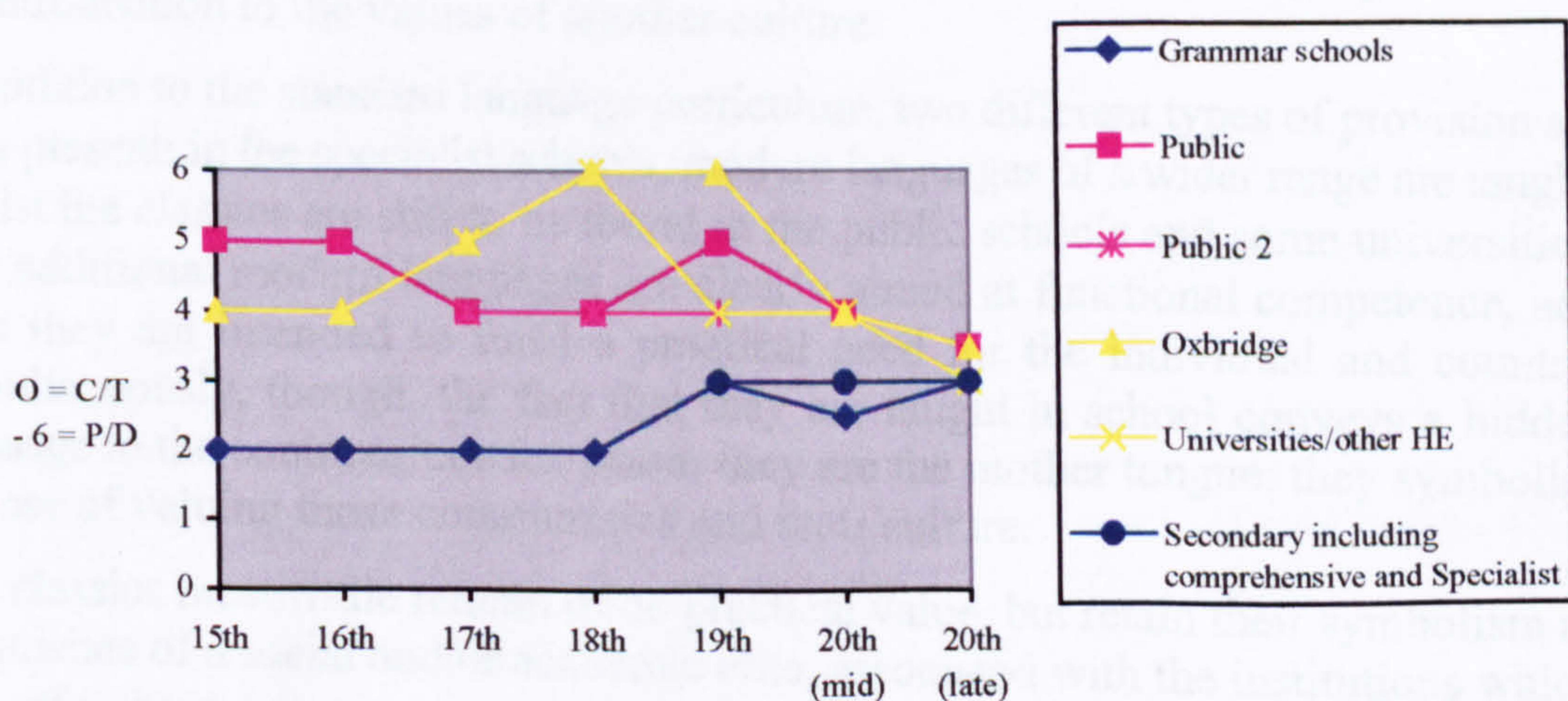


Figure 3.22
Language learning aims to late 20th century

The question is, does the relatively common point these institutions have all reached at the turn of the millennium represent shared objectives? Is it a sign of coherent

policy? RI2 must now be reversed: is coherence indicative of common needs? To investigate this, precise curricular aims must be examined.

RI2 Whilst this lack of coherence may, superficially, appear to be a question of competing functional needs, it is really a consequence of political factors.

Recent legislation and guidance (e.g. draft GCSE criteria 2003; subject benchmarking, QAA July 2001; European portfolio framework, Council of Europe 2001) address common aims, albeit using different terms for them. It has been noted (CILT 2002) that:

One emerging view across the UK is that languages are a basic life skill and core competence which support key national social and economic objectives, in particular:

- Social inclusion
- Literacy
- Cultural identity and Citizenship
- Economic success

The researcher proposes that these could be reduced to the two distinctions made throughout this thesis, namely aims which are

- 1 purely practical, for communication and literacy; and those that are
- 2 ideological, for development of individual identity and tolerance of alternative cultures (identities).

It is at this point in the discussion that the colour coding becomes significant: which languages are used for which purposes? If figure 3.21 is analysed according to language and function, the traditional modern languages such French and German are found in the majority of the secondary (public and private) schools and universities. The model of curriculum they address is principally functional, though an increased importance has been attributed to socialisation and the development of international understanding. The extension of languages to all KS3 pupils has not been followed through to KS4 and beyond, which leads the researcher to argue not only that policy is incoherent, but also that the primary aim is not practical use of languages so much as introduction to the values of another culture.

In addition to the standard language curriculum, two different types of provision are now present: in the specialist schools, modern languages of a wider range are taught, whilst the classics are still to be found in the public schools and some universities. The additional modern languages are clearly aimed at functional competence, and here they are intended to fulfil a practical need for the individual and country. Simultaneously, though, the fact that they are taught in school conveys a hidden message to the communities for whom they are the mother tongue: they symbolise a sense of valuing those communities and their culture.

The classics meanwhile remain of no practical value, but retain their symbolism as perquisites of a social and/or academic elite, associated with the institutions which still offer them.

In short, the classics are essentially symbolic, non-functional languages; the more recently taught modern languages are functional, and symbolic in respect of a more global community, whilst the European languages are functional and symbolic at a more local level. It becomes increasingly difficult to rank these languages

hierarchically, since the perceptions of politicians, industry and academics will rate them differently, whilst learners have yet other perspectives. For the former, utility and global reach might rank the new languages highest, academic capital might still invest the classics with higher value, whilst learners might see the functionality of European languages as the most useful form of language learning. Others still will retain monolingual attitudes.

Figure 3.23 summarises the forms of language and their roles, without ranking them, but indicating the proportions of the nation who have access to each, using the same colour coding as before.

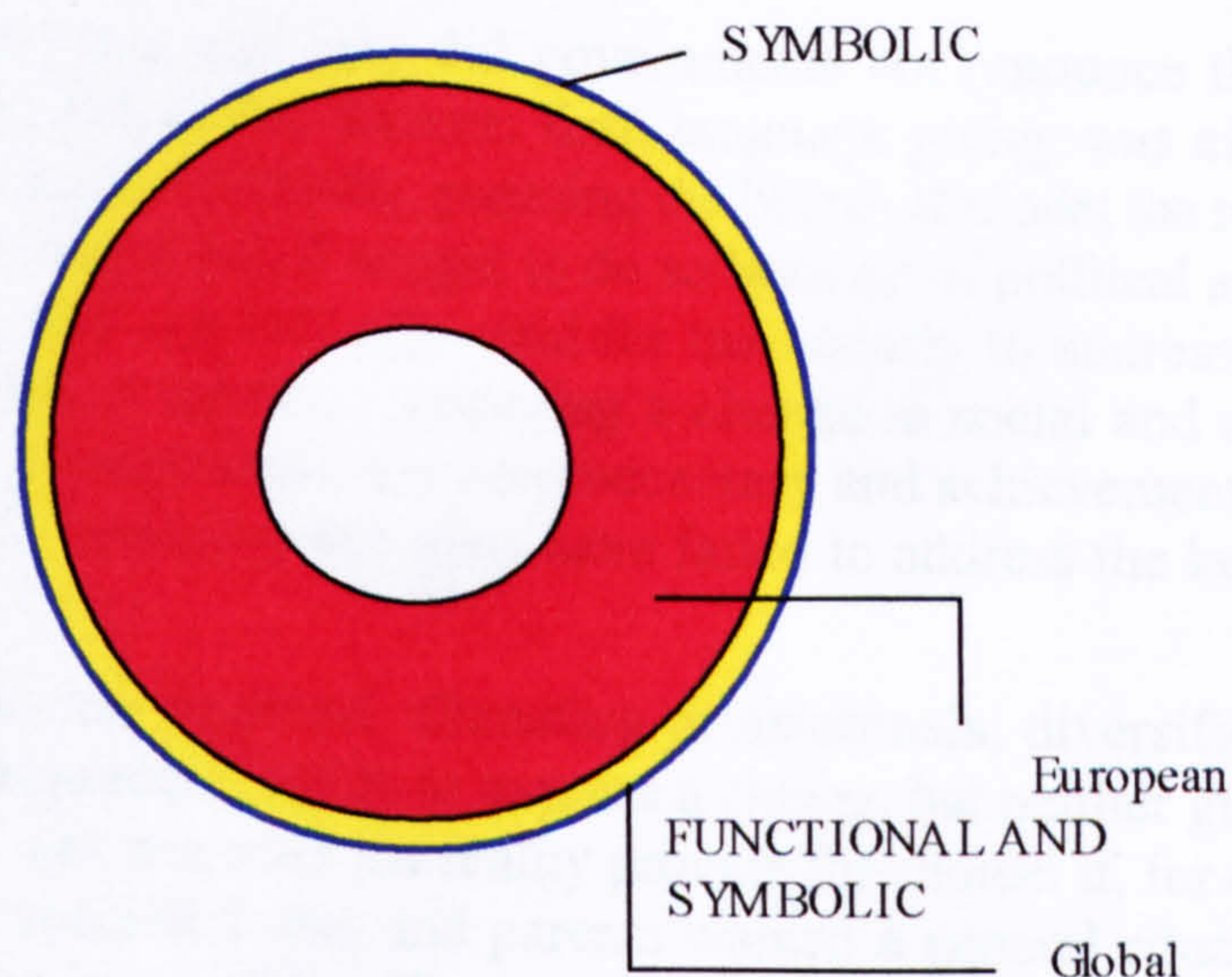


Figure 3.23

The roles of foreign languages in England at the turn of the millennium

As this figure suggests, monolingualism (the white area) has reduced, and the proportion of the nation who have access to foreign languages has now increased. But so, too, has the diversity of languages and institutions. The reasons for this can explain the inability to rank languages now in a single hierarchy: the governments of recent decades have imposed a national curriculum yet sought to appeal to individual choice. The researcher argues that these two objectives are incompatible, and that the result has been the need to chip away at original policy and to introduce special institutions in order to achieve objectives. What has happened in language learning reflects the political dilemma of sustaining internal values whilst meeting new external needs.

To use the framework offered by the five key factors (table 1.1), the problem has stemmed from opening up *access* to foreign languages to all secondary children. In so doing, the *content* of languages was changed. This challenged academic traditions and standards, producing professional resistance, and the loss of some teachers; it also required a changed perception of the personal value of languages on the part of learners. *Human capital* was therefore resisting change. In the context of technological development and international relations, other factors were pressing for the nation to continue a policy which increased its linguistic competence, so governments were forced to introduce amendments to policy which altered the

institutional structure, addressed teacher recruitment, and brought in new languages. The result has been increased institutional and linguistic diversity.

In response, then, to RI2, the researcher concludes that policy has been determined by political objectives, but that the values of learners and teachers have proved to prevent realisation of aims on the scale desired. This has led to diversification and apparent lack of coherence as the aims have been scaled down.

RI3 Foreign language learning has changed in the context of new technology but the functional value of new technologies as pedagogical tools has both orchestrated a new discourse for foreign languages, and provided a mask for political manipulation.

But why was there resistance and why did governments not renounce the policy altogether? The answer lies in two factors: first, language policy was effectively reversing traditional models of exclusion, pursuing the bilingual model the researcher has advocated (figure 1.5); second, it sought to do so because of political awareness that it was functionally and symbolically vital for the country to address external needs. Both issues relate to ideology, implying a change in social and academic values. The reason why compromise has been necessary and achievement reduced is, the researcher argues, because politicians have failed to address the key factor, social capital.

The national curriculum was imposed, alienating professionals; diversification of schools ostensibly meets parental rights to express a choice, but neither guarantees that their choice will be met, nor does the reality provide for choice: if, for example, the local school were a specialist one, and parents wanted a general education for their child, this would be impossible. There was therefore a fundamental need to address the changed values that underlay policy if it was to be effected. As this chapter has seen, the functional needs of the nation in relation to globalised partnerships have been paramount, but these have not been discussed openly. Instead, they have been hidden behind these contradictory claims of equality for all through diversity of provision. The researcher proposes that policy has failed simply because the nation's values were not addressed openly.

As the case of foreign languages has shown, there is a functional need to reach out to external nations, as well as to sustain social values. Where language learning has traditionally been used covertly to support the latter, recent policy has in effect replaced that aim with prioritisation of the functional need to speak the languages of international partners. Ironically, the nation has become so socialised into the exclusive model of language learning, that it does not accept this external functional need, a need which is clearly undermined by the extent of English usage worldwide.

But policy makers are aware that linguistic competence is of more than functional value: it symbolises willingness to adopt a different relationship with partners. This is a political issue which challenges the nation's identity: is the country willing to accept that it cannot stand alone, but must integrate within a larger group which will provide it with economic and military strength? It is understandable that politicians might prefer not to express this overtly, stressing instead the practical value of foreign languages, but ultimately, failure to do so produces the response recent years have witnessed.

Technology has now changed the range of relationships, and provides patent tools for pedagogy which can reach out across time and space. RI3 suggests that political and pedagogical attention has been focused on the latter, whereas the former must first be understood. Even the Specialist Language Schools' mission statement makes explicit reference to change in languages in a purely *instrumental* sense.

Globalisation, enhanced by the development of the Internet and other new technologies, has brought a need for greater international communication, but the status of parties within these global relationships will, the researcher proposes, depend not only upon the ability of a nation to communicate in the language of partners, but also on willingness to accept a new relationship with those partners. This does not mean renunciation of the national identity, but acceptance of an additional, wider one. Languages are both functionally and symbolically necessary for this. Neither aim can be achieved, though, without acknowledging and addressing overtly the impact of this new relationship on the nation's social capital: the country's values must be debated, not concealed behind a cloak of functionality.

Policy for language learning at the end of the twentieth century serves as an illustration of the difficulties nations face as technology globalises the world. How England responds to these challenges is ultimately a matter of individual and collective values.

¹ Grant-aided secondary schools were required to accept from public elementary schools a minimum of 25% of their intake, as free place scholars.

² Of e.g. F Galton 1883 *Inquiries in Human Faculty*; the Binet-Simon scale (1908); Terman 1916 *Stanford Revision*

³ The School Certificate required a pass in a foreign language

⁴ This was created in 1918. The subsidiary paper was the equivalent of one half of a principal paper. Three principal passes were required for entry to university, so study of one or two subsidiaries could insure against failure in a principal subject. Subsidiary papers in modern languages were popular and, at the time of the abolition in 1950, twice as many candidates were sitting the subsidiary French paper as sat the principal one.

⁵ In 1999/2000 the GCSE entry of English school pupils for any modern language was 83% of the female cohort, 75% of the male cohort. For an historical account, see also Hawkins 1987: 13

⁶ The reproducible frequency range increased to between 40 and 5,500 c.p.s. However impressive this advance may have seemed, it was still far below the range for human hearing of up to 13,000 c.p.s., and the cylinders were unable to distinguish between high frequency sounds such as fricatives and plosives, hence were of only limited use.

⁷ Ohio State University created a 'phonetic laboratory' in 1924, comprised of sixteen headsets attached to one output device. As students repeated after the model, the teacher circulated, monitoring them. Next, students recorded themselves as part of a continuous assessment process. The economic as well as pedagogical advantages of the system over use of a single cylinder are self-evident.

⁸ The only compulsory element of the curriculum was a daily act of collective worship, from which parents had the right of withdrawal.

⁹ These terms were used interchangeably until Circular 144, 1947 defined the former as being divided into three streams.

¹⁰ Initially designed for training pilots to transmit into oxygen masks, the Mirrophone was adopted for teaching pronunciation but was soon superseded by the advent of tape recorders which used plastic tape.

¹¹ By the mid 1960s language lessons were being transmitted via the BBC Overseas Service in thirty different languages. These were accompanied by support materials; to copyright regulations

and thanks to the availability of new tape machines, schools often recorded broadcasts for classroom use.

¹² The first course to be used was the *Teachers' Audio-Visual Oral* course (TAVOR) followed shortly afterwards, in 1956, by the *Cours audio-visuel préliminaire de français*. In the early 1960s, Crédif produced a second course, *Voix et Images de France*, again derived from the vocabulary of *Le français fondamental*, and aimed at adult learners. An audio-visual course for junior school pupils, *Bonjour Line*, was subsequently produced and piloted in parts of Britain. By 1964, the Nuffield Foundation/Schools Council were producing similar courses in French, Spanish, Russian and German, for secondary school beginners.

¹³ Paper One, Cox and Dyson, 1969, Paper Two October 1969, Paper Three 1970

¹⁴ Youth unemployment rose particularly following the oil crisis and is estimated as having risen from 12.1% for 16-17 year olds in July 1975, to 26.25 by July 1976

¹⁵ The Mode III examination format was a locally devised examination, which enabled continuous assessment

¹⁶ e.g. the Youth Opportunities Programme, the Youth Training Programme, the Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative

¹⁷ Until 1973, graduates could teach in state schools without any postgraduate teaching qualification

¹⁸ e.g. ERA's delegation of funds for local management by schools (LMS) reduced the role of Local Education Authorities (ERA Section 33)

¹⁹ Core: English, Mathematics and Science; Foundation: history, geography, technology, music, art, physical education, modern languages (Keys Stages 3 & 4)

²⁰ The Beacon School initiative, launched by the DfEE September 1998 when, as part of its *Excellence in Cities* strategy, the government designated 75 pilot Beacon Schools, in order to disseminate good practice in exchange for additional funding averaging £35,000 annually per institution. In June 2001, these were increased to 1000. Complementary to them was the creation of Specialist Schools, for technology and languages in particular.

²¹ School inspections by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), testing of pupils at the end of each key stage, and publication of 'league tables', ostensibly in the interests of open government and public choice, called for a change in professional attitudes which could not be imposed by statute.

The merging of examination boards (1996 and 1997), and of the School Curriculum Assessment Authority (SCAA) and the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ) into the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) set in place the mechanism for revision of the examination system. In an attempt to co-ordinate change throughout the education system, Curriculum 2000 was introduced in September 2000. This aimed to broaden the range of subjects studied in the 6th form by offering one-year courses leading to a qualification (AS level) equivalent to half an old 'A' level.

The changed names of the former DES to first the Department for Education (DfE), next the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE, 1996) and latterly Department for Skills and Education (DfSE, 2001) are indicative of the government's evolving agenda for education.

²² The ERA (Section 131) replaced the University Grants Committee with a new Funding Council, and removed (advanced) Further Education from the control of LEAs

²³ Oxford Internet Institute, May 2001, see <http://content.techweb.com>

²⁴ Disapplication of a subject was possible, but complex. See ERA 1988, §18-19

²⁵ To qualify for specialist status, a state-maintained secondary school was required to raise £50,000 in sponsorship. If granted status, the school was awarded a capital grant of £100,000 plus £123 per capital for a period of (initially) four years. This involvement of sponsors naturally led schools to be responsive to their needs as well as to the national curriculum. Furthermore, in their applications, schools were obliged to prepare a 4-year development plan which included measurable targets in teaching and learning, and which made provision for working with other schools and the local community

²⁶ for current arrangements, see e.g. <http://www.ucas.ac.uk/getting/money/engwelsh.html>

²⁷ www.niss.ac.uk/admin/russell_group.html

SUMMARY

Part III set out to trace the nature of foreign language learning longitudinally, in order to consider the degree of continuity of policy as well as to examine consistency within a period (RI1); to consider the different functional and symbolic roles attributed to the subject (RI2) and the relationship of change in policy with technology (RI3). A framework of five key factors was proposed for the analysis.

The historical evidence has confirmed that languages have been expected to fulfil different practical and symbolic roles, and it has been seen that differentiation between these roles was supported by tying discrete functions to different institutions. A process of conflation has been found to produce unconscious associations between language, institution and the socio-economic or academic capital of those attending an institution. Political intervention has been seen to capitalise upon perceptions of individual utility, to dissuade groups from attending institutions, thereby sustaining social stratification based on vocational occupations whilst letting it appear to be a matter for individual choice. This has been interpreted as deriving from an initial act of symbolic violence which has in time become lost within the common *habitus*.

Social stratification has been supported also by a hierarchy of languages: the classics, with a non-functional value, have been accorded higher academic and social prestige than functional modern languages.

As technology has advanced, social relationships have been repositioned and values have changed. This has brought pressure upon education to address functional needs: in respect of languages, the ability to communicate with external partners. To address such needs implicitly challenges the traditional, exclusive, form of language learning, which was restricted according to the above hierarchical assumptions. The researcher has described this as conflict between sustenance of the nation's internal values, and development of external relationships.

Until the latter years of the twentieth century, it has been seen that the hierarchical, exclusive, model prevailed in England. With the introduction of comprehensive schooling, academic and social values were changed, but individual perceptions of the value of foreign languages remained tied to the old *habitus*. The nation's external needs were not being met, but it was difficult to persuade learners of the functional value of language learning when English was so widely spoken in the world.

Over the centuries, innovative linguists have appreciated the potential of technology to enhance pedagogy and to motivate learners. Today's ICTs have been embraced for the same reasons. However, the evidence shows that the nation remains reluctant to learn languages and the functional needs of industry, as well as the political symbolism of speaking other languages, are being neglected.

Policy designed to address both needs has failed, with the result that incremental amendments have been introduced. At the turn of the millennium, educational provision has become diverse, both in content and institutionally. Whilst specialist schools may be realising the linguistic aims government pursues, they cannot do so on the scale necessary for the international functional and symbolic objectives to be met fully.

The researcher concludes that questions of *access* to language learning have been manipulated, first, to produce exclusion, now, for inclusion, and that the *content* of programmes reveals different foci. Once met through different *institutions*, they were then combined in comprehensive schools. All of these changes affected traditional professional values and assumed that learners would share political values. As recent events have shown, *human capital*, teachers and learners, did not accept these changes in sufficient numbers for policy to be effective, hence the need for legislative amendments. The researcher proposes that the reason for this is that the policy was reversing the traditional prioritisation of internal stasis over external change. In order to achieve this goal in contemporary society, it is not adequate to change institutional structures: individual commitment is essential. This means that *social capital* must be the priority and policy change must start by addressing values overtly and honestly.

Part IV will now explore the relationship of technology to foreign languages at the microcosmic level, through three case studies of innovation, to see how innovators have dealt with the five factors that can support or prevent change.

PART IV

INNOVATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE: 3 CASE STUDIES

PREFACE

The aim of Part IV is to examine the three research issues from a more practical perspective, a more microcosmic level of the chiasma. Part III has drawn the broad, historical, development of foreign language learning in England, enabling some preliminary conclusions to emerge, particularly regarding the longitudinal question of policy (RI1). The case studies will support a closer exploration of the respective functional and ideological roles that foreign languages have been expected to fulfil (RI2) and the relationship between technology and change in language learning policy (RI3).

The three case studies have been selected from periods when technological change has been extraordinary. These are:

1. the seventeenth century, when the printed word and the European period of Enlightenment were intertwined in a process of development;
2. the late nineteenth century, when industrialisation and the repercussions of Darwin's theory of evolution were reverberating; and
3. the late second to early third millennia, when national and international relationships are changing in light of the Internet and other ITCs.

The case studies focus respectively on:

1. an individual, J A Comenius (1592-1670)
2. a theorist representative of a major linguistic movement, H Sweet (1845-1912)
3. the work of a group of researchers from the Open University (1996-2000).

The progression from individual to group reflects change in the social and academic conditions of the three periods. The aim is not to prove similarity between the case studies but to examine their respective relationships with technology, in order to investigate functional and determinist connections between it and language learning (RI3). The feasibility of their theories will be examined against the five key factors for social divide or inclusion (table 1.1): access, content, human and social capital and institutional structure, and their compatibility with existing discourse will shed light on RI2, the significance of political factors.

As theorists and researchers, the subjects of the three case studies have all produced a corpus of written work on which researchers can draw. Part IV is therefore based

predominantly on primary data sources, their own writings, by contrast with the macrocosmic picture sketched in Part III, where a mixture of sources has been used. Unless stated otherwise, all references in chapters 14-16 are to the work of the subject of the case study him/herself.

Finally, the researcher must declare an interest in the third case study, having taken part in some stages of the research presented. This enables her to speak from personal experience of involvement with cutting-edge innovation using ICTs for language learning, but clearly this can be from only one perspective. The study will nevertheless aim to illustrate the issues and approaches being addressed at the beginning of the third millennium.

CHAPTER 14

J A COMENIUS (1592-1670)

1 Why Comenius?

The choice of a Moravian who had only once visited England and who, far from being a linguist, was actually a teacher and a bishop of the Church of the Brethren (Sadler 1966), may seem incongruous for a study of foreign language pedagogy in England. However, the influence of John Amos Comenius, not only on illustrious men of his day (e.g. Hartlib, Dury, Locke), but also on subsequent generations of this country's linguists, and his understanding of the pedagogical potential of printing, offer a more than ample justification for his selection. His influence extends beyond the confines of the UK (Capkova 1982) and lives on in the world of languages as the name for the school-related strand of the European Council's Socrates¹ programme.

Comenius himself recognised that it is impossible to separate his pedagogical thinking (*Pampaedia*) from his broader philosophy (*Pansophy*²); this is, in turn, inextricable from his personal life experience. As a non-conformist, he fled from religious persecution in Bohemia and travelled across Europe, both accruing knowledge from, and in turn inspiring, other scholars and scientists. Although understandably accused of plagiarism (Needham [ed] 1942), his unique talent lay in his vision and ability to weave together into one coherent theory of language learning the diverse ideas that he encountered in the course of these travels.

Chapter 10 has outlined the state of education in seventeenth century England. It has revealed the increased diversity of language learning as Crown and Church struggled to stem ideological change whilst the Protestant ethic (Merton 1968, Stimson 1935) was encouraging scientific inquiry and inevitably threatening traditional values. Religion is also central to the work of Comenius and determines the groups he was likely to influence. So it was that he was invited to England 'for the express purpose of making Bacon's Solomon's House a reality' (Merton 1968:640), that is, to broaden understanding, an invitation which came from such figures as Hartlib, Dury and Wilkins (Young 1932:5-9), men of high academic capital but, as Protestants, low on social capital.

2 Comenius' religious and educational theories, *Pansophia* and *Pampaedia*

What, though, was the theory that had built Comenius' international reputation? His general philosophy, *Pansophia*, must be understood before his educational ideas can be located. However, his values are a paradoxical mix of intellectual inquisitiveness and adventurousness, and unquestioning Christian belief. As has been observed, this was not an orthodox faith, conforming with neither the Roman Catholic Church nor England's Anglicanism; instead, it was suffused with the utilitarian and social dimensions typical of Puritanism.

Like the Jansenists (chapter 10), Comenius accepted the notion of inherent sin, but, unlike them, he believed in Man's potential to overcome his evil tendencies, providing that he had the *Will* to acquire *Wisdom* (knowledge). Wisdom was within the grasp of all if they were educated, and provided that Man's *sense* faculties, his natural capacity for *reasoning* and his capacity for *faith* were in harmony. It has been

seen that, according to Puritan belief, knowledge was a means to the glorification of God, hence learning became the religious duty of all; it followed that education had to be universally available. This responsibility was both personal, 'so that every single individual shall rise out of darkness' and social, since the

whole hope of restoring the world to better ends hangs upon the instruction of the young.³
(Via Lucis XVII: 5)

The spiritual welfare of the individual and the harmony of society were therefore mutually dependent: education was to play an ideological role in that it would seek to reproduce the cultural heritage (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), but it also had a functional role in leading the individual to his own spiritual salvation (Methodus XXV).

Already, several discrepancies will be apparent between Comenius' theory and England's educational discourse of the day. For him, *access* to learning would be open to all, and it was the responsibility of all to learn; the aim of this would be non-functional, but the values it sought to reproduce were out of kilter with those of seventeenth century England's dominant discourse (*social capital*). The latter was based on acceptance of a hierarchical Great Chain of Being (Valdes 1579), whereas Pansophy implicitly flattened the social hierarchy and rendered men equal in the eyes of a divine being. This challenged the country's Anglicanism with its subservience to the Crown and the Church, temporal manifestations of divine, eternal, power, and by extension, the power of these institutions.

3 The role of language(s)

If universality and functionality were the priority for education, it followed that the medium by which it was transmitted should be one that was accessible to all and efficient. Comenius was thus brought, albeit by default, to examine the question of languages, a foreign language - Latin - being the then medium of learning beyond elementary levels.

So, whilst England's educational system was controlling languages for political ends (chapter 10), Comenius saw them as instrumental, providing the primary pedagogical tool for pursuing his religious and social ends; they were not of intrinsic interest or value to him. Indeed, he openly acknowledged his antipathy towards Latin, to the study of which he 'had miserably lost the sweetest spring-time of life' (Great Didactic XI.13).

He sought to protect future generations of children from this misery, and cynically scorned knowledge of the classics as representing merely a

spurious veneer of morality, a fastidious and exotic clothing of culture. (Great Didactic IX.8)

He therefore proposed that Latin be replaced by an alternative *lingua franca*. His preferred choice, Czech, was clearly impractical; his next option was the introduction of a constructed language, one which would serve both everyday and pedagogical needs and would be

ten times easier than Latin ... and a hundred times more perfect. (Via Lucis XIX.8)

The principle was consistent with contemporary scholarly interest in created languages, but, again, Comenius' aims for inventing one differed from the norm: where other scholars pursued a more effective means of exchanging scientific

knowledge for academic (hence exclusive) purposes, for him, effectiveness was in the interests of individual enlightenment and spiritual salvation, for inclusion within society. As well as conflicting with political values, his ideas thus challenged another level of the chiasma: academic capital.

Comenius was, however, eventually obliged to bow to the fact that Latin was the *lingua franca* and the medium of education. He therefore turned his attention to pedagogy: if Latin was here to stay, he would seek a more dynamic means of teaching it.

Once again, his religious faith conflicted with his intellectual inquisitiveness. He embraced the biblical account of linguistic diversity, assuming that there was one original word for everything, and hence accepted the Platonic view that all languages were alike, except for their lexica. This led him to the simplistic and erroneous conclusion that

all [classical languages] can be mastered in six years, Latin in three, Greek in two and Hebrew in one. (Panorthosia XXII.21)

By contrast, Comenius' understanding of child development was ahead of his time. He recognised the significance of human language, even from the babbling stage of infancy, when a baby imitates and experiments with sound. In his linking of language and thought, he showed awareness of the newly developing field of what would become known as psychology. Through this insight, he made a novel and controversial recommendation: the vernacular, the first language a child learns, was vitally important and should replace Latin as the early medium of education. For,

to attempt to teach a foreign language before the mother tongue has been learned is as irrational as to teach a boy to ride before he can walk. (Great Didactic XXIX)

His reasoning was that

children are forced to learn an unknown language, Latin, in the abstract without a previously formed knowledge of things. (Novissima Linguarum Methodus Opera I.72)

Once again, the significance of this proposal lay in the implications it had for *access* to learning. For if the vernacular was the primary medium, and even though Latin would still be taught subsequently, Comenius was advocating universal education, which was patently inconsistent with the socially divisive English model. Furthermore, it undermined *academic (human) capital*, detracting from the role of the Latin master.

4 Pedagogy

Lifelong learning

Access and *institutional structure* come together in another departure of Comenius' theory from contemporary practice: he pre-empted a theme common in the present day, lifelong learning. His model began informally within the family and continued formally through a series of institutions, leading from birth to death. These would take everyone, irrespective of social class or gender, through a structured series of stages ('Schools of Life') where each person would, in turn, be learner and teacher, thereby fulfilling his responsibility towards himself and his community.

This logical system of interlocking 'schools' was highly mechanistic, and another example of Comenius' paradoxes: whilst he clung to religious faith, he made blatant use of new methodology and technology to achieve his ends. His expressed aim was

the manipulation of learned men in precisely the same way that the discovery of the printing press had facilitated the multiplication of books. (Great Didactic XXXII.27)

Parents would be responsible for starting the learning process but then educational institutions would take over

since human occupations have multiplied so that it is rare to find men who have either sufficient knowledge or sufficient leisure to instruct their children. (Great Didactic VII.2)

Instead of the English system of elementary education with a minority progression to the grammar school level of learning, Comenius' model therefore required a new structure, within all stages of which everyone would be involved in the course of his life, and a new responsibility was placed upon parents in this process. That clearly challenged perceptions of education as being the domain of academic specialists, and invited professional antipathy over lay intrusion.

Comenius followed through the logic of his scheme, though, displaying awareness of the need for *human capital*: teachers would be required and parents would need guidance in order to fulfil their roles. This he would provide through his pedagogical writings, but, like today's policy makers, he attended to process (what to do) to the neglect of values (why they should do it).

Here, technology in the form of the printed word clearly offered a means of delivering the curriculum as well as of providing professional and lay support, typifying an instrumental relationship where pedagogy was supported by technology. Comenius had, as early as 1637, made plans for a new Gymnasium in Breslau, to be resourced by a series of textbooks and materials which he himself would produce. The idea was innovative, but it challenged both human capital and subject *content*, essentially conflicting with existing educational values.

Language content

Reflecting his personal experience of Latin and his prioritisation of communication, Comenius stated that students should be able to read and write fluently in the vernacular before they began Latin. Since communication was his goal, he unsurprisingly prescribed different linguistic skills from those of the grammar school curriculum. Rather than analysis of grammar and meticulous translation (chapter 10), Comenius targeted comprehension, then written communication, followed last by oral use. He declared:

the pupil must first learn to understand (this is the easiest skill), then to write (in this skill time is given for thought), and finally to speak (which is difficult because this demands immediate reactions). (Introduction to Orbis Pictus)

Language teachers of today will be struck by his foresight in emphasising comprehension, but, by so doing, he was out of step with his contemporaries and, paradoxically, he was looking back to old models (e.g. Plautus and Horace), where communication would prioritise speech. While imaginative contemporaries such as Frey⁴ were favouring the direct method and seeking to instil memory through repetition of the *spoken* word, Comenius preferred exposure to the *written* word as the means of reinforcing learning.

Pre-empting psychology

The resources he proposed were, though, clearly forward-thinking. Typical of rationalist methods, he analysed the process of learning, breaking material down into manageable, progressive, units, and recommending:

let us teach and learn: the few before the many; the short before the long; the simple before the complex; the general before the particular; the newer before the remote; the regular before the irregular. (Analytical Didact 123)

In this, he foreshadowed modern practice, as he did when he suggested that

one year in childhood is worth ten years later on. (Pampaedia XI)

But again, these methods were both inconsistent with current academic practice, and were plagiarised: Erasmus had already identified the importance of early learning, and had explored the link between the internalisation of thought and action - ideas which prefigured the twentieth century work of such figures as J Piaget (1926), and which Comenius promoted as his own. Another idea that he perhaps borrowed (Kelly 1969:14), was the notion of modelled behaviour. Anticipating psychology, he instructed parents in their role as early teachers, to

do in front of their eyes what you would have them imitate. If they are attentive, let them try. Correct them. If they persist, you know that natural talent (learning) is asserting itself. (Analytical Didact 10)

He also pre-dated Skinnerian behaviourist principles (Skinner 1953) by three centuries in the method he proposed for teachers to develop unconscious memory:

whatever the subject of study insist on practice until the student imitates his model with the utmost faithfulness. (Analytical Didact 34)

The means Comenius envisaged for this was far from the rote, punitive method of his time; instead, he recognised the need to capture a child's interest, and that the most effective way of doing this was to expose him to first hand experience, or, if this was impracticable, to images of the object and other realia. These practices, which were a direct challenge to existing professional methods, illustrate Comenius' instrumental response to technological development. It seems that, had he been alive now,

he would certainly have pressed today for the widest possible use of the mass media. (Rusk 1979: 73)

5 Comenius' language resources

Teachers' handbooks

What precisely were the textual resources he proposed? He planned to produce a series of handbooks to accompany each stage of his curriculum. In these, he actually anticipated many of the questions that would arise in England of the 1970s (chapter 13), when the arrival of comprehensivisation brought similar changes in access to those entailed by his own model of universal education. Again, though, Comenius appeared to be aware of structural change without recognising its political significance, its implications for individual and collective values. So, acknowledging that

admission should not be reserved for the sons of the rich ... the wind blows where it will, and does not always begin to blow at the same time (Great Didactic XXIX.2),

he addressed the pedagogical need for adaptability and pupil-centred learning, but said nothing about the possible professional reaction against open access. His solution was simply that the curriculum

must be proportionate to pupils of average talent so that they can get through it comfortably.
(Outline of Pansophic School.55)

Focusing on process, he assumed that production of a teacher's handbook would suffice to bring about change. This was a tool which Comenius borrowed from the Jesuits: their *Ratio Studiorum* and the *Janua Linguarum*, a work by three Irish Jesuits, which he had come across whilst in Leszno, in 1624, served as his model. He had no compunction in adopting not only their principles but also the latter's name, calling his own work of 1631 the *Janua Linguarum Reserata*. However, the Jesuit schools operated in a different social context from that of England, so it was insufficient merely to address process issues, something which Comenius ignored.

The detail of his methods reveals many sources of conflict with England's orthodoxies. At a time when the Church and Crown were attempting to control analytical thinking, he was advocating a methodology (Pampaedia VII.16) which went through three analytical stages to develop critical thought. From today's stance, this was a naively inappropriate model for the situation.

Equally disingenuously, he instructed teachers on how to carry out their duties:

In the morning, the master shall read over the lesson several times, while the class attends, and shall explain ... He shall then bid the boys read it in turn ... at last even the stupid ones will try to repeat it by heart ... In the afternoon the lessons done in the morning should be transcribed ... and they will see who is most proficient in writing, in singing and in counting.
(Great Didactic XXIX)

Together, such methods posed a threat to both social and academic values, political issues of which Comenius appears to have been unaware.

Latin textbooks

Comenius must nevertheless be commended for his pedagogical innovativeness and the immense impact his methods would have had on learner motivation. His handbooks were linked to a progressive series of textbooks, each supplemented by various reference books, intended to provide a coherent, structured, programme of learning. The *Janua* was typical of these textbooks. It was composed of 1000 sentences, arranged into 100 chapters, employing a total of 8000 words, all chosen for their functional value, as he explained:

in compiling vocabularies, my next concern was to select the words in most frequent use and to order the lists in such a way as to leave out nothing necessary to express concepts which, once identified and put to use, had to be given a precise definition. (*Janua Linguarum Reserata* 1631.i)

Comenius graded these lists from simple to complex, to illustrate grammatical constructions, and later revised the work to include sections on jurisprudence and theology. Throughout, he adhered to the principle of keeping grammar to the bare essentials necessary for a person to read, write and speak the language, following its basic rules.

His plan was that each student would have three books: in front of him would be placed the text, which named the items of *vocabulary*; to his left would be a *lexicon*, to his right, a *grammar*. These books would progress from the first stage (the *Janua*),

to the second, the *Vestibulum*, the third, the *Atrium*, and finally, the *Thesaurus*. They symbolically represented the stages of opening a door to learning and gradually moving into the treasure trove at its heart. The texts each contained

simple sentences to uncover a further chain of things in their primary aspects
and aimed

to produce the whole vocabulary of Latin with the original meaning of each word (and) all inflexions. (Methodus XII)

In providing a *Grammar*, Comenius was making a compromise between his Lutheran disregard for linguistic detail, and Melanchthon's⁵ over-fondness for it, perhaps satisfying neither approach. His *Lexicon* was simply a glossary, used for etymological reference.

The attractiveness of such learning resources compared to the tedium of the *Trivium* is obvious, but once again, the original idea was not Comenius'. In 1636, he had seen and been greatly impressed by Schoppe's (1636) *Consultationes*, produced to complement a Latin/Italian version of the *Janua* used by the Jesuits. But whilst attractive to learners, the resources changed the content of language learning, and ultimately pursued a different objective from that of England's schools. Academic capital was therefore being challenged, so human capital in the form of teacher motivation also needed to be addressed.

Next, human capital of a third form would impact on Comenius' scheme. In 1633, he produced the second in his series of grammars, *The Vestibulum* (comprised of 1000 words arranged into 427 sentences [later revised into 5000 words organised not into sentences, but classified by concept]). The third book, *The Atrium* was intended to teach figures of speech and proverbial sayings, but the only edition ever to appear was that included in Comenius' *Collected Works* (1657). *The Thesaurus*, designed to provide a collection of extracts from classical writers to complement the *Janua*, was never completed. The main reason for this collapse was that the scheme proved too great for one man alone to realise. His own human capital was inadequate for the task.

The new technology of Comenius' time also enabled him to produce a practical aid for mixed ability and individualised learning: a reader, his *Orbis Pictus*. This reader contained illustrations in which each element was labelled with the Latin word. As he advised in his instructions⁶, the less able student could be occupied colouring the picture, whilst his more able classmates attended to the language. Although this was a tactic much valued by teachers of the late twentieth century, when foreign languages became a compulsory subject for all children in Key Stage 3 (DES 1988), its original invention cannot be attributed to Comenius: it was another idea that he plagiarised, this one from an earlier illustrated reading book, the *New Latin Grammar in Pictures*, created in 1651 by J Bunos. Also, just like twentieth century teachers, it is likely that Comenius' traditionalist colleagues would have seen such methods as 'dumbing down' their subject's claim to academic capital.

Nevertheless, Comenius began work on his *Orbis Pictus* in 1653, and printed the first eight pages under the title *Lucudarium*, but he was prevented from completing and printing the book for technical reasons: there was a dearth of craftsmen capable of making the necessary woodcuts. Here, it seems, Comenius' vision preceded the readiness of technology to achieve it, suggesting a determinist relationship. When,

finally, the reader was produced, in Nuremberg in 1658, it proved to be even more successful than his text books, going into 21 editions during that century, 43 in the eighteenth, 33 in the nineteenth and 9 in the twentieth century.

In a separate attempt to make learning pleasurable, Comenius introduced another device familiar to language teachers of today: role-play and drama. His *Schola Ludus* was a book of plays, each with eight parts, and designed to complement the themes taught in his *Janua*. Although the works had no plots and dealt with the sciences, philosophical and moral concepts, they also included situations drawn from family and civic life. These were patently designed to inculcate the religious and moral attitudes he deemed appropriate, but they were nevertheless a novel resource, and one made viable by the printed word.

Texts for modern languages

Comenius also wrote for the learner of modern languages (Great Didactic 19). Here, he favoured immersion at the age of 10 to 12 in a country where the target language was the vernacular. This would enable the child to acquire the second language by imitation, in the same way as the mother tongue is learnt. However, he went on to provide for formal teaching, too: there would be modern language versions of his Latin books. The learner would already be familiar with the Latin edition, and would therefore recognise the material and know how to use the resources, so would accelerate the speed of learning this second foreign language.

In short, Comenius was highly inventive and sought to apply the new technology of his day to the process of learning, in order to alleviate the sheer drudgery of Latin learning, thereby sparing future generations from the 'Sisyphus of labour' (Great Didactic XIV.3) to which he himself had been subjected. To this extent, his relationship with technology was predominantly functional: he anticipated the means of applying instruments and techniques, but he did not address the questions of value which needed to be managed in order to bring about curricular change.

Despite the novelty of his resources and ideas, it was Comenius' Latin books which earned him fame. In a final irony, the man who despised Latin was renowned for the success of his *Janua*, a textbook translated into Latin from the original Czech in 1631, and thereafter used in most Grammar Schools in England, and throughout Europe.

6 Evidence for the research issues

As this discussion has suggested, Comenius' theory differed extensively from the aims and methods of language learning in England of his day. If analysed in terms of the five key factors (table 1.1), it is clear that his proposals would have entailed changes in access to learning, a different institutional structure, lay as well as professional teachers, new course content and changes in the role of Latin, and, underlying all of these, different fundamental reasons for learning languages, deriving from his different religious values. In short, as table 4.1 shows, his model was totally inconsistent with the country's existing language discourse.

The table uses shading in order to permit a vertical overview of each model; alternatively, if read horizontally, the two models can be compared on a single issue.

Table 4.1
Key factors, 17th century England, and Comenius

Key factors	17 th century England	Comenius
ACCESS For whom?	Protestant (boys), with economic and hence social capital	All, irrespective of gender, faith, social class
CONTENT Which language? What?	Latin Grammar, prescribed texts in the <i>Quadrivium</i> and <i>Trivium</i>	English then Latin Functional language, using his own textual resources
HUMAN CAPITAL By whom?	Lay and secular teachers conforming to Protestant faith	Parents then formal schooling; no religious constraints on teachers
SOCIAL CAPITAL General values, educational aims	Reproduction of Protestant discourse Social differentiation, assumption of Chain of Being	Puritan ethic Means to individual spiritual salvation and to social responsibility
INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES Where?	Grammar (and public) schools and universities	7 Schools of life, informal in family to formal institutions

But as this chapter has observed, many of Comenius' ideas were pedagogically sound and have subsequently become adopted. Was there nothing in his theory that could have changed practice of his day? To probe his potential acceptability to England's establishment, the data are analysed first on the spectrum of aims and language.

Curricular aims

Figure 4.1 compares Comenius' model with that of seventeenth century England, using the familiar colour coding (blue = classics, red = modern languages). Contrary to the impression given by table 4.1, he was not entirely inconsistent with current practice: his model sits comfortably with the Dissenting Academies. This is, of course, precisely its problem: the Dissenting Academies were not officially recognised, therefore Comenius' proposals were characteristic of an outlawed form of education. Religious differences, values, are at the root of their incompatibility with the country's discourse.

As the figure shows, this is a model of education which pursues Product/Instrument objectives, whereas England's grammar schools were expected to reproduce social capital. Comenius' did not veer towards that role and the values he promulgated were Puritan, hence the model was doubly unacceptable.

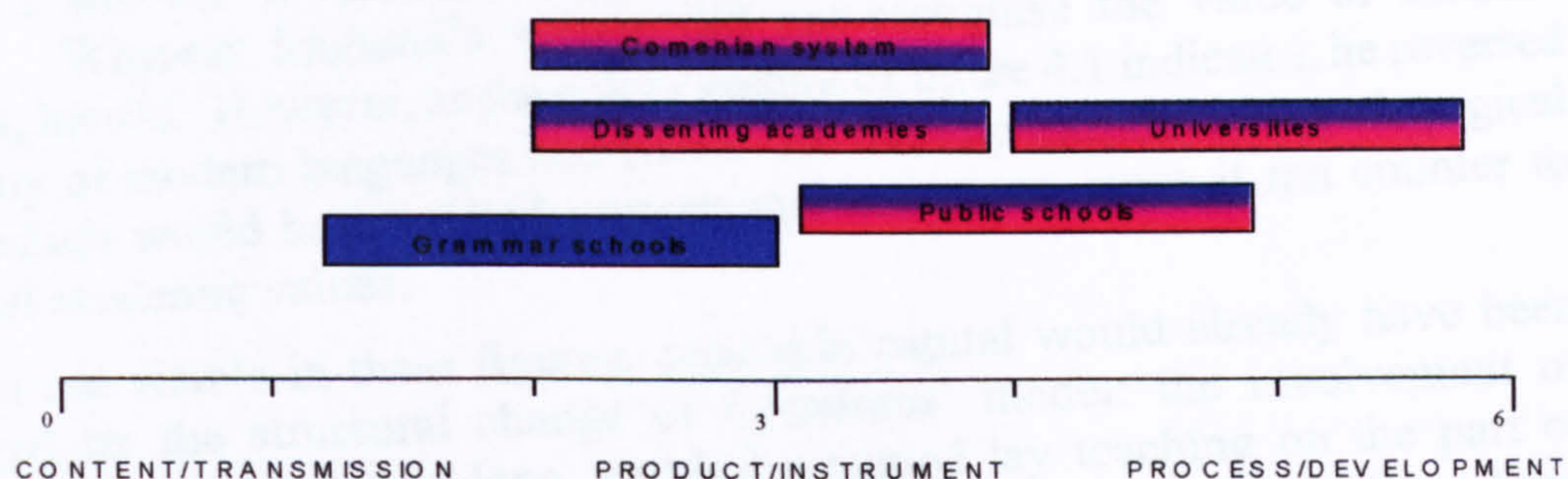


Figure 4.1

Curricular models: Comenius and 17th century England

Institutional structure and access

As always, factors are interconnected, and the figure shows another difference: Comenius' model had only one form of institution (albeit broken into age groups), whereas England's comprised a variety. This relates to the question of access, which in turn derives from perceived aims: chapter 10 has traced the way in which seventeenth century institutions diversified, pursuing different curricula based on different functional expectations. By contrast, Comenius proposed universal education and a common programme of learning. The difference was that between an inclusive, strong definition of equality, and an exclusive model which sought to preserve social stratification.

Effectively, in changing access to language learning, Comenius would have flattened England's social hierarchy by removing a tool for stratifying society, ostensibly according to occupation, but with the result that economic and social capital were controlled (see chapter 10). Figure 4.2 illustrates the principles involved. In the existing system, those with knowledge of Latin were a minority but possessed greater power than monolinguals, through having access to higher functions and positions. Comenius' model would have removed this differentiator, opening access to all.

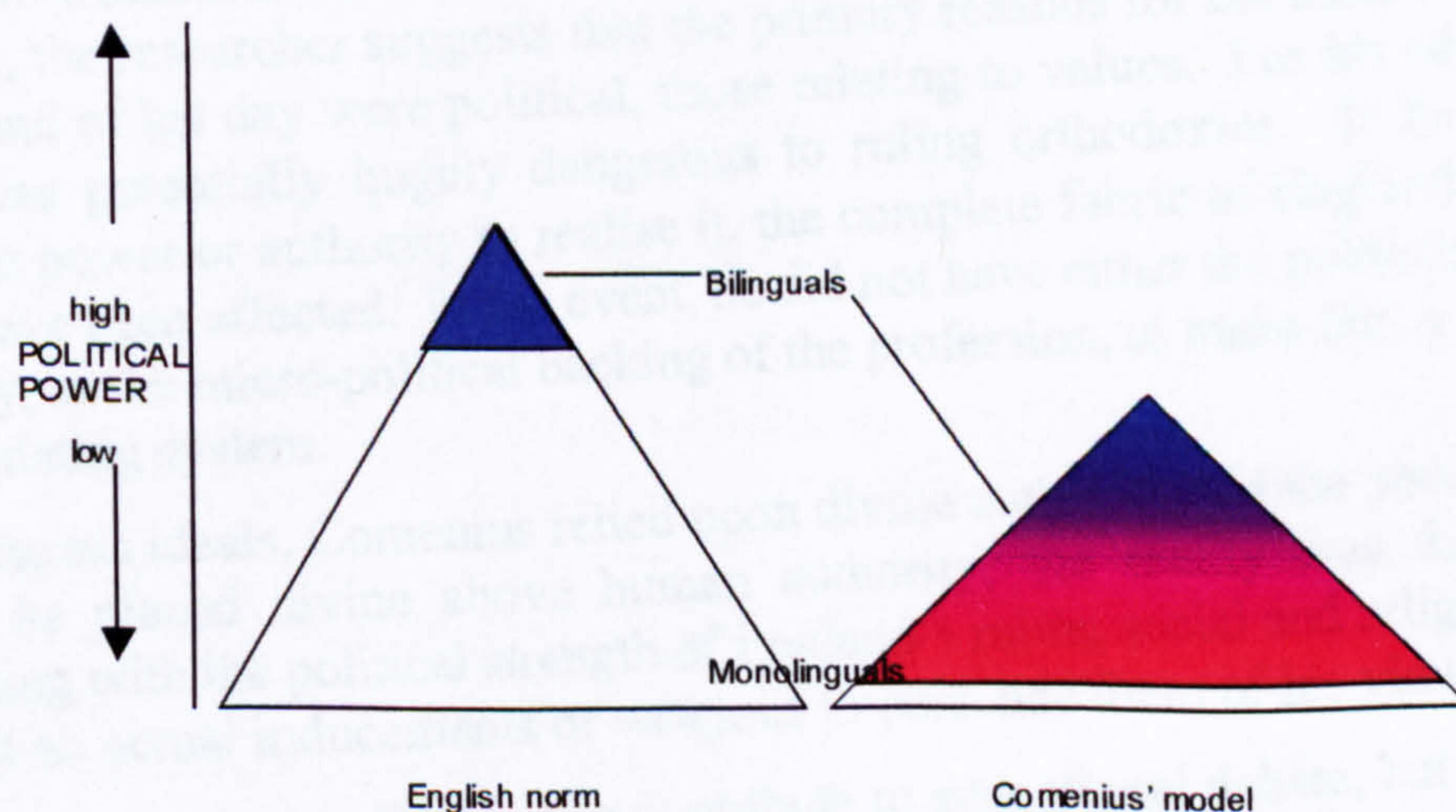


Figure 4.2

The symbolic power of bilingualism

Content and human capital

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 reveal another difference, though: the languages Comenius proposed. Whereas England's system did not recognise the value of modern languages, his did. However, as the colour coding of figure 4.1 indicates, he reversed the priority of modern languages and Latin. He thereby introduced a pedagogical change which would have invited professional resistance, since it ran counter to traditional academic values.

Although not visible in these figures, academic capital would already have been challenged by the structural change of Comenius' model: the involvement of everyone in a process of lifelong learning assumed lay teaching on the part of parents. This implicitly undermined the status of professionally 'qualified' teachers. It also assumed popular acceptance of the instructional role: again, this would rely upon the nation sharing the religious values from which his model stemmed. Together, these issues raise questions of professional and public compliance.

Professional values are clearly invoked by Comenius' curriculum itself, and the resources he proposed. As has been observed, there would have been a sense of 'dumbing down' academic capital by opening up access and then producing resources which met the needs of a mixed ability group, much as happened in the twentieth century (chapter 13). Intertwined with this, political opposition would spring from the use of his resources at a time when the texts were prescribed in order to restrict access to 'dangerous' ideas.

In the event, human capital of a different kind resolved the matter: Comenius could not complete the enormity of this task unaided. He also encountered a technical obstacle: although his conception of illustrated resources was pedagogically sound, it was ahead of its time. Technology did not yet render it practicable, and there was an inadequate supply of professional expertise to carry out the necessary graphic work, so the scheme was unworkable.

Ideological incompatibility

There were, then, ideological, financial, technological and practical implications attached to Comenius' model, which could all reasonably justify its unsuitability. However, the researcher suggests that the primary reasons for his failure to impact on England of his day were political, those relating to values. For his educational model was potentially hugely dangerous to ruling orthodoxies. If he had had sufficient power or authority to realise it, the complete fabric of England's society would have been affected. In the event, he did not have either the political power or authority, or the micro-political backing of the profession, to make him a real threat to the existing system.

To realise his ideals, Comenius relied upon divine authority and the power of God. Whilst *he* placed divine above human authority, the reality was that he was competing with the political strength of England's ruling social and religious elites, and had no actual inducements or weapons to persuade them of his views.

He had been invited to England to contribute to educational debate, but this was as a professional educator not as a politician. As a professional, he had only his academic expertise to bargain with; this was valued neither by the Protestant monarchy and Church, nor by the conformist teaching profession. He therefore lacked social capital in the eyes of the former, and could not expect academic capital

from the established profession, whose self-interest would tend towards conformity with the dominant orthodoxy. At this stage of educational development, teachers were not professionally organised, so the means of sharing, and winning peer support for, his ideology were limited. Those teachers in England who did not accept the orthodox religion could not officially teach, so any academic capital he held amongst them was of little political clout.

Ultimately, Comenius theory appeared at the wrong time. When civil strife erupted in England during his visit of 1641 (Sadler 1966), his non-orthodox, Puritan, views would have been hastily rejected by those seeking to maintain political control, irrespective of any pedagogical value they may have been seen to promise. He was disillusioned, left the country and had no momentum to press his cause.

As figure 4.2 has illustrated, Comenius' educational model was a political bombshell, which, if it had been detonated, would have flattened the hierarchy of England's political, religious and social system. The crux of this threat lies in his opening of access to foreign languages. So long as access was restricted to a minority and dependent upon economic and/or social status, the process of synthesis (Bourdieu) between language, institution and assumed functional role in society (Part III) enabled the development of a *habitus* where self-exclusion from language learning appeared to be responsible for any differentiation in learners. By giving common access to Latin learning, bilingualism would eventually become the norm, potentially equipping anyone, whatever their social status, to accede to political power through the occupations they held.

Technology and Comenius' model

What was the significance of technology for Comenius' theory? Did he fall into the trap of seeing its practical pedagogical benefits, and neglect the ideological aspects of technological change, as has been apparent in this discussion? Were his proposals uniquely functional, or did he in fact understand the potential of technology to determine values?

Comenius clearly recognised the functional possibilities for technology to achieve more effectively and more enjoyably the educational aims towards which he strove. At first sight, this appears to be an instrumental relationship, with pedagogical notions deriving from the existence of printing. It is at this instrumental, functional, level that his pedagogical and linguistic strength was to be found and this perhaps accounts for the continuing validity of many of his ideas. But if they were so sound, why did they fail to impact on practice of his time?

It would be easy to suggest that Comenius made the error of embracing technology's functional aspects without heeding its determinist potential. Was he really a naïf who had not foreseen the social implications of his educational ideals? Did he fail to realise that, in calling for universal education, the English people would be given an instrument which would permit more than spiritual enlightenment: it would open the floodgates to awareness of the inequalities of seventeenth century England, and hence trigger social, religious and political change, as described in figure 4.2?

The researcher argues that this would be an incorrect interpretation of the man. Like educationalists of England's establishment, Comenius was certainly conscious of, and sought deliberately to manipulate, the socialising role of education, advocating that men be occupied since

wherever honest labour flourishes, there vice does not share the throne. (*Pampaedia* III.21)

Although he aimed to equip the individual for his spiritual salvation, he remained dedicated to the greater social priorities, readily accepting that the community could not tolerate 'the one sick limb which easily affects the others'. This would indicate that he was not simply making use of the practical potential of new technology to improve the learning and teaching experience, but that he also had a political objective. This was, indeed, implicit in *Pansophy*, the aim of education being to bring about Wisdom, with individual and collective consequences. It was an ideological objective and posed an inherent challenge to England's hierarchical structure, controlled through access to knowledge, and via having access to Latin learning.

To see Comenius only as a prescient pedagogue is shortsighted. The researcher suggests that he quite consciously sought to utilise the potential of new technology to bring about a different religious and social order. Indeed, without these fundamental spiritual and social objectives, *Pampaedia* would not have been formulated; without technology, *Pampaedia* could not have been realised, but without technology, the scientific spirit of Puritanism would not have been possible.

It is proposed that Comenius was not only aware of the determinist potential of technology but did, in fact, attempt to manipulate it in order to realise his different religious and social ideals, but that he failed because he possessed insufficient power or bargaining strength. He was, perhaps, naïve in his assumption that divine power was so great that it could triumph over political power, but his aims were undoubtedly political, education being but the means to an end.

That end was inconsistent with Protestantism. However, rather than express the ideological and political reasons for rejecting his proposals, contemporary England was able to invoke practical obstacles: they would have required a new educational structure, new resources, new forms of professional preparation, all of which were costly. If doubters needed additional persuasion, technology came to the rescue: it was not yet able to produce the resources in the time or quantity necessary for Comenius' model to be feasible.

It is a final irony that today, when technology has overcome the practical obstructions to his model, Comenius should be remembered predominantly for these instrumental applications of technology, and not for the religious objectives which were, for him, paramount.

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What this case study has shown is that foreign language learning in England was a profoundly political issue (RI2); how it was delivered was of less importance than to whom, for ultimately, linguistic knowledge played not a practical but symbolic role, sustaining social differentiation (chapter 10).

Coherence of policy (RI1) has been seen to be secondary to this aim, but the aim was covert. So, while Comenius' model was consistent with one form of education currently available, it was with that outlawed by the Crown and Church, hence politically unacceptable. His model would have undermined the covert, exclusive objectives of England's orthodox system and ultimately have changed social relationships by flattening its hierarchical structure.

Technology (RI3) was closely interlinked with Comenius' religious values, in a determinist way, but it has been suggested that he deliberately sought to exploit the functional aspect of technology in order to motivate learners. His desire to do so stemmed from a political objective: to establish a new religious orthodoxy in England. It has been argued that his sense of divine authority was inadequate to challenge the temporal power and authority of the Crown and Church.

Ironically, because of the overt functional role of technology, and its economic and practical implications, England's establishment was able to reject his model on these practical grounds without having to expose its political unacceptability.

The case study provides evidence, then, in support of all three research issues. Language learning was, at this time, directed by political not pedagogical values, and served symbolic as opposed to practical needs.

*

Case study 2 will now examine innovation in the very different technological context of nineteenth century industrialisation.

¹ See <http://europa.eu.int/en/comm/dg22/socrates/tsum/engin.html>

² This was the term he began to use in 1663 to describe the concepts he had been evolving throughout his life. As with so much of his work, it was borrowed from elsewhere: in this instance, it was the title of a work by another philosopher, Professor Lauremberg of Rostock.

³ Unless otherwise stated, all quotations in the chapter are from the work of Comenius.

⁴ Frey, C 1580-1631, Professor at Paris who claimed that if a child were sent to school at the age of two and everyone around him spoke Latin, Greek and French, he would grow up naturally trilingual

⁵ For Melanchthon, P see *Opera omnia quae sunt* (28 vols.) Halle 1834-52

⁶ The stages for use of the *Orbis Pictus* were:

1 the pupils familiarise themselves with the format of the book;

2 they ensure they know the vernacular names of everything illustrated in the book;

3 if practicable, the teacher shows them the real items;

4 the pupils copy the illustrations;

5 they colour in their own copies and the illustrations in the book.

CHAPTER 15

HENRY SWEET (1845-1912)

1 Why Sweet?

If there were any doubts over the suitability of Comenius for a study of foreign language learning in England, the subject of this second case study, Henry Sweet, does not share them. As Reader of Phonetics at Oxford University during the latter part of the nineteenth century, he was ideally placed to inform the nation's language learning practice, which he did in a career that straddled two centuries. His best known work, *The Practical Study of Languages*, first published in 1877 then revised under that title in 1899, provides the source of all references in this chapter, unless otherwise stated.

Sweet's work was effected during another period of scientific and technological revolution (chapter 12), at the stage when vocational needs were at last being addressed by parliamentary action designed to modernise education (e.g. the Education Act 1870). As has been seen, by the latter quarter of the century, the pressing need for curricular reform was recognised to be vital 'to the Material Interests of this country' (Devonshire Report 1875). Chapter 12 has traced the conception of First, Second and Third Grade Schools, ostensibly aimed at producing the diverse manpower needed in an industrialised nation, but, the researcher has proposed, suspiciously appropriate for sustaining social differentiation. The different language provision of these three grades of secondary school was central to a policy which assumed that vocational orientation could be identified at age 11 and would best be served by differing levels of linguistic training.

The ambivalence of policy has been noted, as curricular change stopped short of replacing the tried and tested Classics; indeed, The Bryce Commission (1895) reported that

The classical languages are taught more extensively than ever, but less as if they were dead, and more as if they still lived.... And they do not now stand alone; a place and a function have been found for modern languages and literatures, and it is ceasing to be a reproach that our schools have cultivated dead to the exclusion of living tongues.

Writing contemporaneously, Sweet offers a special insight into the microcosmic, practical and theoretical issues, that were entailed in effecting change in language learning. Like Comenius, he was faced with new social and ideological circumstances, and had available to him novel technological instruments.

However, it must be recalled that Sweet is representative of only one of the leading schools of nineteenth century linguistics. It is not claimed that his experience is typical of the others. The aim of this chapter is, rather, to examine how one innovator of the day dealt, albeit unconsciously, with the five key factors for or against change (table 1.1). The reasons for selecting him to illustrate the period are partly those outlined above, partly the anomaly between his progressive aims for language learning and his retention of the 'old' technology for realising them.

Nevertheless, the discussion will make reference to both the norms of Sweet's day and to Comenius' example when considering their respective responses to the key factors. This will enable identification of any practices which may have a positive

or negative importance and hence be of use when proposing recommendations for the future of language learning in England (Part V).

2 Sweet's theory of language learning

The value of foreign languages

Perhaps significantly for this analysis, Sweet made no overt statement to justify why languages should be learnt. Instead, he took a pragmatic stance, declaring that

I start from the axiom that as languages have to be learnt, even if it turns out that the process injures the mind, our first business is to find out the most efficient and economical way of learning them. (1899:2)

Like Comenius, then, his goal was efficient and effective learning, which implies an instrumental value, but readers are left to infer the uses to which knowledge of foreign languages should be put, through the type of learners he expected. So, in the preface of *The Practical Study of Languages*, Sweet suggested that his work

- might be welcome to travellers and missionaries, and
- another class of student whom I have had specially in view are self-taught learners of foreign languages. (1899: vi)

In a later chapter of the book, he added a third category of learner:

- The future man of science or scholarship wants Modern Languages as much as the future merchant. (1899:246)

It must therefore be assumed that Sweet's was a Product/Instrument model, designed to be of use to professionals, travellers, and religious proselytisers in their visits abroad. Their common needs would be to *speak* the foreign language, a skill which chapter 12 has seen to be lacking in academic capital during that period.

Access, institutional arrangements and content

Sweet thus identified the type of learner he had in mind, and he addressed his work to the autodidact and to the teacher. But just as he failed to specify his aims, so did he avoid any statement on who should or should not have access to the subject, or the institutional system within which formal language learning would take place.

In the absence of any alternative proposals, it must be assumed that he intended his model to be applied within the formal educational structure of his time, though, as the above quotations indicate, he did not confine languages to formal learning. He shared Comenius' somewhat cavalier attitude towards the difficulty of language learning (chapter 14), which may suggest that he would have opened the subjects to anyone wishing to learn them. There is a sense that he was more interested in whether a person was motivated, for he proposed that learners should possess

a sympathetic insight into the structure of language, an ear for sounds and power of reproducing them, together with a good memory (which skills) are generally combined in different proportions. (1899: 253)

This is not to assume that all would reach the same level of competence, though. Characteristic of his era, he saw learning as a mechanical process wherein

all minds work by the same fundamental psychological laws (1899: 82)

but he acknowledged that

we can never expect that all learners will reach the goal with the same ease and quickness. But perfected methods will reduce these inequalities to a minimum. (1899:84)

By piecing together his comments, readers can assume that Sweet saw language learning as a subject for the secondary years and beyond. He observed that

if young children learn easily, they forget still more easily (1899:78)

and later in the same work proposed

French seems to satisfy our requirements best on the whole. It might be begun at ten. After two years, German may be begun – at twelve. (1899:244)

The age for language learning might be consistent with contemporary practice, but it will be remembered that modern languages had not yet superseded the classics. Sweet not only prioritised modern languages: like Comenius, he demonstrated a positive antipathy towards Latin, warning that

if Latin is to be studied at all at school, it ought not under any circumstances to be begun before the age of 16. (1899:245)

In his first overt departure from England's orthodox model, he continued:

I think Greek - and perhaps Latin too - ought to be excluded altogether from schools. This would obviate the ridiculous bifurcation into a classical and a commercial side. (1899:246)

In short, it seems that Sweet planned to graft a different form of language learning on to the existing system, where learners would be those in the various grades of secondary school. Whilst this might be structurally compatible, the form of language was implicitly unacceptable, for what he dismissed as a 'ridiculous bifurcation' was crucial to England's system: chapter 12 has seen that, if Latin was retained beyond its functional value, it was in order to provide an instrument for academic, hence social and economic, differentiation. By removing the bifurcation, Sweet's model would eliminate this political tool.

3 Sweet's pedagogical method

First and second language

Sweet's preference for modern languages was logical given his functional aims, as described above. Again recalling Comenius, he stressed the importance of the mother tongue, but he did not make the common error of conflating first and second language learning. On the contrary, he recognised that

the process of learning one's native language is carried on under peculiarly favourable conditions, which cannot be even approximately reproduced in the later study of foreign languages. (1899:74)

With the benefit of developments in psychology, Sweet advised:

the foundation of all study of language must be laid by that of the native language. Correct and clear pronunciation of it should be insisted upon from the beginning. (1988:243)

It was the dissimilarity between modern and classical languages that led him to reject the latter as the first foreign language learnt. He deduced that

the first foreign language must, of course, be one which admits of being grasped concretely in all the details required; that is, it must be a living, not a dead language. (1899: 244)

The process of learning was, like Comenius', determined by his quest for an expeditious methodology. Sweet, too, sought to determine basic principles of foreign

language learning, but for him this was to speed up the process and enable self-tuition. Once the rules had been learnt, they could be applied, if with some adaptation, to any language. For this reason, he wrote,

a good method must, before all, be comprehensive and eclectic. (1899: 3)

Oral skills

Reminiscent of the early linguists (chapter 10) who attempted to raise the status of their subject to that of a science by dint of mechanical, rational analysis, Sweet's studies led him to conclude that there were two principles underpinning what is today called 'linguistics':

phonetics is to the science of language generally what mathematics is to astronomy and the physical sciences. Without it, we can neither observe nor record the simplest phenomena of language. (1899:4; writer's emphasis)

and

the second main axiom of living philology is that all study of language, whether theoretical or practical, ought to be based on the *spoken language*. (1899:49; writer's emphasis)

As chapter 12 has shown, phonetics was but one aspect of linguistic study, so his first assertion would have been disputed by other academics; the second ran counter to contemporary pedagogical values. It has been seen that the examination system continued to deny academic value to oral competence, and even the inspectors were ambivalent (chapter 13). In other words, Sweet's preferred model was contentious for both linguist researchers and teachers of languages.

Memorisation

Contrary to academically elitist assumptions about language learning, Sweet did not put constraints on the range of learners. Instead, he proposed that

mechanical learning does not require originality of mind or a critical spirit ... What is required is the faculty of observation, quick imitation, adaptiveness to grasp the phenomena of the new language, and memory to retain them. (1899:79)

This was consistent with the pedagogical influence of Pestalozzi (1802), which informed the practice of English educationalists such as the Edgeworths (1798), for whom memory is created through a process of association until response becomes automatic. Sweet's aim was for knowledge of the second language, like that of the mother tongue, to become unconscious, since

in speaking we must have all our associations between ideas and words in perfect working order: we have no time to pick and choose our words and constructions. (1899:52)

Not only did this approach assume that anyone had the potential ability to learn languages: it was far removed from the traditional grammar/translation preoccupation with precision and form.

Following in Comenius' footsteps, Sweet, too, went beyond abstract theorising to find practical classroom strategies which would aid language acquisition. His detailed, step-by-step guidance on memory formation (1899:104) was clearly derived from psychology and recalls Comenius' lock-step approach of building from a limited range of words, which were then reinforced through repetition. He, too, recognised the need for short periods of input, lest over-repetition

induce boredom in the learner, and hinder(s) the amount that can be learnt. (1899:109)

The role of science and technology

Two aspects of scientific impact on Sweet's work have already been noted: his imitation of the 'hard' sciences in his application of rational, mechanical, analysis to the process of learning, and the influence of psychology. In these respects, he seems to have had an instrumental relationship with developments in science and technology, his linguistic ideas following in the wake of those developments. Can the same be said of his advocacy of phonetics and oral competence? The question is, did his prioritisation of oral skills precede the availability of a tool, phonetics, to teach this form of language, or did the existence of phonetics trigger his focus on oral skills?

This is a question which cannot be answered definitively; the most that can be claimed is that Sweet's commitment to phonetics was absolute – to the point of obsession.

In his adherence to the phonetic method, Sweet inevitably distanced himself from alternative schools of linguistic thought (chapter 12), each of which he rejected. He dismissed the Natural Method because

it puts the adult into the position of an infant, which he is incapable of utilising, and, at the same time, does not allow him to make use of his own special advantages (1899: 75)

and implicitly alienated adherents of traditional grammar/translation with his declaration that

a knowledge of grammar by no means necessarily implies a knowledge of the language itself: the grammar with its rules and paradigms merely gives the materials for acquiring that knowledge. (1899:98)

However, he was not opposed to grammar *per se*, merely to its being studied via a dead language (thereby having no practical value) and to the prioritisation of grammar over oral skills. As noted above, Sweet's functionalist objectives would predispose him to favour oral competence, but his opposition to abstract grammar springs, too, from his understanding of psychology. In accordance with his associationist roots, he opposed any separation of the rule from the concrete example, arguing that

language must be associated with its real context, hence the worst kind of isolation is to begin the study of a language by learning lists of words by heart. (1899:99)

What he was, in effect, advocating was an inductive methodology, whereby grammatical analysis followed use of language. This was progressive, and was consistent with the Direct Method, but it gave rise to a paradox: Sweet was innovative in that he believed

the first object of grammatical study is not the acquisition of rules, but of a practical command of the language itself (1899:130)

but the means by which he sought to develop this competence was ancient: as has been seen (chapters 10 and 11), use of phonetics dated back to Sanskrit and had been a revived theme amongst linguists for some centuries. The researcher suggests that this is not another example of the ambivalence towards change seen amongst politicians of the day (chapter 12). The problem lies in Sweet's attempt implicitly to reconcile the methodology of academic research with the practice of pedagogy, two quite different fields, in other words, his devotion to phonetics and his awareness

of the functional importance of modern languages led him to bring the two together in a logical, but linguistically inappropriate manner.

On the one hand, Sweet foreshadowed linguistic analysis as it would become known to later generations, in his differentiation between the form (accidence) and the meaning (syntax) of language, but then he proposed that

grammatical analysis has two stages, one of recognition or identification, and another of reproduction or construction. (1899:127)

This was innovative, but proved to be misguided for two inter-related reasons: firstly, it implicitly changed the relationship between researchers and pedagogues, producing a source of political conflict within the field; secondly, it was ill-timed, technology now offering more appropriate instruments for achieving his oral objectives. On the one hand, then, academic capital would be challenged as a form of analysis hitherto kept out of the classroom was extended to it; on the other, Sweet fell back on an old technology (the printed word and phonetic symbols to represent sound), when recording machines were becoming a viable, and more effective, alternative (chapter 12).

At the classroom level, he was proposing a methodology which was a mixture of old and new, so would have caused further professional conflict, satisfying neither traditionalists nor those who sought a complete break with past methods. Although his priority was to develop oral competence, he clung to the written word. Like Comenius, he wanted to abandon rote grammar exercises (1899:105), but he nevertheless retained textual resources; so,

when the sounds of a language have once been mastered, the main foundation of study will be connected texts: the reader will henceforth be the centre of study, to which the grammar, dictionary and other helps must be strictly subordinated. (1899:163)

He, too, envisaged a coherent scheme in which texts would be selected according to their functional relevance, and drawn from 'real' sources, an approach which today's teachers would endorse, but which was perhaps too adventurous for his day. Again, this implicitly challenged academic capital, his conclusion being that extant pedagogical texts produced 'evil effects' (1899:226) so should be replaced with lay ones:

in the present dearth of really useful and reliable phrasebooks, the safest way of learning conversational idioms is to read novels and comedies, selecting those idioms which seem most useful. (1899:217)

The use of such *realia* would have been both professionally heretical and politically dangerous, since it lost control of the material to which learners would have access.

In sum, Sweet advocated a paradoxical mix of ideas: he was forward thinking in his recognition of the importance of oral skills, and of the need for material to be relevant and adaptable, but the means he used for delivering his model were inappropriate to his aims, and were being overtaken by new technology. His proposals fell between two stools, inviting professional conflict both where it was innovative and where it was conservative.

Time has, however, shown the pedagogical value of many of his ideas, so, as in case study one, it must be asked, was there nothing which might have appealed to his contemporaries? Why did his methodology fail to impact during his lifetime?

Again, the answers to these questions can be found if the five key factors for change are examined.

4 Evidence for the research issues

As before, the starting point is to gather together the detail of Sweet's model and compare it with orthodox language learning of his day. Table 4.2 does this, using shading to enable a vertical overview of each. Alternatively, if the table is read horizontally, Sweet can be compared with standard practice on each of the key factors.

The first impression given by this summary is that there are some areas of difference, but others which are unspecified and can be assumed to be consistent with England's existing educational framework. This has been borne out by the paradoxes noted in this discussion. In order to explore the reasons for one model's succeeding over another, the sources of possible conflict must be probed.

Table 4.2
Key factors, 19th century England and Sweet

Key factors	19 th century England	Sweet
ACCESS For whom?	Differentiated by assessment at age 11; non-compulsory, fee-paid	Open to all; lifelong experience
CONTENT Which language? What?	Differentiated by institution (Latin + ML/ Latin/ elementary Latin or ML)	Modern languages before Latin
HUMAN CAPITAL By whom?	State registered teachers	Unspecified + self-tuition
SOCIAL CAPITAL General values, educational aims	Functional; assumption of fixed forms of ability; covert social differentiation	Functional; egalitarianism
INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES Where?	3-grade grammar schools; public schools; universities	Unspecified

Curricular aims, institutional structure and access

Sweet was clear as to his potential learners and their anticipated needs for language learning: they were those with a functional need for practical skills in order to communicate orally with speakers of foreign languages, whether for work or when travelling. There is no indication of any socialising objective, nor is language seen as a symbol of a particular status. It is therefore reasonable to assume that his model was one of pure *Product/Instrument*, as shown in figure 4.3. In this, it would apparently have been compatible with England's linguistic norm.

But it has been observed that Sweet made no overt statement on the *institutional structure* within which foreign languages would be learnt, leading to the assumption that he accepted the prevailing system: he planned to change what and how languages were taught, but not where. But does this imply that his model would be

superimposed on each of the three grades of secondary school or would it be diluted in accordance with the tripartite system?

This is of paramount importance because the degree of language to which each grade had *access* was indicative of fundamental ideology, *social values*. The English system has been seen (chapter 12) overtly to embrace the aim of developing individual ability, believing abilities to be determinable at age eleven, and fixed for life, whereas the above discussion has shown that Sweet made no intellectual distinction between learners, so must be assumed to envisage equal opportunity (i.e. the same provision) for all.

The researcher has argued that England's system covertly supported social stratification through making different linguistic provision in the secondary schools. It has been proposed that this derived from an initial act of political 'violence' (Bourdieu), but that, with the passing of time, habits became custom, the nation's 'social capital,' and that 'self exclusion' operated on the basis of anticipated functional needs. For this to happen, schools and languages need to be differentiated; Sweet's model does not make any such references. If, as seems likely from the references cited, he perceived languages as within the grasp of all, his proposals would have been politically incompatible, hence doomed to fail, whatever their appeal at pedagogical levels.

Consequently, although figure 4.3 shows that Sweet's overall curricular model was consistent with that of England, because of its monolithic institutional structure, which in turn meant differences in access, it would have required considerable political and practical change.

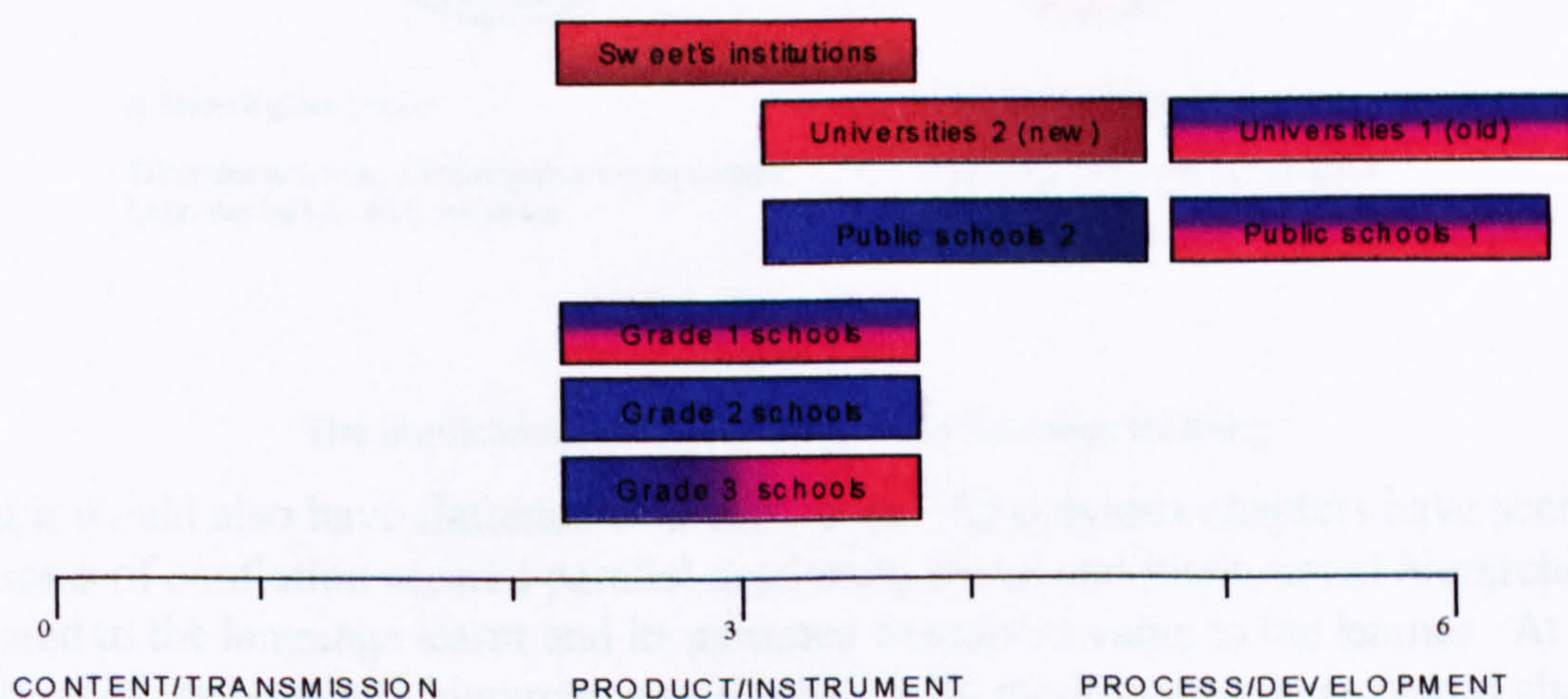


Figure 4.3

Curricular models: Sweet and 19th century England

Content

Figure 4.3 also indicates another major source of difference: as the colour coding shows, his linguistic content was different from that of the state schools, veering rather towards the aims of the modern universities.

So, whilst the tripartite system retained Latin as the main language, and offered modern languages as a second addition, Sweet's offered modern languages, to the preferable exclusion of Latin. If this had been simply a question of replacing one

with the other, it would have been politically insignificant, but the difference exposes their two fundamentally different aims: Sweet's was overtly that of developing linguistic competence for functional use, whereas the prevailing system has been attributed the above covert, political objective.

This can once more be explained in terms of exclusion or inclusion. Figure 4.4 illustrates the duality of England's tripartite language curriculum (situation A). Here, the classics (blue) were used exclusively, to prevent non-speakers from penetrating the group, whether socially or vocationally. The examination system and institutional structure support this aim. Modern languages (red) also provided a symbol of differentiation between speakers and the monolingual majority (white) who would not have benefited from secondary schooling, but they simultaneously fulfilled a practical, functional, need. This was outgoing, enabling proactive interaction with other communities.

By contrast, situation B, Sweet's proposed language curriculum, contains two key differences: access was potentially opened to all, and the classics were replaced by modern languages, which had an implicitly inclusive role. In other words, this model would eliminate one element of the existing hierarchical system, but it was the element essential for social stratification. Recalling Comenius, Sweet's model would have flattened social hierarchies.

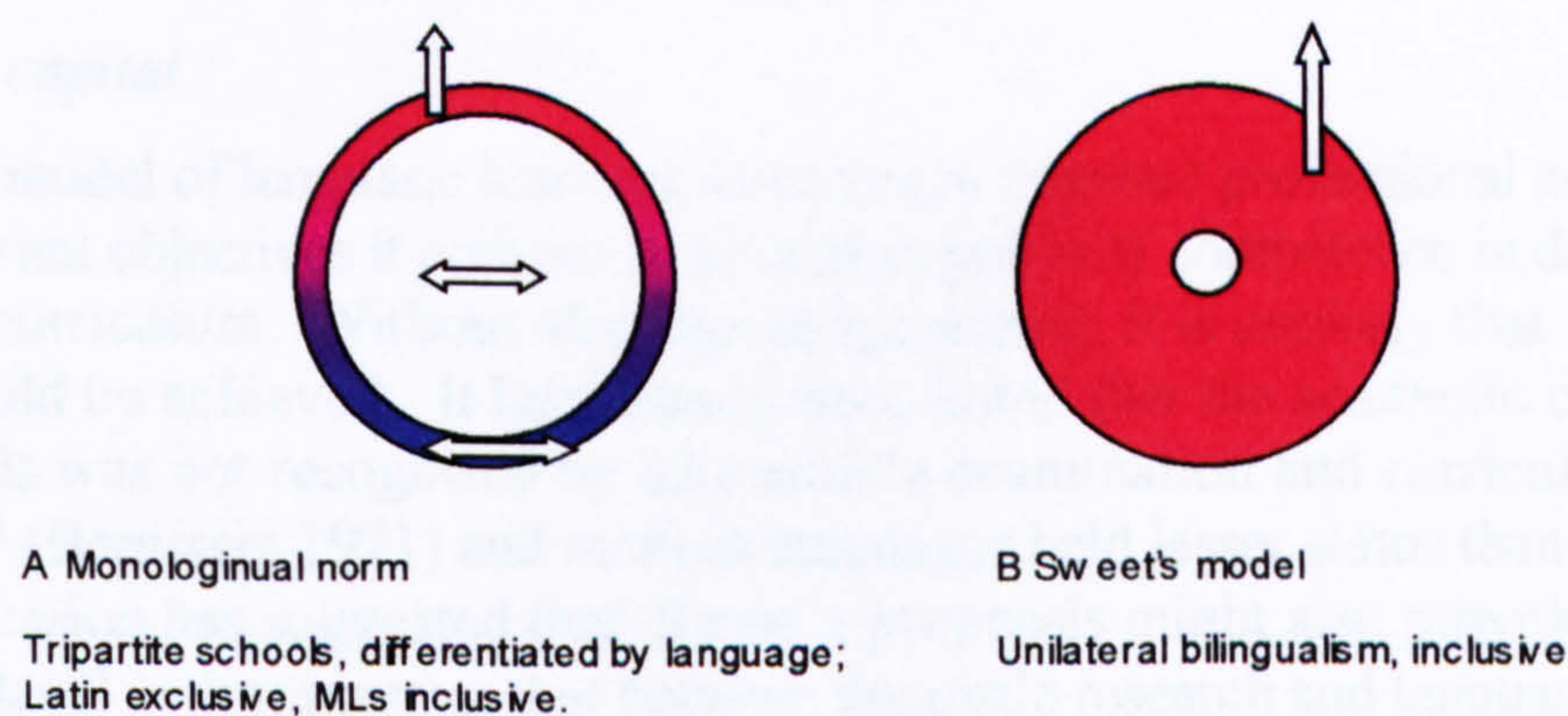


Figure 4.4

The implications of Sweet's model for language learning

But it would also have flattened academic ones. As previous chapters have seen, a process of conflation created parallel academic, social and institutional hierarchies, related to the language learnt and its assumed functional value to the learner. At the bottom of the language hierarchy was English, with modern languages placed above this, but below Latin. Just as social differences would be diluted by changing the institutional structure, so would academic relations be flattened by changing languages.

The academic capital unconsciously attributed to Latin gave status to those who taught and learnt the language. For the various reasons discussed in Part III, modern languages were attributed lesser status than the classics. Sweet's model removed classics thus either made classicists totally redundant or relegated them to the 'inferior' status associated with modern language teaching.

Figure 4.5 illustrates the principles of this. It takes the situations represented in figure 4.4, and views them hierarchically within the profession. As it shows, Sweet's

model removes the classicists, and, by extending access to modern languages, languages lose their exclusivity and hence mystique; they also provide a functional means for equalising access to occupations where a language is needed.

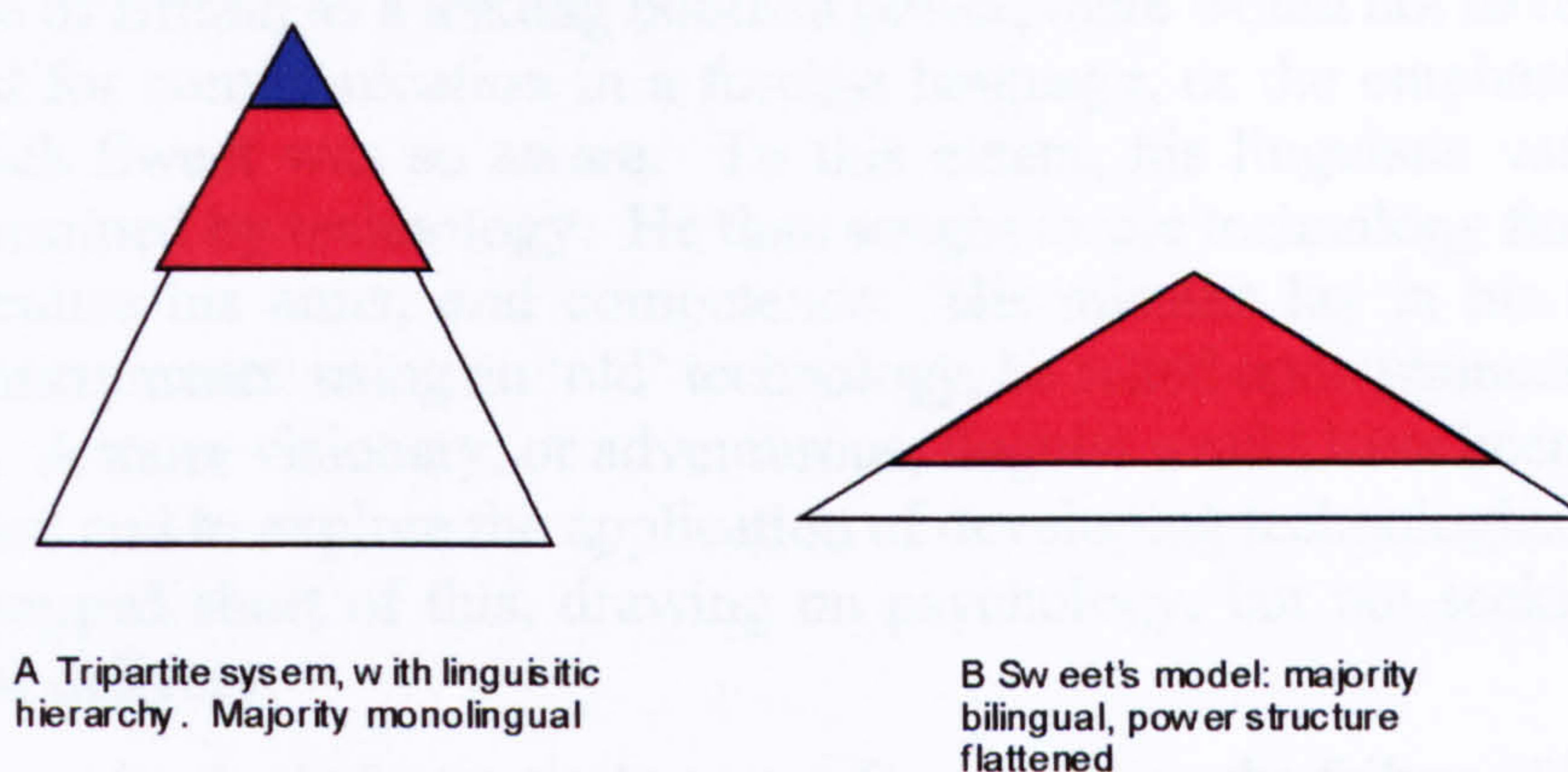


Figure 4.5

Late 19th century England's linguistic hierarchy and Sweet's model

Changes in language would thus have incurred conflict within the teaching profession, returning the discussion to the question of human capital.

Human capital

Sweet's model of language learning would have required professional acceptance of the different objectives it embraced, as well as practical competence in delivering the revised curriculum. Without ideological agreement, it is unlikely that the practical need could be achieved. It has already been noted that the academic credibility of oral skills was not recognised by education's examination and curricular 'message systems' (Bernstein 1971) and modern languages held lesser status than the classics; the discussion has suggested that Sweet's proposals might also provoke conflict in another level in the chiasma: that between linguistic research and language pedagogy.

At this point, the similarity between his model and that of the modern universities (figure 4.3) is significant. It suggests that his model inherently moved into the same domain as that of higher education, but by so doing, the schools' curriculum would assume a common status with the universities. This was externalised in Sweet's attempt to graft a linguistic research methodology on to the schools' pedagogical practice. The conflict here, then, was implicitly over ownership of that methodology, phonetics; shared usage would, by implication, raise the teachers' academic status to that of the academics. Whilst the former might welcome this, the latter would be resistant to what would be perceived as diminution of their academic capital.

In the event, this did not happen, partly because, it has been proposed, pedagogical needs were not best served by that research methodology. Technology, in effect, enabled academic distinctions to be retained because phonetics were inappropriate to the oral objectives Sweet pursued, and newer forms of technology were appearing which were better suited, which would allow the phoneticists to remain discrete.

However, as the researcher has suggested, it was not simply a matter of technological appropriateness: just as case study 1 saw that technological and practical issues could be invoked to justify rejection of Comenius' model, when there were in fact profound

ideological reasons for the Crown and Church to do so, likewise, Sweet's case illustrates an ambivalent role for technology.

The ambivalence perhaps stems from his own paradoxical mix of conservatism and innovation. Clearly, without technological changes that enhanced world travel and the emergence of Britain as a leading political power, there would not have been the practical need for communication in a foreign language, or the emphasis on oral skills, of which Sweet was so aware. To this extent, his linguistic values were arguably determined by technology. He then sought to use technology functionally in order to realise his aims, oral competence. His mistake lay in his choice of pedagogical instruments: using an 'old' technology, he relied upon phonetics and the written word. A more visionary, or adventurous, linguist would have been prepared to look forward and to explore the application of developing technologies. Sweet's innovation stopped short of this, drawing on psychology, but not seeking a new instrument for delivery.

There are thus technological, practical reasons for explaining the failure of his model. However, the researcher is led, once more, to suggest that innovation was essentially resisted for political, ideological reasons, and that technology merely offered a screen for this (RI3). Whereas political resistance in case study 1 lay with the Crown and Church, case study 2 shows resistance to be likely at both political and professional levels. At each, relationships of power and authority would be changed by Sweet's proposals, a fact of which he seems to have been unaware.

For his theory gives no indication of his having appreciated the political repercussions of extending language learning, and moving away from the classics to modern languages. Readers are left with a sense that Sweet was an enthusiastic linguist, but a political naïf. His linguistic enthusiasm was perhaps less conservative than his nature, producing a paradoxical mix of linguistic values that were inconsistent with academic and social values of the day, a fact he failed to recognise.

Where Comenius deliberately sought to bring about change through language learning, for political (religious) reasons, Sweet erred in the opposite direction: he was so innocent of political values that he did not appreciate the need to manipulate these in order to effect change. In both cases, the five key factors revolve around perceived social values, and are characterised by conflict for control of these.

In conclusion, then, Sweet's language model was superficially consistent with England's educational practice (RI1) but, when probed, found to raise fundamental, political, questions at micro (professional) and macro (social) levels. His academic capital was insufficient to challenge that of the established, political and academic, world, so again, language learning remained directed by (covert) political values (RI2) rather than educational ones. Once more, though, the political reasons for resisting his model could be concealed behind technological excuses: phonetics were becoming superseded by newer instruments.

*

The third case study will now examine proposed curricular change in the present day.

CHAPTER 16

PRINCIPLES FOR OPEN LEARNING OF LANGUAGES ONLINE (POLLO): AN OPEN UNIVERSITY INITIATIVE (1997-2001)

1 Characteristics of this case study

The third case study focuses on innovation in language learning at the turn of the second millennium, and in the context of fast developing information communication technologies. There are several very obvious differences between this and the preceding case studies; they reflect both the different technological conditions of today and different professional relationships.

Firstly, whereas chapters 14 and 15 examined the work of an individual, case study 3 explores the evolving ideas of a team of researchers. The collaborative enterprise is typical of current practice, but it is also indicative of the complexity of today's technology: the team comprises, amongst others, technologists as well as linguists, essential to provide tutors and students with ongoing advice and technical support as new instruments are tested.

Related to this issue, the team will be seen to expand through successive stages of the research, crossing first faculty, then institutional then national boundaries. It thereby responds to recent calls for research to 'pay greater attention to the heterogeneity within wider spaces and over longer periods of time' (Asad 1994:76) as technology globalises the world.

This difference is made possible by a third: the research examined here is developmental and does not present a final theory, as did case studies 1 and 2. Because of this, it illustrates researchers' responsiveness to emergent data and to changing external conditions, an important factor if innovation is to address the political issues seen to obstruct change for Comenius and Sweet.

A fourth difference must also be considered: the research presented is funded, so raises the question of professional and political interests. Where Comenius and Sweet encountered political issues obliquely, funding and research are overtly linked in contemporary times (cf. McGuigan 1997) hence inherently more prone to political influence.

A final point of difference must be repeated: the writer was personally involved in three of the four stages of the research discussed. This was as an on-line tutor and as analyst of some aspects of the data. The experience has both benefits and downsides: she is able to bring to the study a personal dimension derived from first-hand experience of innovation in the field, which may add to her academic credibility. From an ethnographic perspective, this involvement is enriching (Green 1997), but it must inevitably bias the account. As before, readers are reminded that no claim is made to its being more than one interpretation of events.

What then, is the subject of this third case study? It focuses on the work of a team of Open University researchers, led by Dr Robin Goodfellow (Institute of Educational Technology) and Marie-Noëlle Lamy (Head of Department of Languages). This tests the use of ICTs for teaching languages to adult distance learners, and is followed through four phases of research, held between the years

1997 and 2001. The writer is indebted to these colleagues for agreeing to their work being cited in this thesis.

Case study 3 is longer than the others. This is warranted by the longitudinal nature of the research entailed, and is justified by its being an example of the real issues which innovators of the present day must negotiate if change in foreign language learning is to be effected. Awareness of these conditions is central to recommendations for change (Part V) being realistic.

Before the work can be analysed against the researcher's models, the nature of its innovation must be understood. The next four sections aim to introduce the objectives of each phase and the circumstances informing them. Section 6 will then locate the final stage against the contemporary political discourse for language learning and update action following the Nuffield Languages Inquiry (chapter 13), in order for section 7 to gauge the potential success of this work, when judged by the five key factors (table 1.1).

2 Stage 1: Lexica On-line 1 (1997)

Aims and process

The preliminary phase of the research was a small-scale project, supported by the Open University's Research Fund,

to address the issue of whether this configuration of technical and tutorial support could promote the development of reflective language learning practices i.e. enhance the students' understanding of how they learn, and help them to develop more effective learning strategies. (Goodfellow and Lamy 1997)

Here, then, technology was to be tested overtly, whereas in the previous case studies it was utilised but its novelty was not highlighted by the innovator. The technical resources to be tested were a bespoke programme, Lexica¹, copied to floppy disk, used with a CD-ROM version of the Collins-Robert French/English, English/French dictionary, a concordancer, and a dedicated website, the 'project forum', accessed via the Open University home page, and using the WebCT platform.

Tutorial support and moderation were provided by two French native speakers. Ten OU intermediate level French students were selected at random from those who responded affirmatively to a questionnaire. The students committed themselves to a minimum of 10 hours work, spread over 6 weeks, in addition to the notional 12 hours required for their course work. They were asked to complete and return a log of their activities and a questionnaire, and were paid a fee on completion of the project.

There were four modules of work, plus ongoing on-line discussion in French. This was recorded and displayed using a threaded bulletin board system.² Students individually chose unfamiliar items of vocabulary from texts drawn from the course material. Using the CD-ROM and a custom-made concordancer, which provided illustrations of vocabulary items in context, and the Internet, they explored the meaning and use of these items. Their next task was to group their chosen items according to e.g. form or meaning, and to discuss on-line and in French with their peers the rationale for their grouping, and their response to each other's lists. Tutor intervention in this discussion was intended to be minimal and no overt correction

of language was to be made. A self-test was available for students to assess their own ability to reproduce the new items of vocabulary.

The aims³ of these modules were to promote autonomous learning (Salmon 1998), generate reflective practices in an electronic medium, building on theories of 'scaffolding' (Ellis 1987) and to exploit the Francophone web as a learning resource (Goodfellow and Lamy 1997).

This would suggest that the relationship between the linguistic objectives and technology was functional, supporting the view (Hawkins 1987) that foreign language learning was using new technology as its latest saviour. The underlying aims of the research are reminiscent of both Comenius and Sweet in that the OU team was seeking to identify an effective methodology for foreign language learning. This represents a Product/Instrument model, whose more precise objectives are stated in individual programme descriptions, each of which includes reference to linguistic competences but also to

awareness of the society and culture of contemporary France and French-speaking countries.
(Course description L210)

Instrumental objectives were therefore practical and ideological, in keeping with those of Comenius (chapter 14).

Findings

The findings of Lexica 1 were significant for both the functionality of new technologies and its application for pedagogical purposes. The team's recognition that there was

a certain amount of slowness with access to the conference via their modem (Goodfellow and Lamy 1997)

masks the extreme frustration this provoked for tutors and students, and the undermining of morale and motivation that ensued. This, combined with the timing of the project, was detrimental to the commitment of some students⁴.

One element of the technology proved to be extremely successful, however: the concordancer. The researchers noted that this, 'despite being an unfamiliar tool, captivated students' (Goodfellow and Lamy 1997). It might, however, be argued that, though the technology was novel, the principles of the tool were not. It was fulfilling the same aims as a good dictionary, and to this extent, students would have been more comfortable with this resource. It was also one that could be used as and when the student chose, without requiring access to the Internet or communication with others. In other words, the writer suggests that student resistance to novelty may have been evident in their feeling more secure with old techniques.

Student attitudes were also responsible for the research being unable, at that stage, to achieve its pedagogical aim of developing reflective practices. This was partially due to -

a general disinclination to engage with language relationships of a more abstract kind
(Goodfellow and Lamy 1997)

and partly because of different expectations on their part: students expected to be corrected and were disappointed not to receive direct grammatical feedback from tutors. Tutors meanwhile did not have a common understanding of their role and there was confusion between those of moderator and tutor. Again, this suggests

resistance to change on the part of both students and one tutor, the source of which was change in the traditional relationships of power between learner and teacher. Added to this political issue, students did not have the linguistic background on which to base such abstract discussion, hence the variable success of Lexica 1.

To summarise, Lexica 1 was a small-scale pilot, which tested the technological and pedagogical viability of on-line and other resources. Data showed a mixed reaction to these and highlighted some technological inadequacies. The researchers concluded that further investigation was needed in:

- providing learner insights into strategies
- preparing students for discussion of semiotic structure and memorisation techniques
- the role of the tutor
- error correction
- development of a theory and methodology for re-use of language

Significance for the key factors (table 1.1)

In terms of the five key issues, these conclusions address the questions of *content* and *human capital* (through tutor training), reinforcing the sense that this was predominantly pedagogically driven research. But as has been observed, there were also ideological objectives, which entailed *social capital* (consistency with the dominant discourse) and the ability to produce adequate supplies of human capital. A first hint of the sensitivity of such pedagogical change was apparent: both student and professional assumptions were challenged and new relationships between them demanded.

3 Stage 2: Lexica On-line 2 (1998)

Aims

The next phase of the research was an up-scaled project⁵ whose stated aim was

to look at the effect of the interaction in general, and of the reflective strategies in particular, on the students' acquisition of French in terms of grammatical accuracy, lexical range, and competence at handling the type of conversational discourse necessary for effective communication in this medium (Lamy 1997)

This was in order to investigate whether there is

a difference between the way learners appropriate general language models and the way they re-use or modify models of reflective language, (Lamy 1997)

implying a pedagogical, linguistic focus. However, in their application for university research and development funding, the researchers revealed academic and political interests:

research in computer-mediated intervention in language learning is gaining importance internationally, as are the study of autonomy and the role of reflection in language learning. this research attempts to bring the three strands together and should provide a firm basis for a larger scale project which would attract interest from researchers in those fields. (Lamy 1997)

They went on to acknowledge quite explicitly the competitive market in which they were working:

nationally, also, there is growing competition for research in the area of on-line language learning, as HE institutions with hitherto traditional modes of delivering language courses are under pressure to turn more of their students into supported flexible learners. (Lamy 1997)

Process

Whilst it has been suggested above that Lexica 1 illustrated a responsive relationship with technology, this second project appears far more critical of technology. The team were clearly pursuing linguistic objectives which technology was not yet able to deliver and which affected both instrumental reliability and the range of language skills it could reach. They noted that distance learning

is still largely written and asynchronous ... it is socially opaque (you don't know who or how many people you may be 'talking' to), it is still technically unreliable.' (Goodfellow, Manning and Lamy 1999)

A particular problem was the balance between the constraining effects of setting a task and the need for flexibility in order to generate interaction. The researchers observed that on-line interaction is an unknown field which raises new questions for pedagogy. These were, in fact, political issues, deriving from new relationships between learner and teacher. Two different forms of tutor strategy had emerged, the 'social' and the 'cognitive', and the data suggested that a combination of the two approaches is necessary for successful reflective learning to take place. The researchers concluded that further exploration of these issues was needed and tutor training in new pedagogical methods would be vital.

Significance for the key factors

Now, then, in addition to the macro-political issues recognised in the researchers' application for funding, they were encountering micro-political factors at the professional level: in calling for a new pedagogy, *academic capital* was inherently challenged. What was only nascent in Lexica 1 was now visibly crucial to the success of on-line learning in general, going well beyond the subject-specific level. Traditionalists would need to be convinced of the academic benefits of new methods. Some resistance to change would be natural, and, the research had already seen that there were patent implications for the traditional relationships of power both between students and teachers, and between teachers. By definition, autonomous learning demands a different relationship from that where the teacher is assumed to be omniscient in the field.

Indeed, the present researcher wrote of the tutors

Although each person had received the same brief, their own input and the output produced by their groups vary considerably in both quantity and quality ... Whilst we have seen very high quality tutor input from one (T2), its quality was undermined by the lack of quantity; on the other hand, the quantity of T3's input appears to have superseded any problems perceived by the tutor herself concerning its quality (i.e. errors). Between the two extremes, T1 succeeds in encouraging risk-taking output, but this remains of more manageable proportions and so receives detailed critique. We might hypothesise that this is because she retains her tutorial role whereas T3 establishes more of a friendly relationship with her students. This entails a vast student output, to the ultimate detriment of the feedback that is feasible. On the other hand, without this affective attention, risk-taking does not occur, as exemplified by T2's silent group. (Willis 1999)

Although couched here in terms of input and output of the learning process, the question of risk-taking had political dimensions: to what degree were students and tutors willing to depart from traditional assumptions regarding their roles?

4 Stage 3: Lexica Online 3 (2000)

Aims and process

Perhaps reflecting the increasingly obvious political issues entailed in introducing a new pedagogy of on-line language learning, the research team sought external (ESRC) funding for the next major stage of their research. To support this application, they developed their data through a third phase of the programme, and commissioned reports from two (external) academic referees.

Lexica 3 addressed emergent problems, but this time, Level 1 students of French⁶ were involved and a different technological platform was used. Students' linguistic competence would have several implications for programme content and process, though the research objectives were familiar:

- (a) increasing vocabulary (this they do on their own with the Lexica software, and
- (b) getting them to raise their awareness of vocabulary, lexis and language work in general, through interaction of a forum. (Lamy 2000:6)

Where earlier versions had provided face-to-face tutor training, Lexica 3 issued printed and on-line guidelines. Significantly, tutors were now explicitly designated 'facilitators' and advised:

Remember: a facilitator is not a resource, but should direct people towards resources. (Lamy 2000:3)

The programme was adapted to meet the different linguistic competence of Level 1 students (e.g. students could use either French or English), and was paced with 'weeks off' to coincide with the time of course assignments. Their tasks used FirstClass conferencing software for the Lexica programme, and they were assigned to groups, each with its own facilitator.

Phase 1, weeks 1-3 of the project, were designed for social and technical induction, and required no language work. Students were encouraged to appear on the asynchronous on-line forum and to acquaint themselves with each other and with the software.

From weeks 5-9, facilitators posted tasks on assigned days in their group forum, and were instructed to 'encourage their lexical work by mixing in "social chat"' (Lamy 2000:2). Drawing from previous experience, the Facilitators' Notes gave detailed guidance and examples of how to conduct the role. Importantly, facilitators were told to anticipate a drop-out rate of between a third and a half, and not to see this as failure on their part. In order to provide on-going moral support, a staff email exchange was available.

The final phase, week 10 of the project, was for facilitators to gather together their groups' work, comment generally on it if they chose, and make their farewells.

Findings

The differences between the outcomes of Lexica 3 and its predecessors were striking, and related to both learning and pedagogical practice. The writer recorded

I did not get the same sense of being in a team as I had previously (Willis 2000:1), attributing both a lack of team unity and diversity of facilitator practice to the absence of face-to-face training. She concluded:

- The whole team needs to accept the procedures required.
- Perhaps the preparation period should involve more interaction between members of the team, to build team spirit (Willis 2000:1)

Although the FirstClass technology was more user-friendly than WebCT, there were also questions of learner competence. The researcher's

impression was that this was too demanding for Level 1 students. They did not appear to be able to cope with the linguistic demands at the same time as dealing with new software and technology. (Willis 2000:2)

Significance for the key factors

So, in terms of the key factors, Lexica 3's subject *content* may have been inappropriate for these learners; *human capital* was affected by the nature of professional training provided and learners were affected by the need to learn new skills and simultaneously apply them to language learning; ideologically (*social capital*), differences were apparent between facilitators; and *access* was shown here to be an issue of academic competence. *Structurally*, the organisation of the medium were felt by at least one facilitator to be lacking an important element:

I would have liked to have my group's email addresses in order to pursue lurkers and absentees myself. I suspect they would have found it more difficult to resist pressure from their tutor than from a more 'distant' figure. (Willis 2000:3)

With hindsight, it is obvious that the writer was touching upon changes in relationships of power, expressing a desire for greater facilitator autonomy than Lexica 3 permitted. In this project, the moderator had sole possession of student email addresses so was responsible for chasing up absentees from all groups, whereas in previous versions, the tutor (facilitator) could do this. In removing this often labour-intensive duty from the facilitator, the writer experienced a diminution in her role, though she externalised this as being pedagogically detrimental: she speculated that her students would have been more responsive to her than to a relative stranger, the impersonal moderator. This implicitly assumes that the tutor would have a greater degree of power in the eyes of students.

Lexica 3 reflects pedagogically driven use of new technologies but, at the stage of their development, many of these instruments were unfamiliar to students and staff. They were therefore less effective than they might have been. Clearly, this is a problem which will decrease as ICTs become established. The political issues relating to student-facilitator, and facilitator-moderator roles will need more proactive intervention.

5 Stage 4: Simuligne (2001)

Aims

The fourth stage of the research marked a new direction. Funded by the Ministère de la Recherche (France), it formed one element of a joint research project by the Open University, Besançon and Nancy Universities into Integration and Cognitive Change in Online Group learning (ICOGAD). It was proposed as

a 10-week task-based conference. The project will analyse interaction between learners of French as a foreign language, native speakers and teachers for their linguistic and intercultural implications. (Lamy, Hassan, Chanier 2001)

This indicates a first difference from Lexica: the apparently greater concentration on intercultural issues i.e. relating to *social capital*, values, giving it a more highly political emphasis. It would be wrong, though, to interpret this as a departure from the linguistic and pedagogical foci of the earlier projects. As the researchers explained, these issues are intricately interconnected: effective language learning depends upon certain conditions, one of which is

good rapport-building and rapport maintenance. Another is the opportunity for learners to form a community in which to create and negotiate roles and projects i.e. to be prepared to deviate appropriately from the teacher's agenda. This has proved to be most successful when language learning and cultural learning are closely associated. The third condition is that learners should be explicitly shown how to engage in reflective discourse, to ensure that deficiencies in the type of interactive competence which is specific to this medium do not jeopardise retention. (Lamy, 2001)

In effect, the research was attempting to resolve the question of changed relationships between tutor/facilitator and student, ensuring that greater learner autonomy was built into the programme.

The greatest difference between it and Lexica lay in the use of a new pedagogical model: this was founded on the notion of 'simulation', a process the team adapted from classroom to on-line use. 'Simulations' were first created in Europe during the late 1970s. A good description is offered by Albert (1998)

Le principe est simple. On choisit un lieu: un château, un immeuble, un cirque, un village, un camping, un hôtel, etc. On 'place' dans ce lieu un nombre limité de personnages. On donne une identité à ces personnages: un nom, un âge, une profession, des traits de caractère, un passé, des habitudes. Puis, on met ces différents personnages en relation: ils se disputent, ils s'aiment, ils s'organisent, ils ont des problèmes et les résolvent, ils se téléphonent, ils s'écrivent. Ils vivent ce qu'on peut vivre ou rêver de vivre. Bref, ils recréent le monde.

(The principle is simple. You choose a location: a castle, a block of flats, a circus, a village, a campsite, a hotel, and so on. You put a certain number of people in this location. You give each character an identity: a name, age, profession, personality, a past, habits. Then you put these different characters together: they argue, fall in love, organise themselves, get into difficulties, resolve their problems, phone and write to each other. They experience everything you can imagine life to offer. In short, they recreate the world.)

The (micro) political relevance of this model was acknowledged:

the choice of a 'simulation globale' on-line fulfils our requirement for a constructivist approach and for a community in which learners are invited to negotiate. It answers our design difficulty with the balance between 'teacher's agenda' and the learner agenda (i.e. between 'freedom' and 'limits'). (Lamy 2001)

Process

The OU's *Simuligne* project took forty of the Department of Language's present or former students of French and divided them randomly into four groups, each with a tutor (three Francophone, one Anglophone), who was an Assistant Lecturer and/or a member of the research team. Students were offered additional cultural and

linguistic support by native French PGCE students of English at the University of Besançon, and colleagues from that university provided ongoing technical expertise and tutor training.

The programme used WebCT technology to 'create' an imaginary university town, campus and characters. The sophistication of technology available after only three years' development was staggering: participants exchanged written text, photographs, other images, and sound recording, in files which were transferred via email and the website. In order to design the imaginary town and campus, specific tasks were set, supported and 'marked' by the tutor, according to a tightly regulated time scheme. As well as asynchronous participation, synchronous communication took place with the tutor managing on-line 'chat' (text) and white board drawing exercises. The groups' finished works were uploaded by the tutor on to the group forum, and at the end of the project, all participants (learners, tutors et al.) voted according to specific criteria in order to select the winning 'simulation'. A small prize was awarded to members of the winning project⁷.

A common forum for all groups was also accessible for peer discussion where student-student-tutor-native speaker interaction could occur in either language, on an equal footing, and focused on cultural and semantic issues.

Course content and technology therefore differed from previous projects, and the objectives were broadened. The cultural dimension was integral to the resources and tasks, the final discussion being explicitly designed to compare experience in the two cultures by examining reaction to certain words and situations. French PGCE students were available to give support as students wished. In the event, the PGCE students participated minimally, partly because of their unfamiliarity with the technology, partly because of difficulties in gaining access to a computer.

Another innovation for *Simuligne* was the nature of tutor preparation given. This took the form of three weeks of on-line training immediately prior to the students' arrival. For two of these weeks, the tutors became students, with the French co-ordinator acting as their group tutor. By participating in activities similar to those which their students would perform, tutors learnt how to use the technology and to appreciate the problems of learners. In the third week, roles were reversed, with the French co-ordinator taking the part of a floundering student, and tutors individually working with her, thereby familiarising themselves with the types of advice and specialist vocabulary they would need. This was an ingenious and highly effective – if stressful – form of training.

Findings

The data generated by *Simuligne* are, at the time of writing, still being analysed, so the following interpretation is predominantly personal, and based upon the researcher's weekly summative reports to the team.

As had been anticipated, student drop-out was extensive and two of the four tutor groups had to be combined part-way through the project so as to make a viable group for pair and collaborative work. Apart from the integrational difficulties this entailed for the two sets of students, this left one tutor redundant, despite the remaining tutors' strenuous efforts to keep her involved.

Lack of student response is a recurrent theme throughout the weekly reports. It was the quality and commitment of active students that sustained tutor motivation:

La participation des actifs de l'équipe m'encourage et m'inspire. (Willis 2001, week 5)

(I am encouraged and inspired by the active students' involvement)

Nevertheless, the reference to 'sleepless nights' recurs and is literal; by week 3 of the students' stage, the writer was describing 'a week of extremes, from delight to frustration'. Two weeks later, she concluded that there was 'a lot of effort on my part and little response from the students and native speakers (PGCEs).' The latter were logging on to the programme (all connections could be monitored by tutors), but were not engaging actively, notwithstanding invitations from the tutor to do so.

As for the students, the majority of the researcher's group notified her when they were about to leave the project. The reasons they gave varied and ranged from professional – a change of job – to irritation with technological problems; one person cited the reluctance of the PGCE students to participate. By the end of the group activities (week 8), the writer observed:

Il ne me reste que 2 actifs, mais 2 personnes vraiment fantastiques qui ont fait tout ce qu'il fallait – et encore plus.

Le 'groupe' a donc accompli les tâches, mais sur une très petite échelle. (Willis 2001)

(I have only two active students left, but two great individuals who have done everything required of them – and more. The 'group' has therefore completed the tasks but on a very small scale.)

In fact, the overall completion rate for the project was 26%, varying from 16% for students to 100% for tutors and co-ordinator.

Significance for the key factors

What does *Simuligne* reveal in respect of the key factors? Clearly, there was a great deal of effort put in to *human capital* (tutor training) and by tutors into their interaction with all colleagues and students. The research seems to have succeeded in producing a united and consistent tutorial team, but why was student and PGCE response so disappointing? To some extent, as has been noted, this can be attributed to questions of *access* to hardware, and familiarity with the software.

Despite training in use of the technology, the OU students were frustrated by failure to upload or download files at their first attempt. As with Lexica 3, the technology was still too novel for them to achieve maximum learning outcomes, since they had simultaneously to learn how to use the tools and to apply them to language learning tasks. *Content* was therefore too demanding.

The content of the programme appeared to be realistic and motivating for adult learners, but the researcher suggests that was still evidence of difficulty in adapting to new relationships (i.e. issues relating to *social capital*). Students did not draw upon the potential support that PGCE students might have provided; the PGCE students did not seem to know how to handle their role when they were neither qualified teachers, nor language learners, having a higher linguistic competence in English than did the OU students in French. This may once again indicate questions of academic capital and traditional assumptions on the part of both groups. Future research to test this theory and explore strategies for overcoming resistance is desirable.

Tutor-tutor, and tutor-co-ordinator relationships worked well, a strong empathy having been established through their shared induction experience. Tutor-student

relationships still reveal some of the problems associated with the exposure that on-line technology brings, as the writer herself expressed to colleagues:

je regrette qu'on ne puisse rappeler un message – je constate souvent que j'ai fait une faute de frappe et ça me gêne. (Willis 2001, week 2)

(It's a pity we can't recall messages – I often notice that I've made a typographical error, and it embarrasses me.)

In other words, despite conscious attempts to embrace the new role, the writer had not yet renounced her image of the tutor as perfect and omniscient.

Traditional attitudes were also apparent in the tutors' collectively expressed need to have hard copies of all the tasks and other resources. These were available on-line throughout their training and the student project itself, but the tutors felt pedagogically ill-prepared without having access to the medium they were used to. Consequently, the research team had to revise their plans and send tutors hard copies of all the resources. So, even individuals enthusiastic about new technology were finding it hard to abandon traditional practices.

The relationship between the learning objectives of *Simuligne* and the technology used appears to have been pedagogically led. Now, technology was able to support synchronous interaction, and visual (in addition to text) and sound files could be exchanged. This enabled more language skills to be developed. However, as noted earlier, *Simuligne* changed the parameters of the longitudinal research by introducing not only new technology but also a new conceptual model: simulation. Did this model underpin earlier research projects or had it just been discovered by the research team who, inspired by its principles, adapted it for their own use and bolted it on?

The significance of this for the present research is again political, since it coincides with a different form of funding. It raises the question, how academically independent can research be when externally funded, in this case, by the French government? Was the overt focus on cultural issues driven by the researchers' pedagogical ideals or did it reflect their response to a political priority, a desirable tactic if they were to succeed in gaining government funding? Interviews with the team might investigate this issue, but it is beyond the scope of this case study to do so.

The researcher is brought back to RI3, the hypothesis that it is political rather than pedagogical reasons that have driven England's foreign language learning discourse. Before examining the evidence for this and the other research issues, it is therefore appropriate to pause and consider the political agenda for foreign language learning during the period of these projects.

6 The political context of the OU research

Chapter 13 traced growing pressures for greater competence in foreign languages in England today, and set the background to an independent inquiry by the Nuffield Foundation into the current state and future linguistic needs of the nation. Launched in 1998, and reporting in 2000, the inquiry was contiguous with the OU research discussed and offers a model against which to judge the political compatibility of this work.

A consultative report, *Where are we going with languages?* (1998) was followed by the final report, *Languages: the next generation* (2000). Its main findings⁸ were distilled into twelve recommendations:

- 1 Designate languages as a key skill
- 2 Drive forward a national strategy
- 3 Appoint a languages supremo
- 4 Raise the profile of languages
- 5 Give young children a flying start
- 6 Improve arrangements in secondary schools
- 7 Make languages a specified component of the 16-19 curriculum
- 8 Reform the organisation and funding of languages in higher education
- 9 Develop the huge potential of language learning in adult life
- 10 Break out of the vicious circle of inadequate teacher supply
- 11 Establish a national standards framework for describing and accrediting language competence
- 12 Coordinate initiatives linking technology and languages

(Executive Summary 2002 pp 8-9)

A number of these issues have already emerged in chapter 13, and some government measures seen to be in hand. However, as the discussion has shown, political action has been incremental and often contradictory. Table 4.3 illustrates the point by taking six recent central initiatives and comparing them with the recommendations made by the Nuffield team. Colour coding distinguishes between action which is detrimental to language learning (dull yellow), and that which is supportive (bright yellow). The initiatives included are the introduction of a national curriculum and subsequent amendments made in 1996 and 1999; the creation of specialist schools (chapter 13) and two projects co-ordinated by the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research (CILT)⁹, the Comenius network and early year language learning (www.cilt.org.uk).

The latter are clearly related to England's role in Europe and to the nation's practical need for linguists. The researcher has proposed that there is also a symbolic need, if the country is to be seen as a willing partner in Europe. To this end, in 1992, the Comenius network was established, with fourteen centres in England and Wales, to provide

... a resource base, which may be visited by teachers; access to information from all the national agencies working in the field of languages; and a programme of in-service training and other events. (www.cilt.org.uk/comenius)

This addressed the question of teacher supply (human capital), required if linguistic competence was to be extended. It was a timely initiative, for, although the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Co-operation had pursued a policy on modern languages since its Convention statement in 1954 (<http://culture.coe.fr/langu>), it was only following the Maastricht Treaty (1992 Article 128) that the European Union (EU) was empowered to lay down

principles for implementing a common vocational training policy

thereby responding at last to the demands long made by British industry (Hagen 1998) for linguistically trained workers.

This response might imply that foreign languages were being given an essentially economic role, a role that was further supported by the EU launch in 1995 of the Socrates and Leonardo programmes: while the former embraced teacher training and school partnership initiatives, the latter provided grants enabling mobility across Europe for vocational training (www.erasmus.ac.uk).

But as figure 4.3 indicates, the government also tackled the country's linguistic deficiencies from the other end of the age spectrum when, in 1999, it revived an idea that had floundered in the 1970s (chapter 13): early-year language learning. This was via a two-year DfEE initiative, comprising various strands, designed

to promote and develop the provision and quality of Modern Foreign Language learning in the Primary sector.

Again, management and co-ordination were to lie with CILT, in a specialist unit, the National Advisory Centre on Early Language Learning (NACELL). Indicating political support, non-statutory guidance for foreign languages at Key Stage 2 was produced, intended for years 5 and 6, but adaptable for earlier years if primary schools so chose. Here, the contribution languages might make was stated in terms which clearly pursued symbolic, socialising aims:

the learning of a foreign language in primary school provides a valuable educational, social and cultural experience for all pupils. (QCA 1999)

When these various central initiatives are plotted against the Nuffield recommendations (table 4.3), it appears that all but two of the issues highlighted by the inquiry were already in hand. Of those that were not, it could be argued that one, the appointment of a language supremo, was subsumed within the role of CILT, whilst the other, the 16-19 curriculum, was about to be dealt with through the introduction of Curriculum 2000 (QCA 2000).

But the table proposes that there was another, overt, objective in these central initiatives, one which did not feature separately in the Nuffield list, although apparent throughout the report: it was assumed that the functional role of languages as a practical tool for communication was complemented by the ideological one described in the KS2 guidelines. Languages were to be a means of developing cultural awareness and tolerance.

However, the different colour shading in this table indicates that the putative means of achieving outcomes were ambivalent: where, for instance, the National Curriculum raised the status of foreign languages in 1988, subsequent amendments to the legislation have downgraded them. Since 1996, the colours change, suggesting that political values began to alter at this time. The researcher argues that this reflects ambivalence on the part of politicians, deriving from conflict – albeit unconscious – between the country's internal and external values, as they move tentatively towards the inclusive model of languages (figure 1.5). This addresses external, international needs, but it flattens the hierarchy supported by an exclusive model. The conflict is thus between maintenance of internal hierarchical structures and response to new external conditions, with different relations of power.

Table 4.3

Links between central action on foreign language learning in hand and the Nuffield Inquiry's recommendations (2000)

Central initiatives pre-dating Nuffield

1988 National Curriculum	Skills for work and travel				Implicit through KS3-4		Foundation Subject in KS3-4				Key Stage 4: GCSE		Cultural & language awareness
1992 Comenius network		Resource base for all + CILT							Leonardo strand	In-service training			Commercial partners, professions, governments
1995 Specialist Schools	Skills for vocation, training, HE									Learning society		Tech. culture	
1996 National Curriculum					Reduced level available		Short course option				New criteria		
1999 NACELL	Ultimate aim: languages as key skill	Pilot for future development				Primary sector				Coherence aimed for		Network using ICT	
1999 National Curriculum	Structure of language, skills	Down-grading KS4 assessment			Increased range of languages	KS2 guidelines [optional]	Reduced levels for assessment			Foundation for future study		Section on ICT	Citizens of world; understand cultures

Nuffield Inquiry recommendations

May 2000 Nuffield	Key Skill	National strategy	Langs supremo	Raise status	Early learning	Sec. curr'um	16-19 curr'um	HE curr'um & funding	Lifelong learning	Teacher supply	National standards	Link tech & langs	Other
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The government's formal response to the Nuffield Report was made by the Secretary of State for Education, David Blunkett, but he recognised that its recommendations went beyond education. He addressed each one in turn and concluded that it was the role of the specialist language schools and CILT to realise central policy.

Table 4.4 summarises the initiatives Blunkett cited to illustrate action on the issues identified by Nuffield. It uses the same colour coding as table 4.3, in order to distinguish between action which is supportive and detrimental. It suggests central agreement with all of Nuffield's conclusions except for the designation of languages as a key skill, and it again points to the negative impact on the status of languages caused by changes in KS4. However, the distribution of colours in these two tables is clearly different, indicating that interpretations of action were different - or not honestly expressed.

Part V will update central action on the recommendations to the present day.

Table 4.4

The government's response to the recommendations of the Nuffield Languages Inquiry (2000)

1 Key Skill	2 National strategy	3 Langs supremo	4 Raise status	5 Early learning	6 Sec. curr'um	7 16-19 curr'um	8 HE curr'um & Funding	9 Lifelong learning	10 Teacher supply	11 National standards	12 Link tech & langs
	Funding CILT as co-ordinator	Locally through LNTO	Specialist schools; EYL	Early learning pilot	NC revisions	Curr'um 2000, AS levels	Links with business; HEFCE funding	DTI, LNTO and RDA action	Golden hellos, grants, overseas recruits	Support of Council of Europe	NGfL; ICT in each KS; Japanese resources and links

In his response to Nuffield, Blunkett summarised the government's aims for language learning under six headings:

- curriculum and qualifications
- supporting materials for teachers
- the teaching capacity for MFLs
- incentives for trainee teachers
- business and adult education links
- work with European and other international partners

RI2 posits that political not pedagogical priorities direct language learning. If these six objectives were the centre's aims at the time of the OU research, how well did the latter conform with them? Section 7 will now use them as a framework against which to analyse the research, and consider its position in respect of the five key issues for change or stasis.

7 Evidence for the research issues

Curricular aims

How consistent is the OU research model with that favoured by government policy? Table 4.5 plots the objectives of the four research projects against Blunkett's six priorities for language learning. This enables comparison between OU and central aims in respect of each phase of the research, and also longitudinally through successive stages.

Tabulation is schematic and central priorities are closely interrelated; at the institutional level, it is difficult to separate strategic issues of curriculum (what to teach) from tactical, pedagogical matters (how and with which resources to teach it). For this reason, table 4.5 merges the columns for curriculum and qualifications, and supporting materials.

By using shading to highlight common interests, it is immediately visible where the OU was or was not consistent with central policy: they are those relating to teaching capacity and incentives. These are matters for central action, so it would be inappropriate for the researchers to focus directly on them, though clearly one of the outcomes of new pedagogical models might be to offer means to the government which would support them.

When examined for continuity of objectives across the four research phases, two observations are clear:

- 1 the research focused consistently on curriculum and teacher resources;
- 2 additional, new, dimensions were introduced for *Lexica 3* and *Simuligne*, addressing broader communities and working with a wider range of partners.

In terms of RI1, consistency with central models, it would appear that the research was closely and increasingly more aligned with them, with the result that by the fourth stage, *Simuligne*, all four of those which were within the remit of an institution were being addressed. Two points of political compatibility emerge: one, curricular values, the other, political structures and processes.

The nature of consistency with Product/Instrument objectives has already been demonstrated in the researchers' aim to develop practical language skills, and latterly, to increase the focus on socialisation. The research would potentially increase the nation's pool of communicative speakers, it was working to develop positive attitudes towards other communities, so its fundamental aims were politically acceptable. Its collaborative work with other institutions and international partners was also consistent with central policy.

However, although table 4.5 shows the expansion in research aims, it does not explain the reason for this. Was it pedagogically driven or were political factors responsible? In order to investigate the issue thoroughly, consultation with the research team would be necessary, but it has already been noted that this would imbalance the case studies and is practically beyond the constraints of this thesis. For this study, analysis must draw on the textual resources available.

Table 4.5

The research objectives and central priorities for foreign language learning as at 2000

Central issues for FL	Curriculum and qualifications	Supporting materials for teachers	Teaching capacity for MFLs	Incentives for trainee teachers	Business and adult education links	Work with European and other international partners
OU RESEARCH						
Lexica 1 1997	Promote autonomous vocab. learning and practice of reading skills. Generate online communicative interaction on development of reflective learning practices.	Test configuration of technology and tutorial support for dev. of reflective learning. Exploit Francophone web as learning resource.				
Lexica 2 1998	Help enlarge vocabulary through conscious connections. Collect and evaluate data on strategies used when learning vocabulary and reading texts. Focus on and promote student autonomy.	Test electronic dictionary and Lexica programme.				
Lexica 3 2000	Principles for environments, tasks and activities which support collaborative online learning.	Understand better processes of online interaction to develop pedagogy in pace with technology. Characteristics of good online language learner.			ODL becoming not only viable but preferred mode of learning. HE competition (national).	
Simuligne 2001	Relationship between pedagogically constructed community and emergence of community with own agendas.	Explore rapport maintenance, learning agendas, and interactive competence.				Gather info for later project exploring implications of using different environments for simulation. French partnership.

Content

The relationship between technology and values is highly complex in this study, as signalled by the fact that the research set out expressly to test the pedagogical suitability of *new* technologies, i.e. to test *innovation*. The question is, was the OU programme technologically or pedagogically led?

There is no straightforward answer to this, for examples of both determinism and functionalism are present in the team's relationship with ICTs. Whilst early stages of the research recognised that technology was not sufficiently developed to meet their pedagogical objectives e.g. synchronous communication on-line was not possible, it is clear that ICTs also shaped the nature of pedagogy, e.g. their response to the impact of on-line learning on the relationship between teacher and learner. Again, it is possible that the researchers set out with a political intention to alter these relationships of power but, without evidence to confirm this, it must be speculated that their pursuit of reflective learning discovered it in a neutral process and they responded on pedagogical grounds.

From the textual and experiential data currently available, it appears that the researchers' inductive methodology uncovered the (micro) political implications of these new technologies and, as each stage progressed, and even within a single project, the team adapted their methods in order to address changing relationships. The research team was willing to explore changes in relationship but, as this chapter has found, both learners and tutors had difficulties in adjusting to a new situation where learners had greater autonomy and teachers had to renounce power.

The researchers also took on board another consequence of ICTs: the independence of teachers is undermined, calling into question traditional disciplinary boundaries. They were able to engage in new forms of partnership, bringing together subject specialists from both linguistic and technological fields. To this extent, technology has both supported and demanded new working practices, and hence changed the relationships of power implicit in pedagogy. But in accepting these new practices, traditional boundaries were breached and that would challenge both professional and learner assumptions.

This illustrates the highly political nature of the research subject: relationships between various actors were involved, affecting *human capital* (willingness to engage in the new pedagogical process whether as learner or teacher) because traditional *academic* values were changed. As the team realised, participants had to be prepared for these changed assumptions - both ideologically and practically - and they attempted, in successive stages, to do so.

There is evidence to show that the researchers also sought to rally academic support for their proposals. The reasons for this can be attributed to two political factors, one internal, the other external: firstly, they were seeking research funding. In order to persuade the university of their academic capital, it would have been advantageous to have the endorsement of prestigious consultants in the field. A second reason may lie in the macro political context: HE institutions were - and are - in competition for students. In order to maximise the university's strength in the market place, partners with high academic capital are both practically and symbolically desirable.

This desire for academic authority may also explain why, after working across faculties within the university, the project subsequently established links with other

institutions. The nature of today's technology patently supports such working practices, but are they pedagogically or politically driven?

It has been seen that *Simuligne* introduced a new model of language learning, one which entailed greater emphasis on cultural dimensions. This stage of the research was funded by the French government. Did the researchers tailor their objectives so as to meet a European agenda or was the change of direction pedagogically driven? They were not working in a political or academic vacuum, so the team would have been aware of educational developments such as the professional concerns raised by the Nuffield Inquiry. What, if any, was the influence of these factors on their changed research objectives? Again, these are issues which could be explored by an in-depth study of the longitudinal research.

At a more parochial level, still, there were possibly other political influences on the content of the programme. In September 2000, the OU underwent a restructuring which brought the Department of Languages and the IET together within a single faculty. This new body identified its four aims as:

- To foster a research culture that supports both well-established and new academic researchers and research students.
- To work with practitioner researchers through our research activities and partnerships and through our research and taught higher degree programmes.
- To advance knowledge in the field of education, languages and related professional areas and make a positive contribution to policy and professional practice.
- To develop the relationship between our research and our teaching. Research carried out by members of the Faculty feeds into the supported open learning courses we produce for our UG, PG, doctoral and professional development programmes of study.

(www.open.ac.uk/education-and-languages/)

The Department of Languages stated its to:

- Promote a range of language courses in French, German, and Spanish, from beginners to honours degree level.
- To develop a languages-for-business strand, including the provision of residential schools abroad.
- To provide supported open learning both through text and multi-media modes.
- To link with the Council of Europe standards framework.
- To meet the needs of disparate markets, including lifestyle, academic and vocational markets, and direct our efforts towards individual and corporate requirements.
- To continue developing active research especially in the area of innovative methods of teaching and learning languages.
- To expand the portfolio of languages as demand and resources permit.
- To develop fully an on-line learning capability for our students. (ibid)

Did these departmental aims derive from ideology or the need, politically, to fight for academic capital within the new structural arrangement? Indeed, did the faculty aims seek to meet political priorities? Again, it is helpful to compare the departmental aims with the six central priorities proposed by Blunkett. Table 4.6 does this. If it is, in turn compared with table 4.5, there is clear continuity of aims and consistency with central objectives. The question remains, though: whose objectives were they?

Table 4.6
OU Language Department aims and government priorities for foreign languages

CURRICULUM AND QUALIFICATIONS	SUPPORTING MATERIALS FOR TEACHERS	TEACHING CAPACITY FOR MFLs	INCENTIVES FOR TRAINEE TEACHERS	BUSINESS AND ADULT EDUCATION LINKS	WORK WITH EUROPEAN & other INTERNATIONAL PARTNERS
<p>Promote a range of language courses in French, German, and Spanish, from beginners to honours degree level.</p> <p>To expand the portfolio of languages as demand and resources permit.</p>	<p>To provide supported open learning both through text and multi-media modes.</p> <p>To continue developing active research especially in the area of innovative methods of teaching and learning languages.</p> <p>To develop fully an on-line learning capability for our students.</p>			<p>To develop a languages-for-business strand, including the provision of residential schools abroad.</p> <p>To meet the needs of disparate markets, including lifestyle, academic and vocational markets, and direct our efforts towards individual and corporate requirements.</p>	<p>To link with the Council of Europe standards framework</p>

What conclusions can be drawn for the research issues from this case study?

RI1 Formal foreign language learning in England has been characterised by a lack of coherent policy.

RI2 Whilst this lack of coherence may, superficially, appear to be a question of competing functional needs, it is really a consequence of political factors.

RI3 Foreign language learning has changed in the context of new technology but the functional value of new technologies as pedagogical tools has both orchestrated a new discourse for foreign languages, and provided a mask for political manipulation.

The discussion has suggested that, in terms of consistency of aims (academic and social *values*), the research meets central concerns to increase England's linguistic capacity, as well as to address the value of alternative cultures. The languages (i.e. *content*) targeted by both the researchers and the government are compatible, springing from practical global usefulness, and also from the geographical proximity of their native speakers. The fact that these countries are also leading partners in the EC gives them a symbolic importance, too, if England is to be seen as outward-reaching to its partners. Like central discourse, the OU aims to extend the range of languages available in order to meet learner and other (e.g. industrial) needs.

The dearth of linguists is caught up in a vicious circle where inadequate numbers of language teachers perpetuate the situation. The OU research may provide a means of breaking out of this cycle, by producing resources which are appropriate for adults and motivating. The use of ICTs also offers a practical tool which may encourage learners by facilitating *access*, enabling them to study as and when they choose, giving them a greater sense of autonomy and supporting incremental life-long learning. This combination of *structural* and pedagogical change may be harnessed to raise the nation's linguistic competence.

In changing the content of language learning in order to achieve such goals, the relationship between different professionals and between learners and 'teachers' is changed. This will have implications for *human capital* on both sides of the pedagogical experience. It will demand acceptance of new forms of academic capital, so once again, the central issue is that of values. Whilst central policy may direct the focus of programmes, it cannot ensure internalisation of the values that the policy seeks to promulgate.

Herein lies the problem for innovators. The OU research appears to be consistent with central policy (RI1), but there is a suspicion that its agenda has been influenced by the political agenda. Once more, RI2 seems to be confirmed: policy is determined by political rather than pedagogical objectives. There is also a strong suspicion that technology has been brought in less for pedagogical than for political, economic, reasons. If these hypotheses are correct, the research must still deal with the same problems as met by Comenius and Sweet: it must win support of the values it represents.

Again, it is the values not only of professionals but of learners that must be engaged: ultimately, England's people must be persuaded of the value to them of learning a foreign language. Although perhaps better placed than Comenius and Sweet to succeed, given apparent political consistency, the model proposed by the OU research team can only succeed if learners accept this need. In addressing the practical questions of access, content and structural delivery, the researchers come a long way towards encouraging the horse to water, but can they make it drink?

¹ The Lexica software was first developed by the IET in 1991 for teaching English vocabulary

² 'The structure of the on-line forum is a threaded bulleting board system, accessed via a world web browser such as Netscape or Internet explorer. Messages are displayed in a hierarchy that shows which messages are responses to what other ones. Thus it can be seen "who is talking to whom".' (Goodfellow and Lamy 1997). See also <http://trout/open.ac.uk/bbs.html>

³ The specific objectives were to:

- test if students could use lexical tools without face-to-face supervision
- create self-sustaining interaction amongst students on line with minimal tutor intervention
- introduce students to the Francophone web in a controlled way.

⁴ Nine continued to participate, collectively producing 97 on-line contributions; one tutor produced 44, the other 13, whilst the moderator had 28 appearances.

⁵ Lexica 2 involved 30 intermediate level students of French, 3 tutors and 1 moderator, with student commitment to a minimum of 15 hours over 10 weeks. Two tutors were francophone, one anglophone.

⁶ Potential Level 1 students are advised: 'Although there are no particular entry requirements it is intended for students whose knowledge of the language is roughly equivalent to O-level, GCSE or Scottish Standard Grades 1 and 2. Your knowledge need not be formal'. OU Courses and Qualifications. See www.open.ac.uk/courses

⁷ In the event, in recognition of the immense effort made by all, the 'prizes' went to everyone.

⁸ Nuffield Inquiry Executive Summary (2000:6-7):

- English is not enough.
- People are looking for leadership to improve the nation's capability in languages.
- Young people from the UK are at a growing disadvantage in the recruitment market.
- The UK needs competence in many languages – not just French – but the education system is not geared to achieve this.
- The government has no coherent approach to languages.
- In spite of parental demand, there is still no UK-wide agenda for children to start languages early.
- Secondary school pupils lack motivation or direction.
- Nine out of ten children stop learning languages at 16.
- University language departments are closing, leaving the sector in deep crisis.
- Adults are keen to learn languages but are badly served by an impoverished system.
- The UK desperately needs more language teachers.

⁹ CILT's website home page reveals the extensive range of the Centre's activity: in addition to access and background details, it offers information on News, Library and Information Services, Continuing Professional Development, Publications, Training to Teach Languages, CILT UK/Comenius, CILT Direct, NOF-ICT Training, Research, Community Languages, Discussion Lists, Projects and Initiatives, Links, and Vacancies. It was originally established in 1966 to promote the national capacity in languages and, with its network of partners, it reaches all levels of language learning. In 1999, the DfEE appointed CILT to co-ordinate a Council of Europe initiative, the European Year of Languages (EYL); the Languages National Training Organisation (LNTO) is based at CILT, providing links with business, and being the official standard setting body for languages; latterly, it has established Network on the Net - Teaching Languages to Adults, a designated site for supporting lifelong learning.

SUMMARY

The aim of Part IV has been to examine in closer detail the relationship between change in foreign language learning and technology (RI3), and the relative functional and ideological roles (RI2) that languages have been expected to fulfil. It was proposed that case studies would give better insight into these two issues than can the historical overviews of Part III, which are more able to reflect continuity and consistency of policy (RI1).

The three case studies examined change at very different stages of technological development, though each was located during a period of high technological expansion. The aim was not to prove commonality between them, but to consider how each innovator dealt with the challenges posed by the changing social environment. The five key factors which can support or prevent change were evaluated in each case.

As anticipated, the complexity of factors surrounding the three innovators was such as to produce very different relationships with technology, and different potential for success of their theories. Nevertheless, it became apparent that the values of partners at each level in the educational process were central to success, though not in the usual hierarchical order.

Comenius' theory has been seen to have had high academic capital, and to have been popular with learners, but it did not succeed in his day because of its political incompatibility. It has been suggested that he deliberately sought to bring about social change through his educational (hence linguistic) model, and that he used technology instrumentally to achieve this. Whilst this motivated learners and was deployed to support teachers, thereby addressing questions of human capital, it failed. This was partly because technology was not yet sufficiently advanced to deliver his aims, but predominantly because Comenius did not carry with him those who held the power to determine who learnt what in seventeenth century England, namely the Crown and Church. His social values were ultimately inconsistent with the dominant orthodoxy.

By contrast with this political agenda, it has been argued that Sweet was lacking in political awareness and failed to recognise the need to rally more than academic support. Contrary to Comenius, his theory appears to have been pedagogically, not politically, led. But his linguistic objectives were ahead of current practice whilst the technology he proposed to use for realising them was behind the time. Both of these contradictory factors undermined his academic credibility, though with different professional groups. On the broader political front, he made no contentious proposals, seemingly being prepared to apply his language theory within existing institutional structures. It is suggested that in his case, Sweet failed to gain adequate support at the micro-political, pedagogical level so there was no need for political values to be invoked at the higher level.

The third case study involves a very different relationship between technology and pedagogy. The research team consciously sought to test the efficacy of ICTs for language learning, indicating an instrumental relationship. It has nevertheless been observed that the very nature of academic research in contemporary times is highly political, and that funding is more likely to be obtained if researchers investigate themes and areas of political value. It is therefore impossible to deny the possibility

that the researchers' theory has, to some extent, been determined by the political agenda for language learning.

Case study three has been seen to respond to issues of current political, and institutional, importance: the development of greater linguistic capacity for England, using new technologies, widening participation in a process of lifelong learning, and developing inter-cultural tolerance. It has also been found to have academic capital, something which the team have again explicitly pursued. There remains the need to convince professionals of the pedagogical value of a form of learning which alters traditional relationships, but this can be achieved gradually, with enthusiasts setting an example and being rewarded for their work in the field.

It has been suggested, though, that values at a different level of the process have still to be addressed: the researchers' programmes may be attractive to those already committed to language learning, but how do they propose to rally sufficient interest in a nation where language learning has been undervalued and at a time when English is so widely spoken? The researcher has proposed that, in this instance, political and professional support may be offered, but ultimately, would-be learners hold the power to make their model succeed or fail. Ironically, however great political or academic endorsement may be, learner commitment cannot be achieved through the imposition of policy.

If the researchers' and political objectives are to be realised, they must recognise the power of the nation's citizens and find means which will persuade them of the value of linguistic competence.

The three case studies have individually illustrated the different levels of commitment necessary for policy to succeed. They have separately made pedagogical proposals which address learner motivation once they are in the classroom (albeit a virtual one), but the question remains, how can they be encouraged to come to the classroom in the first place? This is the challenge for Part V to address.

PART V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

STRUCTURE OF THE ANALYSIS

Chapter 17 will bring together the preliminary conclusions drawn at the end of each historical period (Part III) and following the three case studies (Part IV) in order to come to a final response to the three hypotheses, namely that:

RI1 Formal foreign language learning in England has been characterised by a lack of coherent policy.

RI2 Whilst this lack of coherence may, superficially, appear to be a question of competing functional needs, it is really a consequence of political factors.

RI3 Foreign language learning has changed in the context of new technology but the functional value of new technologies as pedagogical tools has both orchestrated a new discourse for foreign languages, and provided a mask for political manipulation.

The analysis will use the framework offered by the five key factors (table 1.1) that have informed the discussion throughout. Their potential to create or prevent a 'linguistic divide' which has social implications reminiscent of the digital divide will be related to the nature of technology and its impact on social values. This will take up emerging evidence that these factors are closely interlinked, questions of *access* to foreign language learning reflecting and reproducing social capital, whilst *content* of programmes can be used to encourage or discourage perceptions of the value of languages to the individual.

It will be argued that there is evidence to support Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence. Self-exclusion appears to be responsible for low motivation for foreign language learning in England, but the researcher will return to the proposition that a process of habituation has, over time, obscured an initial political act of exclusion aimed at sustaining social differentiation.

This hypothesis will be explored by deconstructing the historical data which has been analysed chronologically on a model of curricular aims, ranging from acculturation (Content/Transmission), through practical application (Product/ Instrument) to symbolic, non-practical objectives (Process/Development). This will require examination of who has access to which languages, and in which institutions.

In order to test the suggestion of exclusion, a process of unconscious conflation will be demonstrated, whereby social class, institution and language learning have become merged. An emphasis on educational functionality will be shown to have facilitated the role of foreign languages in sustaining social stratification in England. Because of different perceptions of capital, the process has operated without its violence being evident.

It has also been supported by the serendipitous rise of English to become the international *lingua franca*. Historically, the English as a nation have had little functional need to learn foreign languages. Together, these factors have contributed to the indigenous people being predominantly monolingual, in the sense defined in Part I.

The escalation of technological development over recent decades has reduced the scale of the world, enhancing relationships across time and space. This has changed the functional need for linguistic competence in foreign languages, and the range of languages in which competence is desirable.

Globalisation has also brought changes in value both within nations and between countries. As the sources of economic capital have changed, so has the political power of nations. It has become increasingly necessary for new alliances to be formed, in order to maximise political and economic capital, but this inevitably affects traditional values and perceptions of individual and national identity.

The researcher has proposed that there is a conflict between England's political need to accept membership of a new community, and with that, the need to learn the languages of that community, and its traditional internal values. There is a conflict politically, in so far as fear of change is associated with loss of identity, and this operates from national to individual levels. The external pressure for change also has major implications for the internal structure of English society: the social hierarchy has, albeit covertly and complicitly, been sustained through an exclusive model of language learning. Adoption of an inclusive one which gave access to the external world would flatten social hierarchies at home.

The choice of remaining monolingual and socially hierarchical, or embracing bilingualism and membership of a broader community is a matter for political judgement. But it is, ironically, bound up still with perceptions of functionality. The English people have so well adapted to the exclusive model, and English is so widely spoken, that motivation for language learning is a significant obstacle to the nation making this change.

Chapter 1 described the state of language learning in England as being in crisis. Since the research began, the Nuffield Languages Inquiry (1998-2000) has demonstrated just how critical this is, yet recent political response is ambivalent. There is an intellectual understanding of the need for change but, perhaps, an affective fear of embracing it.

This thesis hopes to contribute to the debate. By examining the problems from a critical perspective which addresses not only the practical obstacles to change but also the political issues involved at various levels in the chiasma, the researcher seeks to add a different dimension.

To this end, chapter 17 will be followed with an alternative approach to effecting change in the language learning habits of England, one which may complement the functional action proposed by other policy makers.

CHAPTER 17

THE EVIDENCE FOR THE RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Chapters 8-13 have each concluded with a summary of the models of language learning normal in respective centuries, the languages taught and the institutions in which they have been offered. Building upon the data for successive periods, it has been possible to produce an overview which allows for comparison between institutions at any point in time, and also longitudinally.

The figure devised for illustrating this plots the curriculum on a continuum of possible models, ranging from Content/Transmission (0), where the primary objective is reproduction of social capital, through Product/Instrument (3), functional aims, on to Process/Development (6), where learning is of the non-practical, liberal kind. Colour coding has been used to represent the languages offered in each institution (blue = classics, red = common modern languages [e.g. French, German], yellow = less commonly taught languages). Figure 5.1 brings together for the first time the detailed overviews of each of the four focal centuries, thus giving a chronological account of England's foreign language learning from the seventeenth to twenty-first centuries.

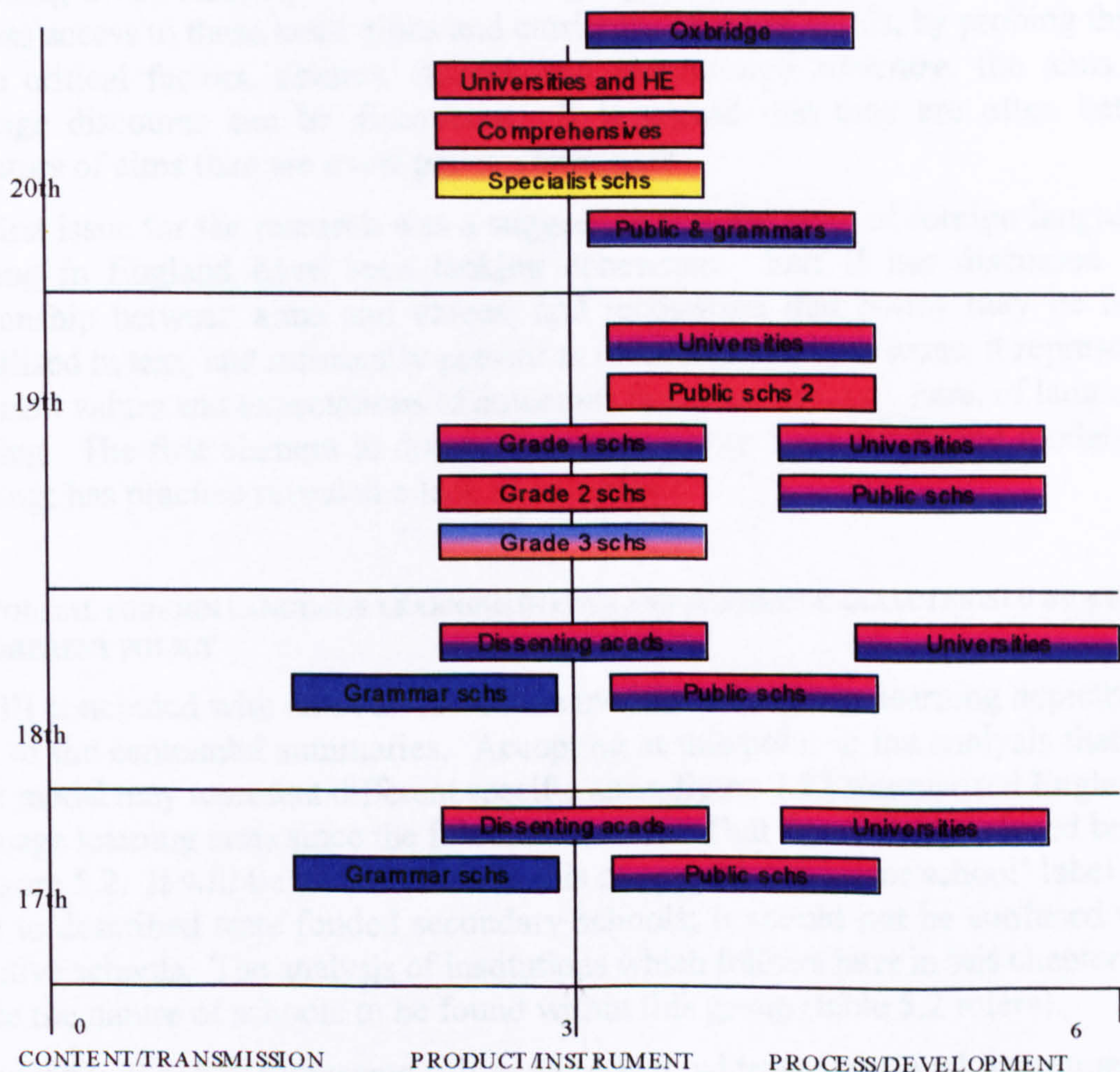


Figure 5.1

Foreign languages and their places of learning in England from the 17th to 20th centuries

Three striking features are revealed:

- 1 the increased diversity of institutions;
- 2 the diversity of languages learnt within a single period;
- 3 the changed range of these languages over time.

This growing complexity has been apparent throughout the discussion, and has been seen to entail the creation and disappearance of new institutions, or new titles for institutions which serve the same purposes as their differently named predecessors. Figure 5.1 is a useful illustration because it enables these differences in title to be acknowledged, but it does not indicate which are counterparts of previous institutions and which are new.

The image is valuable in highlighting issues, but it does not explain the reasons for the changes it points to. It can therefore be but a starting point for analysis of the data from which responses to the three research hypotheses must be given. Why have the institutions become more diverse? What, if any, is the significance in their offering different languages? Why have the languages taught changed with time?

Parts III and IV have suggested that answers to these questions can be found by examining *which* language and level of language is taught; *where* it is taught, and *who* has access to these institutions and curricula. In other words, by probing three of the critical factors, *content*, *access*, and *institutional structure*, the aims of language discourse can be discovered. It is argued that they are often better indicators of aims than are overt policy statements.

The first issue for the research was a suggestion that the aims of foreign language learning in England have been lacking coherence. Part II has discussed the relationship between aims and values, and recognised that policy may be both formalised in text, and informally present as discourse. In both cases, it represents dominant values and expectations of outcomes from the process – here, of language learning. The first element to deconstruct from figure 5.1 must be the models of learning: has practice revealed a lack of coherence?

RII FORMAL FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ENGLAND HAS BEEN CHARACTERISED BY A LACK OF COHERENT POLICY

Part III concluded with an overview of the models of language learning depicted in each of the centennial summaries. Accepting at this point in the analysis that the same model may represent different specific aims, figure 3.22 summarised England's language learning aims since the fifteenth century. That figure is reproduced below as figure 5.2. It will be recalled that, in this image, the 'grammar school' label was used to describe state funded secondary schools; it should not be confused with selective schools. The analysis of institutions which follows later in this chapter will probe the nature of schools to be found within this group (table 5.2 refers).

If educational policy represents values and has to address functional, instrumental, needs, it would be perfectly reasonable for language learning's objectives to have changed as social and vocational circumstances have altered. To deduce from the rise and fall of each horizontal line (the historical model of each institutional group) that policy has been incoherent and incremental would therefore be simplistic.

Readers will observe that policy from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has been included in this figure. The reason for this is that, in order to address RI1, a longitudinal view is necessary, and the longer it is, the more detailed the analysis. The figure gives a wider period over which to examine continuity within an institutional group, as well as to compare differences between them. Again, this enables differences to be visible, but does not yet explain their causes. So, for instance, the sixteenth century emerges as a significant period for the public schools (red line) and universities (yellow), in contrast to the grammar schools (blue), which retained a steady Product/Instrument – Content/Transmission orientation for four centuries.

Superficially, it might be thought that the grammar school curriculum has had a continuous objective, with change occurring in the nineteenth century, and then stability returning but with an adjusted curricular model. Why though, did it change, why then, and why did the form of schools diversify during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?

Similarly, figure 5.2 shows that both the universities and public schools have had changing objectives. Does this mean that they were drifting, without policy, from one to another, or do the changes in direction have a political significance? And why do their paths follow such different patterns? Why did the universities move towards the extreme, Process/Development model of language learning then, recently, move to that of Product/Instrument? Why have all institutional types come to this common form of learning?

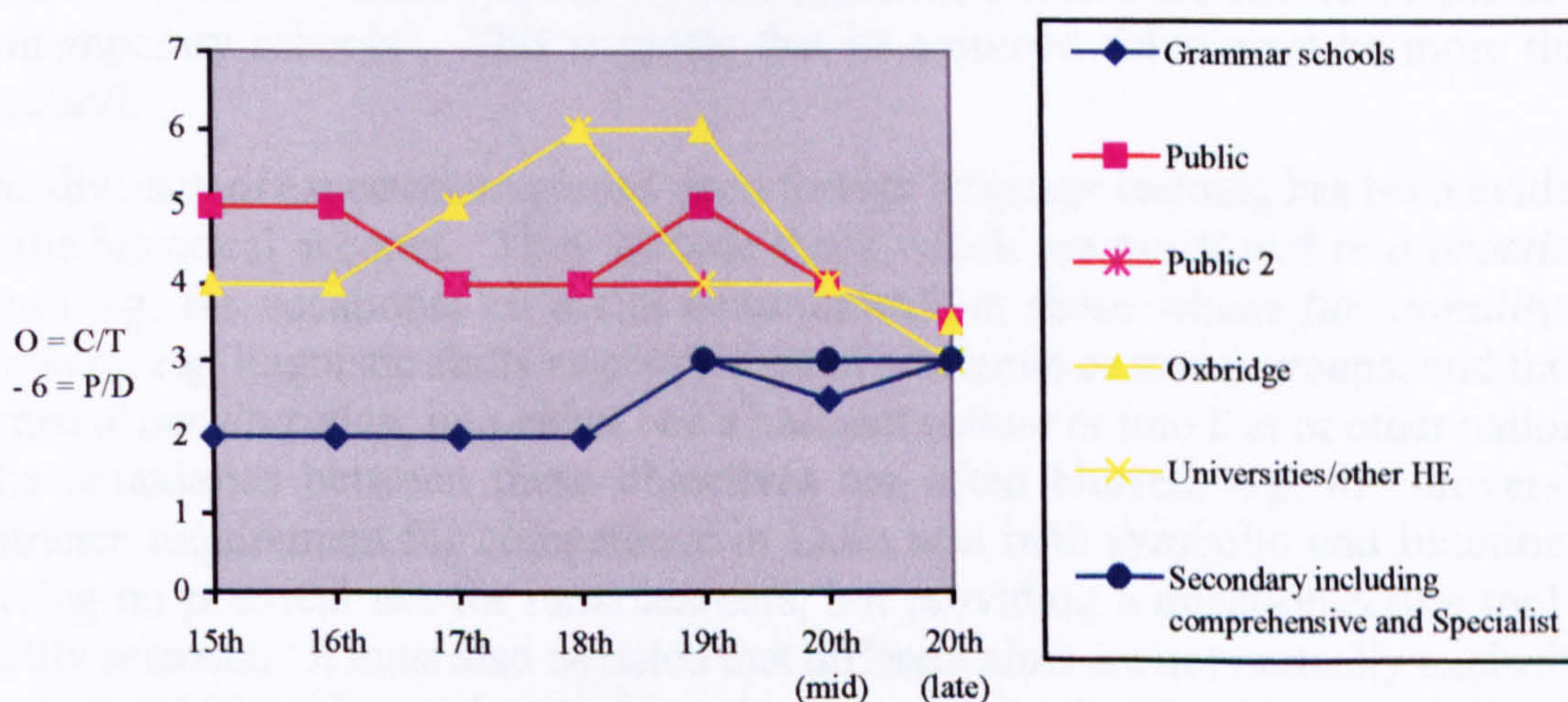


Figure 5.2
Language learning aims to late 20th century

Parts III and IV have seen that changes are not necessarily a sign of incremental, incoherent policy making. It has, rather, been argued that a definite policy was being pursued, but that it was not overtly acknowledged. Each chapter has proposed reasons for these changes in *content* - the language itself, form of language and depth of study. What is taught reflects the values attributed to language learning, its perceived function. RI2 suggests that the reasons for change are essentially political, not functional. In order to examine this claim, alternative indicators of objective have been probed: the *language* learnt, those of who has *access* to learn them, and the *institutions* within which they are taught. What does the evidence show?

RI2 WHILST THIS LACK OF COHERENCE MAY, SUPERFICIALLY, APPEAR TO BE A QUESTION OF COMPETING FUNCTIONAL NEEDS, IT IS REALLY A CONSEQUENCE OF POLITICAL FACTORS

Whether England's foreign language learning has been subject to formal policy or arisen from informal discourse, assumptions of value pervade it. What role have languages been assumed to fulfil? Previous chapters have discovered the variety of roles attributed to languages, some purely instrumental, others oblique and symbolic; some targeting individual need, others that of a group or society. It has been suggested that aims have been differentiated and focused on functionality, obscuring their symbolic value, and that a conflation of language, institution and social class of learners has supported this.

The process of conflation must be examined, which requires deconstruction of each of the elements represented in figure 5.1: curricular aims, language, and institution. The discussion begins with language and its perceived function.

Foreign languages and assumed function

Figure 5.1 shows that the range of languages taught in secondary and higher education has changed and diversified. Why has this happened? In purely functional terms, it is logical that Latin should have been replaced by modern languages once it ceased to be the international *lingua franca* and that today, when global communication is so much greater, a wider range of modern languages should be desirable. But as Parts III and IV have seen, Latin continued to be taught long after its functional value as a means of academic communication and of access to scholarly texts had ceased. Indeed, as the figure illustrates, classics are still to be found in contemporary schools¹. This suggests that its assumed value must be more than practical.

The diversity of expectations placed upon foreign language learning has been evident in the historical account. They include those which are *functional in a practical sense* e.g. for vocational or social communication; those whose *functionality is symbolic* e.g. linguistic skills as perquisites of academic or social groups; and those aimed at *acculturation*, into either one's national culture or into that of other nations. The boundaries between these objectives are often blurred, e.g. the university entrance requirement for competence in Latin was both symbolic and functional, having no practical use for most learners, but providing a quasi-objective tool to justify selection. It must also be noted that different aims are not mutually exclusive: as chapter 16 has observed, today's curricula are expected to develop communicative skills as well as to sensitise learners to other cultures and their values.

Recognising that aims merge into one another, the three broad curricular models have been located on a continuum which has used three descriptors. In effect, these equate to symbolic, practical (functional) and socialising aims, which can be seen as extending from a pure individual focus (Process/Development) through to purely collective needs (content/Transmission). In other words, the familiar spectrum can be alternatively described, from right to left, using these terms, whose meanings are more immediately apparent. Hence,

Symbolic	=	Process/Development (P/D)
Functional	=	Product/Instrument (P/I)
Acculturation	=	Content/Transmission (C/T)

Chapters 13 and 16 have summarised the expectations placed upon language learning. These indicate that the three broad aims for language learning can each be subdivided into two types of objective:

- symbolic may be related to *academic* or *social* status; this depends on having exclusive access to foreign languages;
- functional uses may be for *vocational* or *social* purposes;
- acculturation may be socialisation into the values of the *nation* or of *another culture*.

This means that the three models of curriculum encompass six possible aims:

Academic Symbolic Social	=	Process/Development
Vocational Functional Social	=	Product/Instrument
National Acculturation International	=	Content/Transmission

Returning, then, to figure 5.1, the question of language and aims can be refined. The institutional dimension can be removed for now, and aims broken down into these six types. Table 5.1 maps the language(s) taught in each of the four centuries against these possible objectives. The usual colour coding differentiates between classical and modern languages, and at this stage, no distinction is made within the classics or within modern languages. A new element has been included, though: the role of English has appeared, represented by turquoise. This has been brought in because English was found (chapters 8-10) to have an important part to play in socialisation into England's cultural norms.

The table can be read vertically, in order to show which of the curricular aims was addressed at any given time, or horizontally, to provide a longitudinal account of which languages have been used for a particular aim. So, for instance, functional aims were met in seventeenth century England by Latin, and thereafter by modern languages.

Once more, the colours illustrate change over time from the classics to modern languages, but the blank cells are also important to the question of linguistic aims, as they point to any roles that a language was not expected to fulfil in a given period. For example, the data suggest that foreign languages did not have a noteworthy role as an instrument for social communication in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Similarly, the appearance of blank cells against the symbolic functions of foreign languages in contemporary England must also be noted, along with the increased expectation for modern languages to bring about understanding and tolerance of other cultures.

Table 5.1
The aims of language learning in England from the 17th century to the present day

		17 th century	18 th century	19 th century	mid 20 th c.	Present day
SYMBOLIC [P/D]	Academic	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin	ML
	Social	French	Latin	Latin	Latin	ML
FUNCTIONAL [P/I]	Vocational	Latin	MLs	MLs	MLs	MLs
	Social			MLs	MLs	MLs
ACCULTURATION [C/T]	National	English	English	English	English	English
	International				MLs	MLs

If these aims are translated back into curricular models, the classics (blue) have become associated with the non-practical objectives characteristic of Process/Development, though some modern languages are re-emerging in this role; modern languages (red) are aimed at the functional, Product/Instrument model, where originally Latin played this role; and English is used for introduction to cultural values (Content/Transmission), but has been joined latterly with modern languages associated with acculturation into different communities. To summarise (brackets indicate a past or emergent role):

PROCESS/DEVELOPMENT = [Modern languages]
Latin

PRODUCT/INSTRUMENT = [Latin]
Modern languages

CONTENT/TRANSMISSION = English
Modern languages

Academic, social and economic capital

Parts III and IV have traced the development of a hierarchy between practical and non-practical forms of learning, a hierarchy which continues to this day. It has been argued that it derives in the case of languages from a conflation of functionality with the language that serves a function, learner and institution; it hinges on the assumed social and academic status of different forms of learning.

Social relationships have been interpreted within a chiasmatic structure. This has found that the same struggles for power take place at each level of the web of relationships. Whilst there is a national competition for power, so is there one internationally, and likewise within sub-groups of both. Groups are not discrete entities, since any individual may be simultaneously involved in different fields of struggle within the chiasma.

The source of conflict is competition for what an individual or group perceives to be of value (capital). The discussion has focused on three forms of capital: social,

academic and economic. Social and academic capital are symbolic, and derive from exclusive position or possession of a commodity; economic power is practical, functional, and derives from possession of wealth. Clearly, social and academic capital may contribute to the ability to gain economic wealth, illustrating once more the complexity of factors which will impel an individual to act in a given way.

It is this inherent struggle for possession of power that underpins the development of an academic and, here, linguistic, hierarchy and the process of conflation. The discussion will return shortly to this conflict.

Foreign languages and conflated institutions

First, to unpick conflation further, the next question to ask is, which institutions have pursued each form of learning? Returning to figures 5.1 and 5.2, the institutional data must now be extracted and analysed using the same format as table 5.1, in order that the linguistic objectives and institutions may next be compared.

For two reasons, these data are not easily tabulated: firstly, as has been discussed, the nature and nomenclature of institutions has changed over time; secondly, aims are not always reducible to a single curricular model. So, for instance, the institutions that are today called comprehensive schools, have been preceded in earlier periods by alternative state establishments, within different educational structures. To equate successive models is not strictly accurate, but the tabulation can indicate the general orientation of language learning in the state schools of each period.

Where more than one curricular objective has been apparent at any time, the researcher has had to judge, from the evidence presented in Part III, which was dominant. The precise location on the spectrum of aims of models where such decisions have had to be taken can be found by consulting figure 5.1, where the model will be located at an interim point between two curricular models.

Table 5.2 uses the same format as table 5.1, in order to examine the comparative profile of linguistic aims and institutions. To avoid further complication of the image, no distinction is made at this stage between the two sub-divisions of each curricular aim e.g. between vocational and social instrumental use. The detail of these can be found by consulting chapters 10 to 13.

The same colour coding for institutions is used in table 5.2 as for figure 5.2 (blue = grammar schools, red = public schools, yellow = universities). However, this table now distinguishes between the types of secondary schools by shading the dissenting academies and non-selective schools grey and green, respectively. As before, the table can be read vertically, for an overview of which institutions addressed which linguistic aims within a period, and horizontally, for a chronological view of the institutions which have pursued each aim. So, for instance, symbolic aims are shown to have been the objectives of the universities and public schools, and such aims have become lost over the last century.

As the increase in colour implies, there has been an expansion in those institutions whose aims for language learning are practical. Originally, these were the preserve of the grammar schools and dissenting academies, but at the time of writing, a plethora of private and publicly funded institutions exist and they are all directed towards this model.

Foreign languages' role in acculturation emerges as another point of difference: it is a recently developing role, one initially associated with the lower levels of linguistic learning, particularly in the lower streams of secondary schools, but now receiving greater prominence in central initiatives.

Table 5.2
Foreign languages and place of learning

	17 th century	18 th century	19 th century	mid 20 th c.	Present day
SYMBOLIC Academic & Social	Universities	Universities	Universities		
	Public schs	Public schs	Public schs		
FUNCTIONAL Vocational & Social	Grammar	Grammar	Grammar	Universities	Universities
				Public schs	Public schs
	Dissenting academies	Dissenting academies	3 grades secondary	Grammar	Grammar
				Tripartite secondary	Comp'ive
ACCULTURATION National & International				Tripartite secondary	Comp'ive
					Junior schs

To summarise this table, the institutions associated with each curricular model are:

- PROCESS/DEVELOPMENT = universities
- public schools
- PRODUCT/INSTRUMENT = [grammar schools, Dissenting Academies]
- now all secondary and tertiary institutions
- CONTENT/TRANSMISSION = [lower streams]
- Key Stage 3, state schools
- Optional: KS2

The common element of tables 5.1 and 5.2 has been the curricular model, linguistic aims. This enables the two to be compared and to bring together language and institution. If they are superimposed on one another, is there any correlation between languages and institutions, as revealed by the blocks of colour? There is clearly a coincidence between the yellow and turquoise cells in table 5.2 and the blue cells of table 5.1, in other words between Latin and the universities and public schools, and between modern languages and the range of institutions indicated. What is the significance of this?

The researcher proposes that it illustrates the source of unconscious connections made between institutions, forms of learning and the languages each offers, the beginnings of conflation. This can be visualised textually by combining the summaries of these two tables, as shown in table 5.3. So, for example, over time, Latin has become associated with non-functional aims and with the institutions where it was learnt, the universities and public schools. The use of modern languages for this symbolic function died out in the seventeenth century and resurfaced briefly in

the twentieth century but has now disappeared. Functional aims are met by modern languages and the institutions associated with them are the grammar schools, Dissenting Academies and now secondary schools of all types. Acculturation has been seen to depend traditionally on English, but modern languages have become increasingly expected to encourage positive attitudes towards different cultures.

Table 5.3

Associations between curricular model, language and institution

(Modern languages) Latin	PROCESS/DEVELOPMENT (symbolic)	universities public schools
(Latin) Modern languages	PRODUCT/INSTRUMENT (functional)	(grammar schools, Dissenting Academies) now all secondary and tertiary institutions
English Modern languages	CONTENT/TRANSMISSION (practical)	(lower streams) Key Stage 3, state schools Optional: KS2

Foreign languages and social class

The next stage of association is conflation of aims, languages and institution with the social class of those who attend an institution.

Chapters 8 to 13 have traced the diversification of schools, from an original model where access was open to males of any group, and where both vocational and non-vocational aims were served, through to today, when diversity of provision is encouraged. Providers and users are able to give different educational foci to these institutions, but, as figure 5.2 has illustrated, functional needs are predominant across all groups.

The relationship between learners' needs and those who attend an institution is indecipherable: which comes first, the institutional aim or the institution's clientele? The educational needs of learners are inextricable from assumptions of their future role in society. Parts III and IV have revealed a constant struggle between social capital (status), economic strength and academic capital for status within a field, and traced the nature of alliances and bargaining that determine an institution's programmes of study.

It is at this point that the importance of practical and symbolic aims can potentially be manipulated for political purposes, yet concealing the political objective. The curriculum can be tailored to discourage certain groups from choosing that institution. For instance, if Latin had no functional relevance to the average grammar school boy in nineteenth century England, he would be unlikely to attend an institution whose curriculum retained the classical model of liberal education. The question for the research is the degree to which that was his choice, or the effect of manipulation of the curriculum in order to sustain social differences.

The final element of conflation must therefore be put in place: who were the respective clienteles associated with each institution?

Part III has tabulated the model of language learning by century, including a description of who had access to each. If these data are extracted and combined using the same colour coding as earlier tables in this chapter, the result is too dense to be easily interpreted. Some further analysis is necessary before the types of learners associated with institutions can be summarised.

Table 5.4 begins by listing the institutions and the learners who had access to them from the seventeenth up to the mid-twentieth centuries. The data for more recent years have been held over for discussion later in Part V. They have been kept separate since they represent a very different, more complex, educational and social situation, albeit one ostensibly of equality of opportunity.

Table 5.4
Institutions and their learners

CENTURY	INSTITUTION	CLIENTELE
17 TH	Grammar schools	Mainly middle classes, but scholarship ladder for some poorer boys; conformists only
	Public schools	Nobility and nouveaux riches.
	Dissenting academies	Non-conformists, mainly boys, but also attracting Protestants.
	Universities	Upper class elites, but declining numbers.
18 TH	Grammar schools	Mainly middle class, plus few scholarships, conformists only
	Public schools	Affluent Conformist nobility and nouveaux riches
	Dissenting academies	Non-conformists, mainly boys, but also attracting Protestants
	Universities	Increasingly exclusive as reliance on fees
19 TH	First grade schools	Sons of higher professionals, some scholarships; to age 18
	Second grade schools	Sons of lesser professions; to age 16
	Third grade schools	Lower middle class boys; to age 14
	Public schools – mainstream	Wealthy nobility and nouveaux riches, fee payers
	Public schools – English forms	Scholarship boys
	Old universities	Ladder from public and first grade schools; effective exclusion as fee paying
	New universities	
mid 20 TH	Tripartite secondary schools	Compulsory to changing ages, by academic selection
	Public schools	Boys and girls mainly by economic capital
	Oxbridge Universities	According to academic and social capital; economic capital required
	Newer universities	According to academic and economic capital
	Other HE and HE	According to lesser level of academic capital

The groups who have access to each institution are effectively described here in terms of the type of capital they (i.e. their families) possess. These are *social capital* (assumed or attributed class), *academic capital* (formal qualifications), and *economic capital*. An additional form of social or cultural capital is found in the earlier centuries, where *religious values* are a source of exclusion from state institutions².

These four forms of capital are more manageable descriptors, and provide a shorthand for the final element of the conflated issues. Table 5.5 uses colour coding now to map the capital of those who have access to each institutional group. The left hand column reminds readers which functional aims have been associated with respective institutions, as summarised in table 5.3.

As the blocks of colour show, high social capital has been a continuous prerequisite for access to the universities, as has economic means. Academic capital is a comparatively recent requirement.

The grammar schools have required compliance with dominant religious values, and a certain degree of social, economic and academic capital in the nineteenth century, but the twentieth century saw the prioritisation of academic ability, consistent with the form of equality of opportunity discussed in Part III.

The Content/Transmission role of the grammar schools is also seen to revolve around religious compliance, but the references to lower social and economic capital reflect the nature of vocational occupation groups would have been prepared for. Chapters 10 and 11 have observed the distinctions made within schools to serve these different perceived needs. The Dissenting Academies are highlighted differently, to reflect their unauthorised status.

Table 5.5

Capital required for institutional access

	17 th century	18 th century	19 th century	mid 20 th c.
PROCESS/DEVELOPMENT Universities & public schools	Social capital	Social capital	Social	Social
	Economic capital	Economic capital	Economic	Economic
PRODUCT/INSTRUMENT Grammar schools, Dissenting Academies 3-grade secondary, tripartite schools, public schools	DAs: Religious values	DAs: Religious values	Social capital	Academic capital
			Economic capital	
			Academic capital	
CONTENT/TRANSMISSION Grammar schools	Lesser social capital	Lesser social capital		
	Lesser economic capital	Lesser economic capital		
	Religious values	Religious values		

By relating each of the elements conflated first to curricular models (aims), a common point of comparison has been achieved. It is now possible to bring together each of the above summaries in order to establish which institutions have become unconsciously associated, through centuries of habituation. Table 5.6 shows the results of this.

Table 5.6

Conflation of language, institution and capital

LANGUAGE	FUNCTION	INSTITUTION	CAPITAL
(Modern languages) Latin	PROCESS/DEVELOPMENT	universities	Social & economic then also academic capital
		public schools	Social and economic capital
(Latin) Modern languages	PRODUCT/INSTRUMENT	(grammar schools, Dissenting Academies)	Lesser social and economic capital
		Later secondary and tertiary institutions	Covertly social and economic capital, later also academic
English Modern languages	CONTENT/TRANSMISSION	(lower streams)	Lesser social and economic capital
		Key Stage 3, state schools	Lesser academic capital
		Optional: KS2	Higher academic (institutional) capital

Language, institution and learners are thus related through functionality. The researcher has suggested that the source of that conflation stems back to an initial act of symbolic violence, to restriction of access to certain forms of learning for political reasons, in order to sustain the social stratification that existed. How was this process effected and what part did technology play in its origin and maintenance?

RI3 FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING HAS CHANGED IN THE CONTEXT OF NEW TECHNOLOGY BUT THE FUNCTIONAL VALUE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES AS PEDAGOGICAL TOOLS HAS BOTH ORCHESTRATED A NEW DISCOURSE FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGES, AND PROVIDED A MASK FOR POLITICAL MANIPULATION

RI3 proposes that technology has both changed the social values and vocational needs, demanding different educational outputs, and that it has simultaneously provided instruments which can account for changes in language learning. The fundamental question therefore is, has language learning policy been technology led, or has it been ideologically led?

Part III has shown how restriction of access to foreign language learning has operated to sustain exclusivity and ultimately social differentiation, assuming an ideological aim. A model has been proposed, derived from Bourdieu, whereby an initial act of 'symbolic violence', has, over time, become assimilated into cultural norms. In this instance, the exclusion of certain social groups from having access to language learning has become accepted by excluded groups because of their focus on

functionality, ignoring possible ideological objectives. Seeing no practical value for themselves in knowing foreign languages, these groups have unwittingly colluded in a process whereby apparent self-exclusion perpetuates their 'disadvantage' and allows the higher socio-economic groups to retain foreign languages as a symbol of their status.

However, the question remains, was this act of 'symbolic violence' deliberate, an indicator of ideological aims? This chapter has traced how the process of synopsis occurred, but why did it happen? The researcher argues that it is an illustration of the ongoing struggle between different forms of power (capital) to obtain or retain dominance and that technological development puts pressure on the system for functional change which implicitly demands acceptance of ideological change.

Technology and competing forms of capital

It will be clear that the reasons for seeking to retain or change existing educational arrangements relate to possession of capital. The value attributed to social, economic and academic resources changes as technology brings different functional needs, and provides new tools for achieving them. A spiral of interaction between technology and social change has been found, revealing both functional and determinist directions of impact.

Whether pursuing change or stasis, a hierarchy of power has been apparent, with political capital being able to determine the respective value of social, economic and academic resources. If access to a highly valued resource is restricted, a hierarchy grows according to the degree to which individuals possess that resource. The history of language learning demonstrates how access to foreign language learning has been controlled and the process supported through institutional structures and individual assumptions of functionality.

Chapter 10 has shown that education in seventeenth century England was controlled for religious and political purposes, access to the grammar schools being confined to (male) Protestants. Education (academic capital) was thus exchanged for religious and political compliance, those receiving Latin learning being equipped for a functional role within a clearly defined social hierarchy. Having absorbed the dominant cultural values through their education, learners would contribute to reproduction of that culture both functionally and ideologically. As occupants of the middle and lower ranking 'white collar' positions, they would have a comfortable existence by comparison with their social 'inferiors', and, through acceptance of the dominant orthodoxies, would not question their having lesser status than others.

Those groups with superior social and/or economic capital were able to buy into a distinct form of education, that of the public schools which, as has been seen in Part III, retained an academic independence not enjoyed by the grammar schools, which were subject to statutes. Their financial and social capital gave both users and providers a degree of freedom which could be harnessed to tailor their curricula to different functional needs. Since they were preparing boys for either the higher professions or a social role where they would not need to work for a living, this enabled the schools justifiably to retain Latin, even as its practical value was declining, or to introduce 'modern' subjects in addition to the classics.

There was, then, implicit in this educational 'system', an acceptance of the divine structuring of society, and of the functional validity of different forms of education (then, language). The Church and Crown headed a hierarchy and sought to exclude those who refused to accept their values, whilst those who accepted them were socialised not to question what was ultimately God's will. Those providing education in turn basked in the reflected status of their institution and its clientele, so were complicit.

A limited degree of social mobility, promised by scholarships, completed the illusion of fairness that this differentiated structure offered.

For the needs of a non-industrialised, static society, this simple model sufficed, but Parts III and IV have traced the challenges triggered by scientific and technological development. Figure 5.1 shows this in the appearance of a new form of educational institution, the Dissenting Academies. Now, in defiance of legal constraints on the part of a Crown and Church whose authority they did not accept, non-conformists were ready to establish their own schools in order to provide a curriculum which was better suited to the functional needs of changing society. As case study 1 (chapter 14) has illustrated, Protestant belief made it the duty, not just the right, of man to seek to glorify God through scientific inquiry. This demanded change in access and content. So, in a spiral of ideological and technological change, social relationships were reformed, new instruments created and new educational needs required.

Case study 1 has shown the linguistic implications of these changes. Literacy spread as technology enabled cheap mass production of the printed word; market forces contributed to the production of these in the mother tongue; literacy led to greater questioning of assumed structures and norms, in turn causing greater threat to those who had traditionally occupied positions of privilege. English became the language of the nation's scientists, though Latin continued to provide a *lingua franca* for academe; the value of modern languages, especially those of near neighbours and politically powerful nations was becoming greater. Those institutions with socio-economic strength could respond to changing functional needs by offering modern alongside classical languages, as could the outlawed, and hence beyond statutory control, Dissenting Academies. Pandora's box had been opened but the changing market value of status, money and learning occurred only gradually and convolutedly.

Chapter 11 has seen eighteenth century endurance of *laissez-faire* attitudes, where the functional need for educational change was becoming increasingly obvious, but the respective willingness and power of different groups to achieve it was ambivalent. The intrusion of man-made factors such as international warfare, and natural disasters in the form of plague, added to the complexity of cause and effect. For education, and language learning in particular, the academic capital of the universities had sunk to a low as they became the idle preserve of those with high socio-economic capital. They were academically superseded by the higher Dissenting Academies where religious values did not limit scientific inquiry.

Another important constraint on educational change has to be the – albeit uncoordinated – alliance between the holders of academic and of social capital. This can be understood in terms of the chiasmic structure of society, wherein the same struggles for power occur throughout each field. Here, both academic and social groups had a common interest in resisting change, so, although they held different

forms of capital and different reasons, they shared a desire to retain existing arrangements.

In academic terms, the forces of resistance to change came from the classicists who, whether for professional or for political reasons, opposed the downgrading of the classics that curricular reform would entail. Modernisers who advocated modern languages in place of Latin had functional objectives; classicists, by fighting to retain Latin once it had little practical value, had sought an alternative justification for its retention: its ostensible value as a tool for mental discipline. The researcher does not suggest that this was an overt or even conscious attempt to keep Latin. She argues that it does, nevertheless, illustrate a natural defensiveness in the threat of change, which change would implicitly alter relationships of power: the classicists would lose their status, whilst modern linguists would grow in functional strength.

Classicists were effectively demonstrating the conflict which continues to this day between academic capital of a non-functional form and that of a practical nature. The very differences were soon to be embodied in a tripartite conceptualisation of education, with an inherent hierarchy of learning, downwards from non-functional, through technical to practical.

Fortuitously for classicists, this academic conservatism coincided with the social conservatism of privileged groups. So, returning to the conflation of factors (table 5.6), the public schools retained Latin beyond the time of its functional value. In another vicious circle, by so doing, they provided a curriculum which was no longer appropriate to those who would need a modern form of education in order to earn a living. When 'choosing' their schools, groups would exclude themselves from an institution which did not provide the form of education they needed. This, then, is what the researcher has suggested offers the potential for individuals with power to manipulate the curriculum in such a way as to exclude those who do not have the forms of capital they prefer. The practically useless Latin meanwhile became merely a symbol of the form of learning and of learners associated with institutions where academic and social capital were higher.

The late eighteenth and nineteenth century languages curriculum (chapters 11 and 12) provides a good example of this process of exclusion. The *nouveau riche* class with high economic capital, sought to accrue social capital by purchasing the form of education associated with the upper classes. Signalling resistance to the changed values this would create, the public schools began to distinguish between the old and new forms of capital, through separate curricular (linguistic) provision. This could be justified in terms of function, the titled aristocracy having different learning needs from those of the merchant class who would need to find employment.

The impact of technology on values is not only experienced within social and professional groups, but at the level of political bodies. The seventeenth century saw challenge to legal authority when religious values were involved, but that was not a concerted challenge by all of those who did not have socio-economic power. Non-conformists were only one part of society, and even they were not a single unity. Political power thrives on such diversity, since none of these sub-groups can, alone, mount a sufficiently strong assault on orthodoxy. This principle was illustrated by the second case study (chapter 15).

Chapter 15 has shown Sweet's pedagogical ideology to be only one of four leading professional schools of linguistic thought at the time. So long as there was no

unanimity amongst linguists on which language was desirable and how it should be taught, political will was able to continue directing the curriculum and hence retain Latin far beyond its functional validity.

This was achieved by the use of institutional structures, both differentiation between schools, and control of the examination, inspection and funding systems. Provided that academic accreditation remained a prerequisite of higher education, and hence of access to the most desirable forms of employment, the schools were obliged to teach to the demands of the system and learners to comply. In terms of language, that meant that Latin could be used as a quasi-legitimate selective tool for entry to the universities. Until well into the second half of the twentieth century, this was a requirement, and therefore those who attended a school which did not offer Latin were, from the age of eleven, effectively doomed to exclusion from higher education and their lower socio-economic position secured.

In short, the historical account shows how restriction of access to language learning was able to sustain an academic hierarchy, but this hierarchy was inextricably related to vocational roles, hence to social and economic status. These hierarchies can be understood when the factors conflated are examined.

Table 5.6 listed the factors that have become unconsciously associated with language learning. If translated into terms of capital, these show that there was a hierarchy of socio-economic status, parallel to one of linguistic status. Like society itself, this reserves access to the language with high academic capital for a minority of the population, who do not use it for practical purposes. Instead, it becomes a symbol of that group.

Below them in the hierarchy is the modern foreign language sector where languages have an assumed functional use. This group is more numerous than the previous one, but lacks its social capital, and is associated with lower academic capital.

Finally, in terms of the learning community, those who have access only to the mother tongue or to minimal levels of foreign language learning are the majority of the population, those not selected at age eleven for grammar schooling.

Figure 5.3 illustrates the parallel social, academic and linguistic hierarchies that this conflation produces, using the familiar colour coding for languages: blue = the classics, red = modern languages, turquoise = monolingual English. Although not to scale, it shows that high status is in inverse proportion to the numbers who have access to a language.

The latter decades of the twentieth century have demonstrated the failure of this system, when academic capital ceased to hold popular credibility or the guarantee of access to the types of capital sought. By this period, popular values had changed, and the system broke down. It is for that reason that the analysis has so far stopped short of the present day.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2 have illustrated the difference of foreign language learning at the turn of the millennium from that of earlier periods, yet ambivalence towards change remains. The next section will therefore explore how language learning has altered in recent years of technological change, in order to understand the source of this ambivalence.

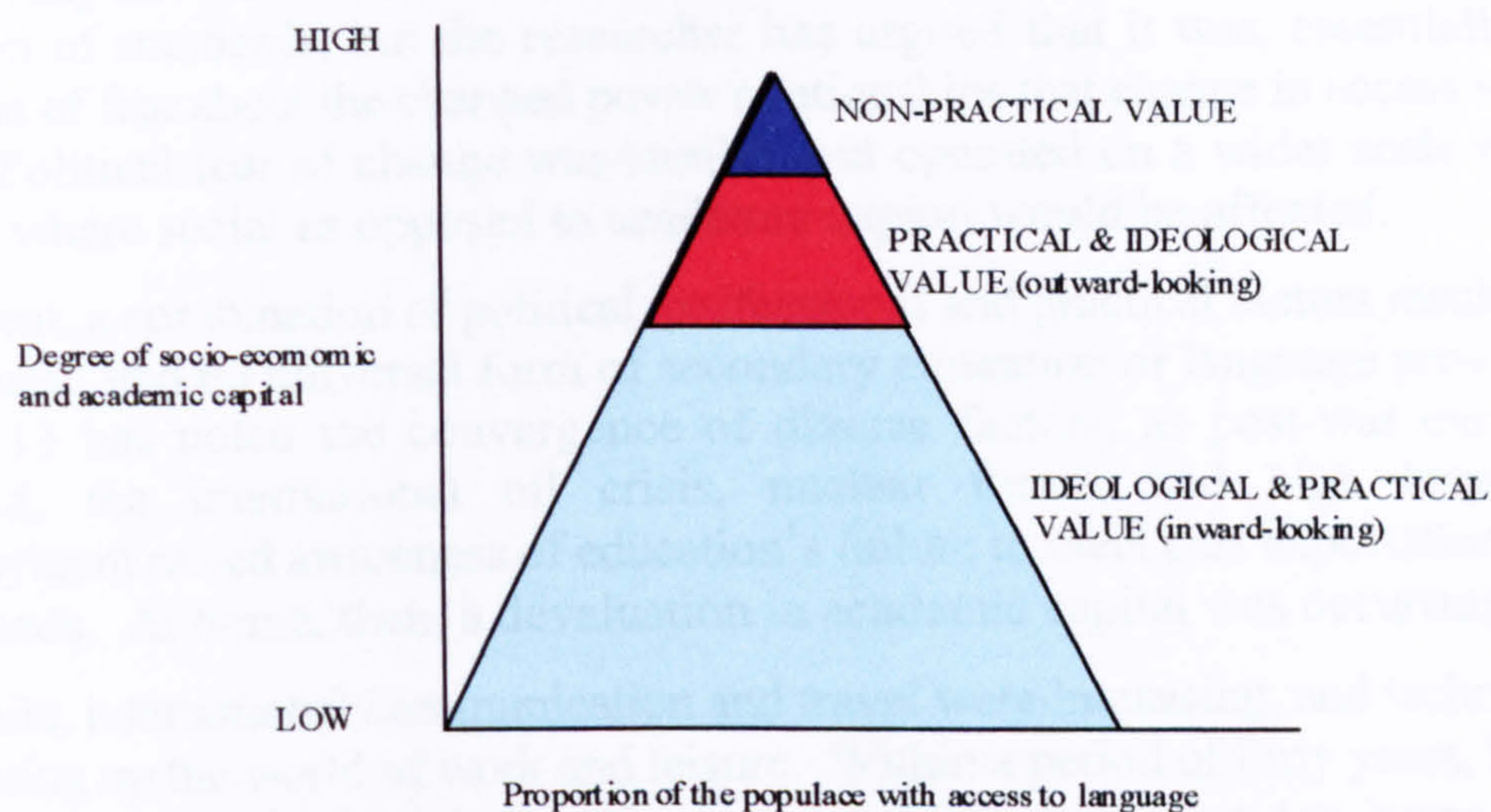


Figure 5.3

Linguistic and social hierarchies

Technology and educational values, from the mid 20th century to the turn of the millennium

Why have language learning models converged as illustrated in figure 5.2 when, paradoxically, the range of institutions teaching them has multiplied (figure 5.1)? Is there any connection between these educational changes and the immense change in technology, particularly over the last decade?

Chapter 13 has followed the impact of other factors which have triggered social change in the second half of the century, not least the repercussions of war on England's class relations. An alternative perception of equality of opportunity finally challenged the weak one, with its plurality of provision, and culminated in the comprehensive ideal. As always, the new perception may have a pragmatic as much as ideological basis, for reconstruction of the nation needed the talents of all.

Furthermore, as has been seen, the comprehensive model was not nationally adopted, and even those authorities which did so had different interpretations, and often ran selective systems alongside it.

The reasons for retaining a variety of provision are both political and academic. Once more reflecting the chiasmic structure of power relations, the profession was not unanimously convinced of the academic ability of all children to learn the same subjects, and this is exemplified by the case of foreign languages. For some teachers, their opposition to opening access to all may have been based on a genuinely held professional belief; for others, it represents a prejudice which conceals fear of losing personal status.

Whether intentionally or not, the process of conflation had resulted in foreign languages being a symbol of the universities, grammar and public schools and of the social elites who had access to these institutions (table 5.6). Those who taught in them received an associated kudos. If languages were to be offered to all secondary school children, that symbol of elitism would, by definition, be lost and their teachers would likewise lose their status once the mystique of their subject was dispelled.

Teachers may have articulated their resistance in sincerely professional terms such as dilution of standards, but the researcher has argued that it was, essentially, an expression of fear about the changed power relationships that change in access would trigger. Political fear of change was similar, but operated on a wider scale of the chiasma, where social as opposed to academic capital would be affected.

In the event, a combination of political, professional and practical factors resulted in compromise, and no universal form of secondary education or language provision. Chapter 13 has noted the convergence of diverse factors, as post-war euphoria dissipated, the international oil crisis, nuclear threat, and high levels of unemployment raised awareness of education's failure to meet past expectations and future needs. At home, then, a devaluation in academic capital was occurring.

Meanwhile, international communication and travel were increasing, and technology was opening up the world of work and leisure. Within a period of forty years, highly sophisticated technological devices became established as everyday items. The impact of these changes has been two-way and cyclical: national and international values have changed and these have in turn led to different needs and aspirations, which have spawned new technologies, in an endless spiral of ideological and functional 'evolution'.

Caught within this web of change is the necessity for education to evolve to meet the new functional needs of the nation, and to reflect changed values. But a growing discrepancy has been traced between the linguistic needs of industry and the willingness of the schools and students to meet them. The explanation for this is again multi-layered: social attitudes had changed and academic capital had lost ground to the status of economic wealth; unemployment and the possibility now of earning quick and extreme sums of money in occupations for which traditional qualifications were superfluous, jointly devalued academic capital of the traditional kind.

Parallel to this, technological industrialisation was requiring a different form of academic capital, vocational preparation of a more practical and technical form, precisely those types of learning which had come to be associated with lower social status and less well-paid employment (table 5.6).

These factors affected education as a whole and led to the need for powerful intervention. Equality of opportunity and the rule of market forces had permitted variety to prevail, albeit that any real choice was but a chimera; traditional values appeared to be flouted and the nation's economic needs were unmet. Decisive action came at last from legislation, in the form of the ERA (1988) with its national curriculum and rigid new assessment system. This put the pursuit of functional skills firmly on the agenda, in tandem with subject content that was directed towards socialisation of the nation's youth into a new ideology.

Whereas in the past, professional capital had been sufficiently strong to withstand central political control, now overt resort to legal authority offered a stark choice: conform or leave. Public esteem for the teachers had been eroded by their apparent failure to serve the nation's needs, and parents were seduced by the illusion of choice. Central government had now moved into a new alliance, one with the holders of today's global strength, the generators of economic capital.

The role of foreign languages since 1988

For foreign languages, the national curriculum was potentially a boon: for the first time, they became a compulsory subject between ages 11 and 16. Professional resistance of the academic and political forms discussed above may have continued, but it was not this alone that led to failure of the ideal: this time, it was a deficiency in the quantity and quality of available teachers. For human capital was not only ideologically lacking, but often functionally inadequate, notwithstanding the commitment of many able and enthusiastic linguists. There were simply not enough language teachers capable of delivering the desired curriculum; those ideologically opposed, left and, despite financial inducements, the government failed to recruit sufficient new teachers to sustain foreign languages as a foundation subject in key stages 3 and 4 (chapter 16). Learner commitment was inadequate, thanks partly to socialisation into a monolingual model, and partly to the international role of English.

The consequences of this complex inter-action of factors is that contemporary England is in linguistic crisis. At a time when international communication and travel endow foreign languages with more functional value (professional and personal) than ever before, the degree of linguistic competence in England is dire. Before recommendations are made to tackle the situation, readers must be brought up to date on events. What has happened since the government responded to the Nuffield Inquiry in 2001 (chapter 16)?

Central ambivalence towards the value of foreign languages

The government's response to the recommendations made by the Nuffield Languages Inquiry (2000) has been examined (chapter 16). It appeared to show awareness of, and a positive response to, the development of foreign language learning in Britain. Although the government stopped short of creating a languages supremo, it did provide coordination for initiatives through its funding of the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research (CILT), and the establishment of the national Subject Centre for Languages and Related Studies (www.lang.ltsn.ac.uk). Implicitly, much of the action pointed to by the Secretary of State in his response would raise the status of foreign languages. So, nearly two years on, have these hopes been realised?

Some positive action must be acknowledged: following the very successful European Year of Languages (2000), a national steering group for languages was announced in May 2001 (DfES 0259)³. In that same year, 18 new Language Colleges were proposed (DfES 0279), with the specific aim of creating a coherent progression from primary through to secondary levels, and of expanding the range of languages to meet the nation's international needs. The new AS level examinations would offer opportunities to continue a language beyond GCSE, as part of a scheme intended to broaden skills and to provide a platform for life-long learning. To this end, a European Languages Portfolio has been created, giving recognition to previously ignored levels of linguistic competence, including that in other mother tongues.

If these and other initiatives appeared to mark a new, coherent, discourse for foreign languages, the illusion was instantly shattered with the publication in 2002 of a Green Paper, *14-19 Extending Opportunities, Raising Standards*. The stated aim of this paper was

to improve economic competitiveness and promote social justice (DfES 2002
Introduction: 1)

in other words, it claimed a functional aim of supporting the nation's economic needs, together with an ideological desire for social equality. The outcomes it aspired to, though, were rather more skewed towards acculturation than to language, being the production of

more rounded, more motivated and more responsible citizens and workers, able to contribute to a productive economy. (DfES 2002: 4)

How did these general ideals translate into those for foreign languages? The Green Paper acknowledged the linguistic richness of the nation's multi-ethnic population, and the European and global context of today:

The teaching of modern foreign languages needs to reflect the reality of the world in which we live. Our position at the heart of Europe places a particular emphasis on a number of European languages, but our global and cultural links extend much wider. Over 300 languages are in use in London alone, making it one of the most linguistically diverse cities in the world. The ability to understand and communicate in other languages contributes to community cohesion and educational inclusion, two of our goals. (DfES 0186/2002)

It went on, encouragingly, to list 8 ambitions: that

- all primary school children will be entitled to study languages by 2012;
- there will be at least 200 Specialist Language Colleges by 2003;
- all young people and adults will have the opportunity to learn languages and be motivated to do so;
- the number of people studying languages in further and higher education and in work-based training will increase;
- languages will be properly recognised and valued by society and competence will be recognised;
- local and regional networks will support primary schools and harness available resources to provide high quality language learning;
- our national capability in languages will be transformed;
- we will increase the number of people teaching languages, and be innovative about using expertise wherever we find it. (Ibid: 2)

Readers will be struck by the non-specific nature of the objectives: they make no reference to the values inherent in linguistic knowledge nor to the form of language learning intended.

Worse, though, the researcher's claim of incoherence and ambivalence was revealed in the Green Paper's contradictory proposals: contrary to these positive ambitions, it was proposed that foreign languages be downgraded in KS4, from being a compulsory component of the curriculum to a mere 'entitlement'. It was naively assumed that, by reducing the time allocation for those who did study languages in KS4, greater diversity of provision would result, and that this would follow through to FE and HE. Clearly, this could only be achieved at the expense of quality of linguistic provision, standards, so was antipathetic to the putative aims of the Paper, and unlikely to win the support of professionals, by reason of academic capital. The implicit message of downgraded status could be expected to deter rather than encourage students to continue; they would cease learning languages at an early age and would not, realistically, have a platform on which to build in later years.

To complete the sense of incoherence, the Green Paper sought to revive primary years language learning, but it did not make this a compulsory requirement. Idealistically and simplistically, it envisaged a partnership between specialist schools and others which would cascade expertise throughout the system – at a time when the dearth of language specialists must have been a likely factor in the downgrading of KS4 languages!

Table 5.7 brings together the government's response to the Nuffield Inquiry's twelve recommendations and some of its subsequent initiatives, updating the data presented in chapter 16. The bottom row adds the action relating to languages proposed in the Green Paper. The same colour coding as before is used to distinguish between action which is supportive of foreign language learning (bright yellow) and that which is detrimental (dull yellow); that which is neutral in that it is partial or left to other governmental departments to provide is shaded diagonally. The table includes two objectives that are apparent in central discourse, but not made explicit in any single recommendation by Nuffield: participation in the European Community and the needs of industry.

If the bottom row is traced back to the Nuffield recommendations, the implications of the Green Paper are dramatic: all but one of them would be negatively affected, thereby being overwhelmingly detrimental to language learning in England.

Given the negativity of this analysis, the Green Paper was naturally greeted with horror by language professionals. The University Council for Modern Languages replied that the government would

be reversing a 30 year policy drive to widen participation in language learning beyond a social elite ... The symbolic significance of its break with educational inclusiveness would be considerable, and its practical consequences for the young of the nation deeply destructive. (UCML 2002)

The view was shared by the British Academy (2001), who feared the impact not only on the nation's social structure and economy, but also on its position in a globalised world. Response after response (e.g. Kelly 29 March 2002, Association for French Language Studies 2002, Association for Language Learning 2002) referred to the lack of coherence, parochialism and social polarisation of the government's proposals.

These fears appear to have been justified, to judge by a joint CILT/TES survey (2002) of KS4 modern foreign language learning provision. Whilst acknowledging that the data had not yet been fully analysed, CILT pointed to some interim conclusions drawn from 393 schools' responses.

As predicted, the extent of disapplication in KS4 had increased, with the result that

the proportion of schools providing languages for all has declined from 73% in September 2000 to 50% in September 2002. (CILT August 2002)

The report analysed this finding using the percentage of children in receipt of free school meals as an indicator of class, and concluded

a correlation is emerging between both social background and general educational attainment, and the likelihood of being able to 'drop' a foreign language'. (Ibid)

Table 5.7
Incoherence in the political discourse of foreign language learning

	1 Key Skill	2 National strategy	3 Langs supremo	4 Raise status	5 Early learning	6 Sec. curr'um revisions	7 16-19 curr'um levels	8 HE curr'um & Funding	9 Lifelong learning	10 Teacher supply	11 National stand- ards	12 Link tech & langs	
NUFFIELD recommen- dations 2000													
DFES response January 2001		Funding CILT as co- ordinator	Legacy through LNTTO	Specialist schools; EYL	Pilot	NC revisions	Curr'um 2000, AS levels	Business links; HEFCE funding	DTL, LNTTO and RDA	Golden hellos, grants, overseas recruits	Support of Council of Europe	NGfL; ICT in each KS; Japanese resources and links	EU links Industrial needs
CILT: steering group May 2001													
Specialist schools June 2001													
Academic standards July 2001													
EU portfolio, EYL, ambassadors													
Green Paper 2002													

This was a trend which seemed to carry over to A-level (and hence would work through to FE and HE). CILT observed:

more recently there have been worrying indicators, especially at the more advance levels, that continuing success in languages is becoming the preserve of social groups.

How can this lack of coherence between stated aims and the proposed means of achieving them be explained? Does it suggest a failure to think through policy in the light of human, social and economic capital? Or does it, rather, reflect an ambivalence towards the proposed policy? The former would imply incompetence, the latter fluctuating ideological commitment.

Conflicting functional and symbolic values

In a centrally determined educational system such as England presently has, political values are paramount, but table 5.7 indicates the contradictory nature of language policy. It has been the researcher's contention throughout this thesis that this is because of an inherent conflict between obvious functional and less obvious symbolic aims. She proposes that policy makers' ambivalence derives from their rational acceptance of the practical need for foreign languages yet ideological hesitation to accept change in traditional discourse if it entails changing access, restricted access being supportive of the hierarchies discussed above.

The CILT/TES survey now provides evidence to support the researcher's perception of elitist traditions⁴. When asked to name the obstacles to expanding foreign language learning in England, the schools (of diverse types) collectively cited, in descending order:

- 1 pupil attitudes
- 2 government policies
- 3 teacher supply

Perhaps surprisingly, the Language Colleges (which receive special central funding), gave the same three reasons but in a significantly different order:

- 1 government policies
- 2 teacher supply
- 3 pupil attitudes

Since pupil attitudes are secondary to policy, and policy in fact extends to teacher supply, governmental attitudes, values, are arguably paramount. If ambivalence is, indeed, a result of conflict between functional and ideological objectives, the two must be explored further. The discussion returns to the implications of exclusive and inclusive models of language learning.

National interests and the linguistically exclusive model

The researcher has argued that England's exclusive model of language learning has been central to the maintenance of social and academic stratification, thus supporting internal stasis. The national system produced sufficient linguists to fulfil the nation's external needs for communication, particularly as English became the global *lingua franca*. As the world has become more accessible and international economic and

political relationships have changed, so, too, has England's need for linguistic competence. It is proposed that political ambivalence lies in recognition that the exclusive model is no longer adequate, and in fear of moving towards the inclusive model. Fear is both academic and political, and may be likened to the anxieties provoked by comprehensivisation of the educational system: in opening access to all, hierarchies were flattened and claims expressed of intellectual 'dumbing down'.

The implicit conflict is between retention of a model that does not meet the external functional needs of the nation, but sustains traditional values, as opposed to meeting England's external needs and thereby changing traditional values. The researcher has suggested that external needs are both functional (to be able to communicate in other languages) and symbolic (to be seen to be willing to reach out to other nations by using their languages). The inclusive model would increase the number of 'bilingual' speakers in England, as has been visualised in the model reproduced below as figure 5.4, but have internal repercussions.

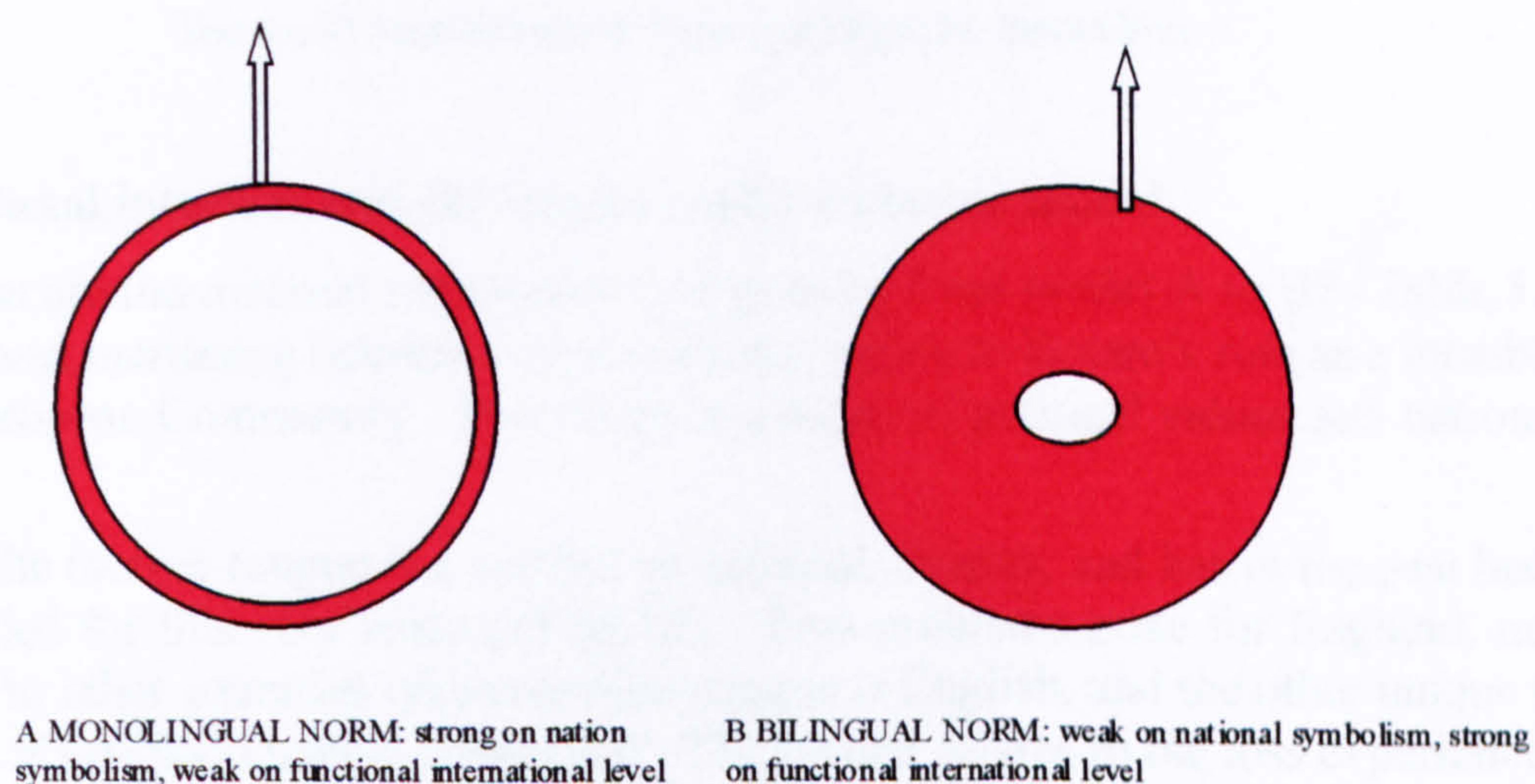


Figure 5.4

The balance of internal and external power, symbolic and functional power

In order to appreciate the social impact of changing access to foreign languages, figure 5.5 views situations A and B in terms of social and academic hierarchies (figure 5.3). This uses the familiar colour coding: red = modern languages, pale blue = monolingual English. Although not to scale, the principles of this process are clear: as access is widened and exclusivity reduced, the degree of academic and social capital falls. The nation's linguistic competence is increased, but its internal social relationships are changed.

This does, of course, represent an ideal situation where learners have accepted the value of languages and hence availed themselves of the opportunity to learn. As the statistical data have shown, motivation appears to be an important obstacle, a factor which will be taken up shortly.

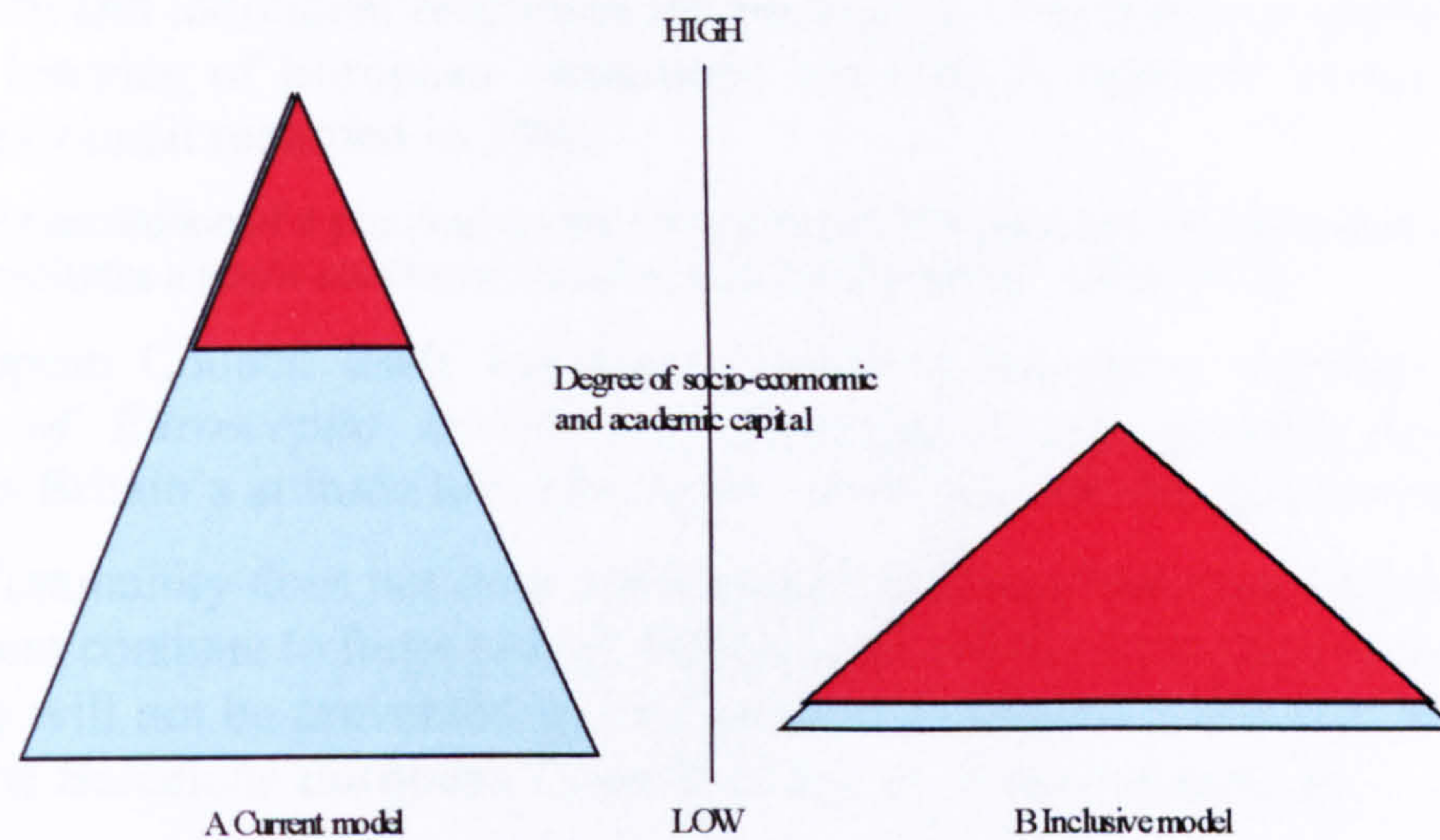


Figure 5.5

The social implications of flattened linguistic hierarchies

International interests and the linguistically inclusive model

First, what are the external implications of moving from model A to B? Table 5.7 has observed increasing reference in educational policy to Britain's role as a member of the European Community. This raises questions of political values and national identity.

Clearly, the mother tongue is a symbol of national identity, and has in the past been safeguarded for this very reason (Part III). Two problems arise for England, one common to other countries whose mother tongue is English, and the other unique to England, if national identity is changed. The former relates to the loss experienced by native speakers of English of a symbol of national identity, when the language is so extensively spoken. This loss deprives them of a potential symbol and undermines any claim that might be made by reluctant language learners to their desire to retain monolingualism as a sign of their collective identity.

The question for the country itself must be, what identity does it wish to project? Does it prefer to remain monolingual, albeit with an outmoded symbol of collective identity, and retain the image of insularity that it has acquired, or is the nation ready to accept that it can no longer function commercially and politically as a small, isolated, entity? In effect, is the country willing to accept equitable membership of the European Community, reaching out to communicate with partners in their languages as well as expecting partners to reach out to it in English?

This is ultimately a political issue, but it entails collective, and by implication, individual identity. To be an equal member of the wider community means accepting their rules, including linguistic expectations. These expectations require a change in the nation's model of language learning, a move from model A to model B. Which the nation and its citizens choose is effectively a choice between hierarchical insularity or flattened hierarchies and a new identity as a member of Europe as well as being a unique state within this community.

Both central and individual responses are necessary. The political implications for language learning of European citizenship are well recognised, as the European Language Council recorded in 2001:

the constitution of a plurilingual and pluricultural European citizen that is open to the world, constitutes a major challenge for all educational systems. (June 2001)

The European Council itself has even created a humorous website entitled *A Glossary of Eurosceptic Beliefs* (www.cec.org.uk/press/glossary.htm), which catalogues Britain's attitude towards membership over the last quarter century.

But the Community does not now need Britain, and the European Union Heads of Government continue to forge policy; Britain's may differ from the consensus view, but policy will not be prevented by one vote of dissent. So, in terms of linguistic identity the Barcelona European Council called for improvements in

the mastery of basic skills, in particular by teaching at least two foreign languages from an early age: establishment of a linguistic competence indicator by 2003 ... (EC 100/02)

With or without Britain, the principles of the EU language policy are:

To protect and develop the linguistic heritage and cultural diversity of Europe as a source of mutual enrichment.

To facilitate personal mobility and the exchange of ideas.

To develop a harmonious approach to language teaching based on common principles.

To promote large-scale plurilingualism (www.coe.int)

The challenge is both political and academic: is England, as part of Britain, ready to seize it, and accept a new identity, along with the symbols this entails?

Figure 5.6 translates data from an EC survey (2002) into a graphic, in order to highlight Britain's limited functional linguistic competence compared with that of (some) partner states, using red to represent bilingual ability, white for monolinguals. The percentage of respective populations who are monolingual is indicated.

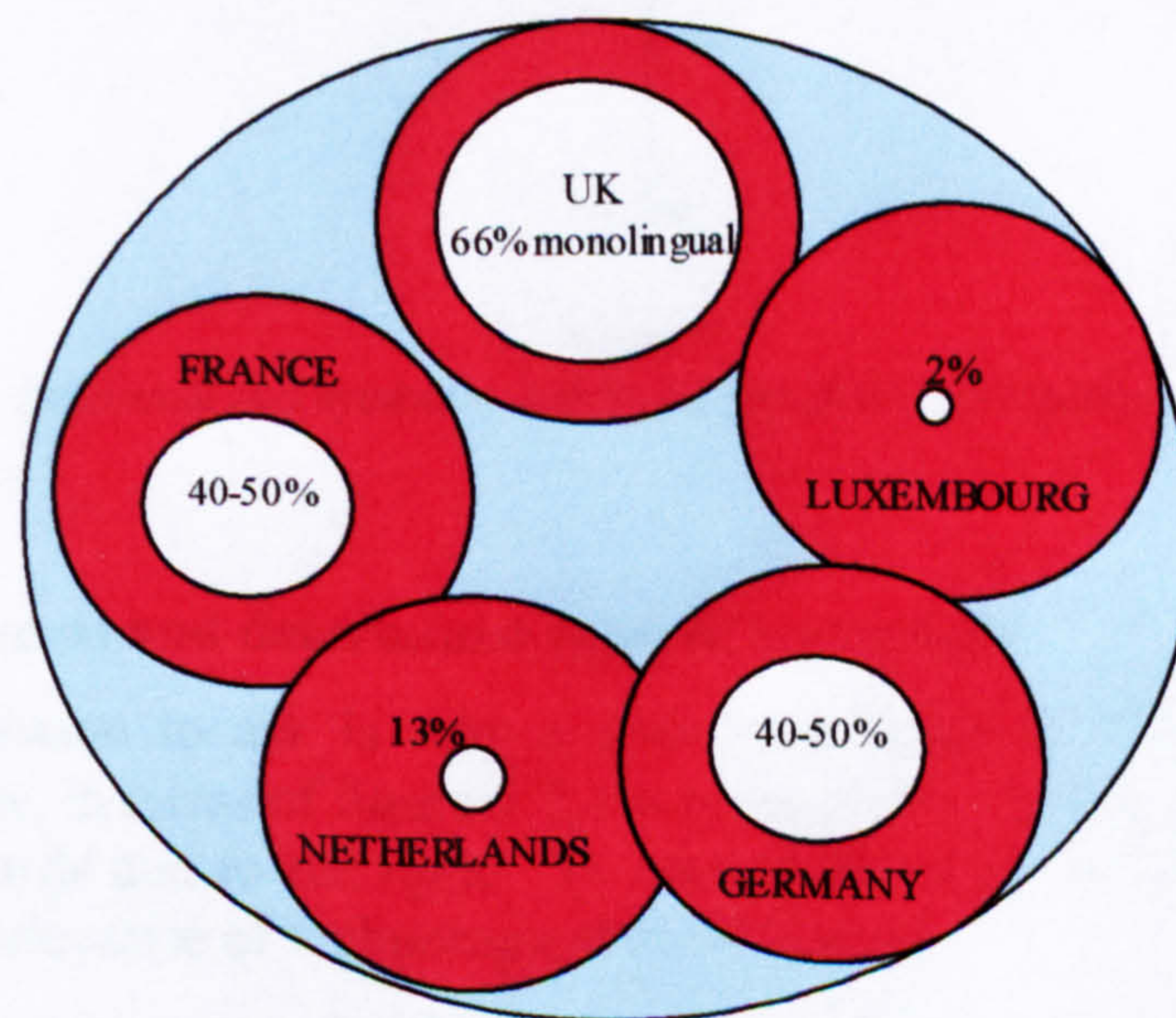


Figure 5.6
Comparative linguistic power within the EC (data source: EC survey December 2000)

When viewed in terms of functional power, English monolinguals are visibly disadvantaged. Their individual, and hence the nation's, potential economic power is reduced by their limited ability to be internationally active in the labour market. So long as communication is reliant upon others' competence in English, British nationals' interaction can be only responsive: they cannot initiate communication on equal terms with other member states. In other words, they are less powerful than those who have greater linguistic skills.

Monolingualism is thus both symbolically and functionally detrimental to the nation. This can be visualised on two planes, as shown in figure 5.7: the horizontal ranges from low to high functional linguistic capability, the vertical indicates the symbolism of this for partnership in the European community. England is placed in the bottom left quadrant where functional and symbolic membership are low, whereas those states with high levels of bi/pluri-lingualism are symbolically strong in community identity, as well as functionally powerful.

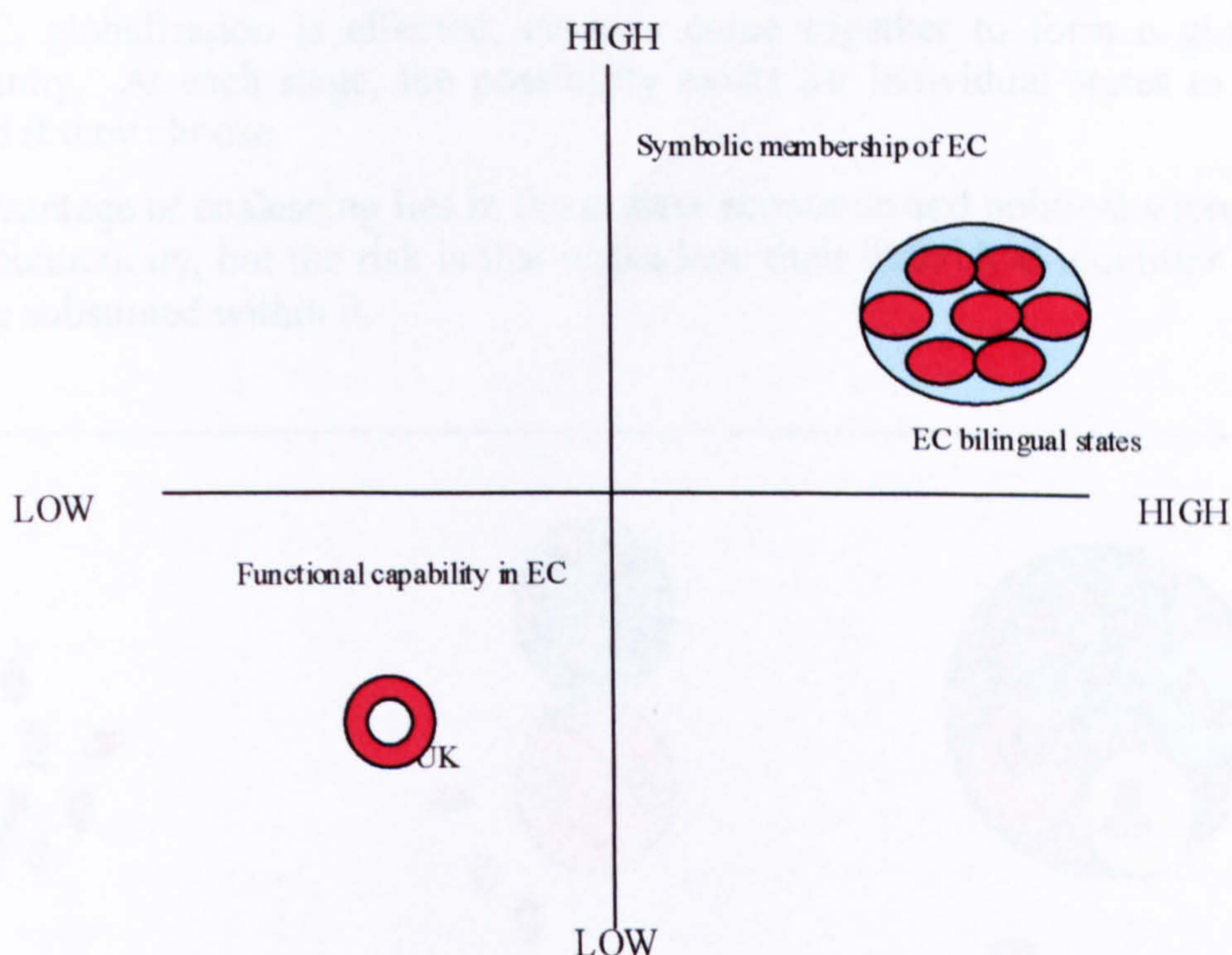


Figure 5.7
The functional and symbolic disadvantages of monolingualism in Europe

The instrumental and determinist roles of technology

The final question to ask is why a change in national identity should be felt necessary, why, in terms of figure 5.7, the researcher proposes that the nation needs to move upwards and to the right. To answer this question, the discussion must return to the relevance of technological development.

As Parts III, and in greater detail IV, have shown, changes in language learning and scientific and technological development have been closely related throughout the centuries studied. The relationship has been found to be caught in a cycle of instrumentalism and determinism, which brings change in personal values and

functional need, forcing educational change. A pattern of expansion is typified by the developments in foreign language learning, which reveal changed social relationships and occupational needs.

So, as printing was contributing to greater literacy, the relations between higher and middle ranking social groups in England were changing. Later, as international contacts were facilitated by new means of transport and communication media, the value of foreign languages grew, again changing social relationships but this time both within the nation and between Britain and other countries. Today, as ICTs are expanding communication to a global scale, relationships between nations and groups of nations are altered.

This can be visualised as globalisation towards a single identity, a process which is visible in the omnipresence of the same retail brands worldwide. Figure 5.8 illustrates three stages of this process, and its implications for national identity. At point A, nations remain discrete; by point B, clusters are beginning to grow, with some states remaining independent, others forming larger communities. Finally, at point C, globalisation is effected, clusters come together to form a globalised community. At each stage, the possibility exists for individual states to remain isolated if they choose.

The advantage of coalescing lies in the greater economic and political strength of a larger community, but the risk is that states lose their individual identities as they become subsumed within it.

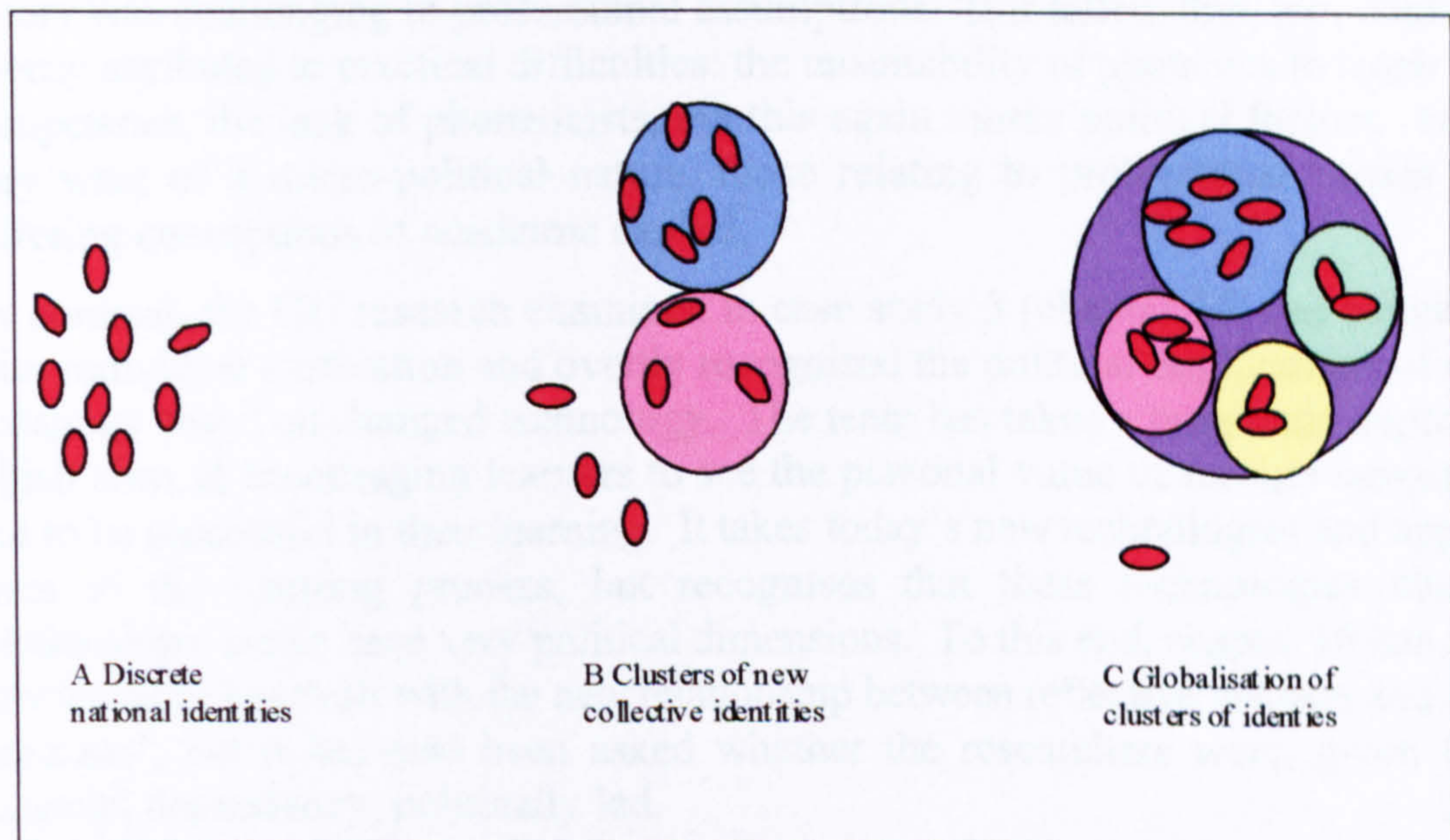


Figure 5.8

Towards globalisation

It seems that the British government recognises the necessity to move from stage A to B, but is ambivalent about renouncing traditional independence and its associated national identity. So, whilst it overtly seeks in the Green Paper to develop intercultural tolerance and to introduce early year language learning, other proposals are counter-productive to the achievement of greater linguistic competence, as table 5.7 has illustrated.

Commitment must be made on the part of government but equally by individuals: the principles of globalisation can be reduced to the scale of a community, wherein discrete identities become absorbed into a collective one. This has been described as flattening hierarchies, and has been illustrated by the three case studies. All three innovators have been in pursuit of a language learning methodology which raises individual motivation for learning and offers an efficient means of so doing, but which has repercussions for relationships within the community.

For Comenius (chapter 14), commitment was sought in the interests of individual spiritual salvation and had political implications which were dangerous to England's dominant orthodoxies. He took the technology of his day and sought to apply it in innovative, motivating, ways, suggesting that he was functionally driven, whereas the research has proposed that he was politically (i.e. ideologically) led. His ideas could be rejected by Crown and Church on practical grounds: they were too costly, required institutional reorganisation, there was a lack of human capital, and technology was insufficiently advanced to produce the pedagogical resources he envisaged. The researcher has suggested that these practical objections provided a convenient screen for the fundamentally political reasons for rejection of a model that would have changed individual identities.

Sweet, meanwhile (chapter 15), was clearly driven to innovation in foreign language learning by academic, not political, enthusiasm. He, too, used the latest technology, but his chosen form, phonetics, was ill suited to his linguistic model. He offers a curious mix of technological adventurousness and linguistic conservatism, not risking change in traditional academic capital. Sweet did not pose a political threat, but his theory was challenging to professional assumptions. If it failed, this, too, could be overtly attributed to practical difficulties: the unsuitability of phonetics to teach oral competence, the lack of phoneticists, but this again masks political factors. Here, they were of a micro-political nature, those relating to professional values and differing conceptions of academic capital.

By contrast, the OU research examined in case study 3 (chapter 16) has sought to raise individual motivation and overtly recognised the political implications of new pedagogy based on changed technology. The team has taken a pragmatic approach which aims at encouraging learners to see the personal value of foreign languages and to be successful in their learning. It takes today's new technologies and applies them to the learning process, but recognises that these technologies change relationships, hence have very political dimensions. To this end, chapter 16 has seen how the team has dealt with the new relationship between reflective learners and their 'teachers', but it has also been asked whether the researchers were, given their financial dependency, politically led.

The OU's longitudinal research has also revealed an expansion in scope which mirrors the expansion illustrated in figure 5.8. Initially conducted within a single department, it went on to be an inter-departmental study, then involved different institutions in the UK, and, in the latest stage, brought together colleagues from Britain and France.

Where Comenius was politically driven in his use of technology, and Sweet academically led, the OU team offers a more realistic model of development which accepts the duality of technological change, its functional value and the political fears that it may provoke. The team works simultaneously to resolve difficulties at both

functional and ideological levels. For this reason, the researcher suggests that its potential to succeed is greatly enhanced, and may serve as a basis for proceeding towards the bilingual model of language learning if, and when, central commitment is made.

In effect, it illustrates the willingness to take the risk entailed in embracing change. To use the image of figure 5.8, researchers have been willing to form larger teams, adapting their individual identities to the new circumstances. They have encountered on a minor scale the same political difficulties as obtain nationally and internationally as new relationships are formed. The third case study is therefore dually useful: not only does it offer practical insights into the means of motivating language learners, it serves also as a model of the risk to identity posed by responding to technological development.

THE RESEARCH ISSUES: SUMMATIVE CONCLUSIONS

Before moving to consideration of future action, chapter 17 concludes by drawing together the implications of this evidence for the three research hypotheses.

RI1 Formal foreign language learning in England has been characterised by a lack of coherent policy

Foreign language learning practice in England has both differed between institutions at a given point in time, and for individual institutions over time. *This indicates discontinuity but it has been seen that discontinuity does not equate to incoherence of policy.* Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that differentiation has been a deliberate, political, objective. Whilst this may be attributed to a 'weak' notion of equality, one based on assumptions that individual abilities demand different provision, it may also be explained as political manipulation in order to sustain social stratification.

RI2 Whilst this lack of coherence may, superficially, appear to be a question of competing functional needs, it is really a consequence of political factors

The research has revealed that foreign languages play both functional and symbolic roles. By focusing on functionality, a justification was given for making different provision, and, by extension, having different institutions to do so. Potentially, the curriculum can be manipulated in order covertly to encourage self-exclusion if languages are seen in only functional terms. Manipulation was possible so long as there was no perceived public need to learn foreign languages, a situation which has been serendipitously supported by the rise of English as the international *lingua franca*. It has been attributed to an initial, political, act of 'symbolic violence': self-exclusion was covertly encouraged by tailoring the language curriculum to specific functional outcomes. With the passing of time, a habitus of expectations and assumptions has developed to reproduce the system.

The symbolic role of language learning has been found to lie in the associations that have been built over time between language, function, institution and socio-economic status of those attending an institution. Institutional structures and self-exclusion have together perpetuated this social differentiation.

The researcher therefore concludes that there is evidence to support hypothesis two.

RI3 Foreign language learning has changed in the context of new technology but the functional value of new technologies as pedagogical tools has both orchestrated a new discourse for foreign languages, and provided a mask for political manipulation

The relationship between change in technology and that in foreign language learning has been found to follow a spiral of instrumental and determinist interaction. This produces a tension between functional needs and traditional values as relationships change.

The process of change gradually opens access and thereby reduces positions of power. This happened first within British society, altering class relationships as both a symbolic tool of status was lost and a practical tool for accessing new forms of employment was gained. Later technology extended the boundaries of changed relationships to those between the country and close partners; today, technology has led to global communication and partnerships involving clusters of allies. A comparison has been made between the impact of comprehensivisation and that of globalisation. In accepting the former, traditional hierarchies were flattened within the nation; the latter demands a similar, but international, flattening of power.

In changing these relationships, questions of identity are raised; there is a tension between ideological reasons for retaining old identities and the functional need to embrace new ones. To accept change, a degree of risk is involved, and fear of change is natural. On the global scale, this is a matter of political values, as expressed in 'policy', but it can only be realised if individual commitment is made.

Where in the past, technology could focus attention on functional issues, the researcher has argued that today's technologies expose the essentially political nature of languages. However, it is today's functional need for greater linguistic competence that demands a reversal in England's traditional attitude towards language learning. This requires political commitment and individual motivation, which reverses the assumptions and intentions of centuries of practice. It requires acceptance of an inclusive model of learning which has been politically and functionally unacceptable.

The nation must decide whether to retain its individual and collective insularity or risk the loss of perceived power this gives by accepting identification with a European Community. This includes acceptance that bilingualism is an integral part of that identity, and that to speak only English is both functionally and symbolically inadequate.

The evidence suggests that the relationship between languages and technology has been seen in primarily functional terms by linguists, albeit that some e.g. Comenius, have sought to deploy it for political purposes. On the one hand, linguists have been attempting to raise individual motivation, whilst on the other, politicians have had covert reasons for restricting access to language learning. The latter have been able to invoke practical difficulties (e.g. expense, fitness of purpose) associated with technology as justification for resisting change.

These complex factors indicate that there is also evidence to support the researcher's third hypothesis.

*

The implication of these findings is that, if England wishes to go forward as a powerful member of the European Community, action is necessary to address the linguistic competence of its citizens.

It has been suggested that pedagogues seize each new technological development to increase motivation for language learning: today, when technology is responsible for many of the changes that increase the need for linguistic competence, can it also offer a means of achieving this?

The researcher concludes with some recommendations for action in this new technological age.

¹ In the year 2001, GCSE entries were: Latin, 10,365; classical Greek, 365, and other classical studies, 4,385. Those for A-level in the same year were: Latin, 1264; classical Greek, 202, and other classical subjects, 3802. (Source: QCA August 2002)

² Today, they might be a requirement for inclusion in faith schools

³ The Languages National Steering Group was set up by the DfES in July 2001 "to develop a strategy to change perceptions and raise awareness amongst young people and the wider public of language competence as a key contemporary life skill".

At the time of concluding the present thesis, the LNSG has just produced its report, *Languages for All: Languages for Life, A Strategy for England* (December 2002). Inevitably, many of the researcher's findings and conclusions are echoed in this report, though reached independently of the LNSG.

⁴ See also Kelly, M and Jones, D (2003) University of Southampton (Woodward 2003)

RECOMMENDATIONS

Complementing central strategy

Chapter 1 began with the proposition that foreign language learning in England is in crisis. Subsequent chapters have shown how recent governments have recognised this and begun to take action to address the situation. That is welcome, but it does undermine the potential for the researcher to appear innovative in her recommendations. For, working parallel to, but separate from, central bodies, she has been brought to many of the same conclusions.

Since a first draft of this chapter was written, the DfES has launched a new National Languages Strategy, *Languages for All: Languages for Life* (DfES December 2002). Produced by the Languages National Steering Group (LNSG), this is an ambitious plan designed to prepare the nation for its linguistic role in Europe. Reminiscent of two recurrent themes in this thesis, it states:

In the knowledge society of the 21st century, language competence and intercultural understanding are not optional extras, they are an essential part of being a citizen ... Likewise in the global economy too few employees have the necessary language skills to be able to engage fully in international business. (DfES 2002c Executive Summary)

In other words, the strategy recognises the symbolic, as well as the practical, importance of linguistic competence.

Now, central commitment is supported by

direct investment, which will rise to £10 million per year by 2005/06 (Clarke 2003)

and a detailed list of action is proposed, aimed at addressing acknowledged obstacles: teacher shortage, inadequate language opportunities, under-developed partnerships, and under-use of ICTs.

These strategies recall the key issues that have provided a framework for discussion of a linguistic divide: human capital, institutional structures, course content and access. They do, of course, all hinge upon the fifth factor: social capital, the values promulgated by policy makers.

Chapter 17 concluded with the observation that values must be embraced at both political and individual levels, the former in terms of policy, the latter through motivation for learning. The strategy, too, is

geared towards both motivating individuals to learn – the push factor, while at the same time ensuring that high quality and appropriate opportunities are appropriate – the pull factor. (DfES 2002c Executive Strategy).

Perhaps understandably given its professional nature, the LNSG's proposed means of achieving these two objectives are focused primarily on production of teaching capital, institutional structures and programme content and delivery. But, although the strategy concludes with the assertion that

the Government is determined to ensure that languages take their proper place at the heart of initiatives and activities to further the wider social, economic and political agenda. A key part of this is communicating the importance of languages, both at a national and local level (ibid page 44)

the researcher suggests that there is little concrete action planned to achieve the motivation and commitment that it rightly identifies as necessary.

The advantage of an inter-disciplinary work such as this thesis may redress the balance. Writing not only as a linguist, but also from the perspective of a critical theorist, the researcher has examined the political aspects of effecting change, and the implications of change for perceptions of individual and collective identity. In making her own recommendations, it is to this aspect of policy that she turns.

Little would be gained by merely reiterating the action required to produce an adequate teacher supply, or to enhance structural mechanisms. Whilst there is clear complementarity between the researcher's and the LNSG's conclusions, the researcher's strategic approach steps back from tactics to the question of underlying values. So, where the LNSG proposes an action plan with target dates, the researcher's recommendations are focused primarily on management of the process of change at the ideological level. The two dimensions are complementary and equally essential to achievement of the outcomes shared by both parties.

Developing commitment and motivation

Chapter 17 highlighted two levels where commitment to language learning is necessary if competence in England is to be improved:

- 1 there needs to be a *political willingness* to accept the bilingual model; and
- 2 realisation of the model requires *individual willingness* to engage in foreign language learning.

The researcher suggests that the pressures of normalisation into a monolingual nation and the prevalence of English as the international *lingua franca* together render it unrealistic to assume that (2) can be achieved without (1). This therefore returns responsibility for foreign language learning initially to the political arena: in order to increase foreign language competence in this country, there must first be a political understanding and acceptance of the value of languages, and of the international disadvantages that will ensue for the nation if the monolingual model is retained.

The initial task, gaining political commitment, appears to have been achieved. But supposing that a change in government occurred, would that commitment continue? Given political differences over membership of the EC and ambivalence even on the part of a government supposedly in favour of participation, it is quite likely that the strategy for languages would be abandoned.

In order to achieve real and extended commitment, the researcher argues that the question of values and change needs to be addressed. She proposes that an open discussion of the fears implicit in accepting change is essential. By confronting the implications of change for national identity as well as the practical reasons for and against acceptance of membership of a broader community, anxieties and prejudices can be explored and understood. In effect, this means that the notion of languages as purely functional instruments must, once and for all, be replaced with recognition of the symbolic role they play.

Change demands recognition of language's importance as a symbol of collective identity but that will not suffice to bring political commitment to acceptance of a European identity. The symbolic disadvantage that monolingualism brings to the nation in the eyes of partner communities will be of no concern to those who do not endorse membership of that community. Some opponents may be won over by

appeal to the functional limitations monolingualism places upon citizens, but it would be naïve to assume that this will change ingrained linguistic habits.

Ironically, the researcher is led to conclude that only another act of 'political violence' can break into the vicious circle currently preventing the nation from moving forward. After centuries of acculturation into monolingualism, individuals will not easily be persuaded of the personal value of languages or the political value of entering fully into a European identity. In order to break the cycle, it seems that political action is necessary, systemic change is demanded. This may, in the short term, appear to undermine the rights of individuals, but will, in the long term, be their salvation in the global world of today.

The act of 'violence' must be to introduce foreign languages as a compulsory element of the junior – perhaps eventually, primary – school curriculum, so as to work towards the position where foreign languages become a core skill, similar to the ability to manipulate a pencil or ICTs. The proposal will seem paradoxical, given the dearth of language teachers and lack of learner motivation. So how, realistically, can early year languages be achieved?

Clearly central funding is necessary both to recruit teachers and to diversify the skills of existing professionals. The latest strategy is working towards these aims, but the researcher makes a more radical proposal: case study 3 (chapter 16) draws attention to two very different elements which could be harnessed in order to realise a swift start towards the bilingual model:

- 1, it looks to today's technologies to improve the quality of the learning experience, but in a cost-efficient way;
- 2, it highlights the need for new teacher-learner relationships when using such technologies.

Ironically, an important element in achieving the attitudinal change needed lies with technology itself, in the functional role which has so often appeared to provide a panacea for language learning, and away from which the researcher has sought to move.

The potential to use ICTs to reach the junior schools is a natural progression from the use of radio and later TV with which readers will have been familiar in their own schooling. To this extent, it serves the intrinsic aspects of motivation (King 2003). Structural arrangements can be put in place to address extrinsic aspects e.g. career opportunities.

The researcher's more radical suggestion lies in the second element that she proposes for unblocking the current impasse: new professional relationships need to be encouraged. Here, it is professional rather than political resistance that must be overcome, this at several levels.

At that of teacher and learner, her experiences in the research described in case study 3, and of teaching foreign languages with which she had limited competence to inner city adolescents, have given her first hand understanding of teaching and learning situations where traditional power relationships are impossible. The experience of accepting that the teacher may not be omniscient in the field is uncomfortable because it demands a change in perception on the part of learners and teacher. Both parties may interpret this as a reduction in the academic capital represented by the

teacher. The fear is loss of respect. This loss can be avoided, but only if the new relationship is addressed honestly and rationally and new roles acknowledged.

Fears of reduced academic standards have been seen to provide an argument against opening access to foreign languages. One of the European initiatives discussed in previous chapters may appear to confirm this reduction: the European Portfolio recognises levels of competence currently ignored. However, if this new perception is accepted, there is no reason why non-specialist teachers whose own knowledge of languages ceased at GCSE or A-levels should not be encouraged to 'facilitate' the learning of junior school children. Again, the researcher argues that this proposal should be made quite openly, recognising that there are questions of academic capital which professional linguists may use to oppose it. As at the political level, fears should be explored and solutions found wherever possible to reduce anxieties, but a firm policy must be adhered to, based upon expectations of long term benefit.

These proposals are simply an interim measure, for in time, linguistic competence should work through society. In the first instance, the curriculum would need to concentrate on skill development, but as the generations work through, junior years could focus on skills and some simple applications e.g. in mathematical contexts; in later years, foreign languages would be used to deliver other subjects, much as happens in European countries where English is begun early.

A coherent curriculum from junior to secondary school years is essential for this to succeed, and, as with any skill, there should be opportunities to sustain competence beyond school years. Failure of junior school learning has, in the past, often been caused by failure to have a coherent programme that links junior and secondary sectors. This is demotivating to the individual learner, and wasteful of talent and again reflects rivalry between professionals for ownership of academic capital.

These measures bring together the five key factors for or against a linguistic divide. In advocating an inclusive model of language learning, *structural arrangements* and *teacher supply* will be necessary; course *content* and delivery will need to be appropriate and motivating, and may be enhanced by functional use of new technologies. Ultimately, though, it is the motivation of learners and the social value placed upon languages that will determine whether change is effected. The question remains, is the government ready to take the political risk of forcing a change in national identity, changing social values, in the belief that, in the long term, this will prove to be politically and academically justified?

The researcher argues that the process of change must be understood and managed in a sensitive but clear-sighted manner. The changing needs of nations in a globalised era require a different perception of identity, and it is the responsibility of the government to set the framework and manage the process within which new roles and responsibilities are accepted. The nation collectively and individually must be willing to risk changing their identity at macrocosmic/international, and microcosmic/group and personal levels. This is a challenging task, but social survival depends upon the ability to adapt:

There is no risk of overestimating the difficulty and dangers when it comes to thinking the social world. The force of the preconstructed resides in the fact that, being inscribed both in things and in minds, it presents itself under the cloak of the self-evident which goes unnoticed because it is by definition taken for granted. Rupture in fact demands a *conversion of one's gaze* and one can say of the teaching of sociology that it must first 'give new eyes' as initiatory philosophers sometimes phrase it. The task is to produce, if not a 'new person',

then at least a new gaze ... and this cannot be done without a genuine conversion, a *metanoia*, a mental revolution, a transformation of one's whole vision of the social world. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992b:251)

SUMMARY OF ACTION POINTS

- Confront the symbolic role of languages.
- Address openly the advantages and disadvantages of accepting a European identity.
- Raise maximum commitment to bilingualism and an inclusive model through appeal to symbolic and functional advantages.
- Accept that another act of 'symbolic violence' in the form of a language policy which is inclusive and statutory will be necessary to break out of the impasse.
- Address professional as well as political resistance to an inclusive model.
- Accept that interim measures of teacher supply are necessary which will possibly lower standards in the short term.
- Ensure that this is complemented with action to raise standards in the long term above those of the current system, and move towards a model of bilingualism comparable with that of linguistically high achieving European partners.
- Ensure continuity between junior and secondary sectors.
- Provide opportunities for maintaining linguistic competence.
- Harness ICTs to develop motivation and ongoing support.

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