Multilingualism in London
LUCIDE city report

LANGUAGES IN URBAN COMMUNITIES INTEGRATION AND DIVERSITY FOR EUROPE

LUCIDE

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Lifelong Learning Programme

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Abstract

This report is produced for LUCIDE (Languages in Urban Contexts: Integration and Diversity in Europe) project and network, funded by the EU Lifelong learning programme 2010- 2014, based on the collected primary and secondary data. It includes a brief historic overview of London's demolinguistic features and a range of evidence relevant to current manifestations of multilingualism and plurilingualism in this global city. Considering the size, population and complexity of London our specific focus is on one local authority (out of an existing 33): the City of Westminster, geographically the heart of this metropolis. Westminster is in many ways representative of London language trends. It shows some of the most prominent features of multilingualism in London: an extraordinary linguistic variety with a wide distribution of languages, where no one language is dominant. Nevertheless, we also make reference to examples of multilingualism from outside Westminster, when we have considered it to be pertinent.

Key Concepts: Multilingualism versus plurilingualism

We would like to begin this report by acknowledging the types of discourse we have encountered in the field and the current debates relevant to the two key concepts used throughout this report: multilingualism and plurilingualism.

In the contexts which we have explored only the concept of multilingualism is used. Practitioners and policy makers in the UK education system refer to 'multilingual schools', 'multilingual classrooms' and 'multilingual communities of learners'. In reality, this is in recognition of the fact that some or many students in these schools, especially London schools, have a language other than English as a part of their lives, often outside the mainstream school. However, it does not mean that any of their learning happens in another language.

Throughout our field work, we have not identified any agencies or spaces where the concept of plurilingualism is used as such. Participants in this study also did not refer to this concept.

As the authors of this report we have made a point of using the concept of plurilingualism alongside multilingualism with the aim of promoting plurilingualism and plurilingual competencies as conceptualised by the Council of Europe (2001).[1]

Plurilingualism recognises an all encompassing communication competence that is made up of different languages that one person has been exposed to and acknowledges the partial nature of the knowledge anyone can have of one language, be it their mother tongue or not. Therefore plurilingualism removes the ideal of the native speaker as the ultimate achievement and replaces it with the aim of an effective pluralistic communicator who draws on his/her varied repertoire of linguistic and cultural knowledge in a flexible, creative and individual way.[2] The emphasis in this process is on attitude formation and language and cultural awareness as essential to one's understanding of social and physical environment and ability to function effectively in the local, national and international environment.[3]

The main distinction between a multilingual and a plurilingual approach is that a multilingual approach is about having many different languages coexist within individuals or society with the ultimate aim of achieving the idealised competency of the native speaker.[4] A plurilingual approach, on the contrary, places the emphasis on the process of learning the language of home, society, other peoples; developing communicative competencies as a life-long activity; and in different situations flexibly calling upon different parts of this competence in order to achieve effective communication.

A plurilingual orientation outlined in the above referenced European policy documents provides a good starting point for rethinking communicative skills in education, public services, industry, business. Plurilingualism recognises the reality of children and adults acquiring only partial knowledge of relevant languages. This reality need not be dismissed as a shortfall, but acknowledged as an important contributor to the enrichment of an 'all encompassing communicative competence'. This type of approach encourages language and cultural learning, appreciation and awareness in

1   Council of Europe (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
2   Ibid, pp 4, 5, 169
3   Tosi, A & Leung, C (Eds.), (1999), *Rethinking language education: From a monolingual to a multilingual perspective* (pp. 225–240). Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, London, p17
4   Council of Europe (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, Cambridge Unisersity Press, Cambridge, p4

formal and informal settings for bilinguals and monolinguals alike. It places value on all of our linguistic experiences and provides a formal framework for their recognition – a Language Portfolio, as proposed by the Council of Europe. According to this proposition, every child in Europe is entitled to a Language Portfolio in which can be entered anything significant referring to their engagement with other languages and cultures.

The aim of this report is to contribute to the process of making this qualitative shift in thinking about engagement with existing linguistic diversity at the individual and societal level underpinned by the principles of plurilingual orientation.

1. Introduction

Any attempt to produce a report on London needs to consider finding a focus that is realistic for the given time and resources. Having engaged with the largest city in Europe with a population of over 8 million according to the latest official figures,[5] 233 languages recorded as spoken by school children and 33 local authorities, our research team can only make a claim to providing insights and vignettes of particular practices and contexts based on the collected data and available literature.

We have used the facts and figures from multiple sources to present a complex picture of a hyperdiverse metropolis and a site of massive global migrations. Some of these figures, although very recent, are probably out of date already considering the high level of fluidity in London. Every day there are 'new arrivals' in London schools, children arriving from different countries; its workforce is changing rapidly, shaped by the volatile state of the job market and economy; and high profile events, such as the recent Olympic Games, leave their own footprint on everyday life in a variety of ways. In addition, there is the perpetual change imposed by politicians and policymakers on the education system and other public services.

The report is organised into the following themes: Historical Overview; National Policy Context; the Public Sphere; Education; the Private Sphere; the Economic Sphere; and Urban Spaces.

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5   UK Office for National Statistics available at: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/index.html

2. Short history of language diversity in London

London has been a multicultural and multilingual place of settlement from its very beginnings as a Roman city in 43 CE/AD and this did not change throughout its development from a medieval town to one of humanity's first world cities, reaching one million inhabitants in 1800.

With an estimated population of more than 500,000 in the late 17th century London had become much bigger than all other British and almost all other European cities and continued to grow very quickly over the next two and a half centuries. The most spectacular growth occurred during the 19th century, when London was the biggest city in the world and its population increased from roughly 1 million in 1800 to more than 6.5 million in 1900.[6] By 1910 London had reached a population of over seven million.[7]

Besides a high natural population increase attributable to a significant reduction in child mortality and a high birth rate (thanks to the high proportion of young women and men in its population), this rapid growth was mainly due to rapid in-migration, first and foremost from the British Isles, but also from Europe and the rest of the world. London's demographic development after 1910 is characterised not so much by further growth – although London reached a population peak of 8.6 million in 1939 – but by a changing ethnic composition, which led to the formation of an increasingly ethnically and linguistically diverse population.

Medieval and early modern London already had sizeable groups of European immigrants – merchants, traders, sailors and craftsmen – most prominently French, Dutch, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese communities often living in distinct neighbourhoods with their own local infrastructures and places of worship.[8] The most significant influx of immigrants in the early modern period occurred because of religious persecution on the European continent, first from the Spanish Netherlands and later from France. Protestants from both these areas were subjected to state-sponsored persecution and found refuge in Britain and London. The number of French Protestants (Huguenots) fleeing to Britain in the late 17th century has been estimated at between 50 000 and 80 000, with probably half this number eventually settling in the Greater London area, many of them in the Spitalfields area of East London.[9]

The growth of the British Empire and the corresponding increase in international trade (both in goods and slaves) during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries saw the arrival and establishment of African and Asian communities who came to London as traders, soldiers, sailors or slaves and servants.[10] Estimates of London's African population made by contemporaries in the late 18th century were as high as 20 000, while modern historians have put the number at between 5 000 and 10 000.[11] The number of African and Asian migrants settling in London further increased during the 19th century, which also saw the establishment of London's now forgotten Chinatown in the Limehouse area of East London.

Most 19th century migrants to the city came from the British Isles; they had English as their first language or – in the case of some Welsh, Scottish and Irish newcomers to the city – as a second language, but the number of non-English-speaking immigrants also increased significantly. Especially notable amongst these immigrants were exiled political radicals fleeing state persecution in Europe, for example the Russian émigré Alexander Herzen (an early socialist thinker who founded one of the first Russian newspapers to be published outside of Russia: *Kolokol* ['The Bell']), his fellow Russian and early anarchist thinker Michael Bakunin, the agitator for Italian national unification Guiseppe Manzani, and the most famous of all radicals, Karl Marx, who came to London in 1848 and was one of a group of radical German

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6   Emsley, C., Hitchcock, T., & Shoemaker, R. *London History - A Population History of London*. In *Old Bailey Proceedings Online.* Available at www.oldbaileyonline.org [Accessed 19 March 2013]

7   Ackroyd, P. (2000) *London. The Biography*. Chattoo & Windus, London

8   For example the Dutch Church of Austin Friars established in 1550. Prominent 'alien' communities lived in such areas as Westminster, Southwark, Candlewick Street, Lombard Street, Bishopsgate, and St. Martin. Cf. Finlay, R. (1981) Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London 1580–1650. CUP, Cambridge

9   Emsley, C., Hitchcock, T., & Shoemaker, R. *Communities - Huguenot and French London*. In *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*. Available online at www.oldbaileyonline.org [Accessed 20 April 2013]

10 Fryer, P. (1984) *Staying Power. The History of Black People in Britain.* Pluto Press, London and Visram, R. (2002) *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History.* Pluto Press, London

11 Winder, R. (2004) *Bloody Foreigners. The Story of Immigration to Britain.* Little, Brown, London

thinkers and revolutionaries who made London their temporary or permanent home.[12]

Numerically, the most significant influx of migrants into London from outside Britain during the Victorian era occurred at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. From 1880 to 1914 more than 2 million Russian and East European Jews fled their homelands because of economic hardship and increasingly ferocious and murderous persecution. Between 120 000 and 140 000 of them came to the UK and many found a new home in London. Like the earlier Huguenot migrants fleeing persecution, many of them settled in the Spitalfields area in the East End of London.[13]

The aftermath of the First World War, characterised by increasing political and economic turmoil as well as the establishment of a number of fascist regimes in mainland Europe, brought more European migrants and refugees to the UK and London in the 1920s and 1930s. At the same time, more and more inhabitants of Britain's vast colonial Empire headed for the colonial "motherland" and in particular its capital. Of specific importance with regard to the UK's and especially London's further development as a multicultural and multilingual society, was the recruitment of Asian, African and West Indian soldiers, who made a significant contribution to Britain's war efforts in both World Wars. Although the vast majority were not stationed in the UK, or returned home after the wars, a significant number remained in the UK and London.

Figure 1: Brick Lane Jamme Masjid

The Brick Lane Jamme Masjid (Bengali: ব্রিক লেন জামে মসজিদ "Brick Lane Great Mosque") is located in the area of Spitalfields at the corner of Brick Lane and Fournier Street in east London.

The building is an appropriate symbol of London's and in particular of Spitalfields' multiethnic and multicultural past and present. The building was constructed as a Huguenot Church in 1746; it then served as a Methodist chapel before it became a Jewish synagogue in the late 19th century.

With many members of the Jewish community leaving the East End after the Second World War for more prosperous parts of London, the synagogue closed and in 1976 the building reopened as a mosque.

Photo: © Steve Cadman, under Creative Commons licence. http://bit.ly/18AQ7AF

In the aftermath of the Second World War, which saw the independence of most of Britain's colonies and their membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, the UK economy experienced a lack of labour and the government and businesses started to recruit migrant workers, first from Europe and then from many of the former colonies. Within a few years after the end of the war more than 300 000 European nationals (mainly from Italy, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia) had been recruited to work in the UK, and from the 1950s and 1960s onwards they were joined by hundreds of thousands of migrants, first from the Caribbean, then from partitioned India, Africa and Hong Kong.[14] Britain withdrew the right of most Commonwealth citizens to settle and live in the UK after 1962, and migration from the Commonwealth now depended on quota regulations, while it also continued in the form of chain migration and family unification. The 1970s brought the arrival of many Asians from Kenya and mainly Uganda, while the 1971 Bangladesh War of Independence led to a further increase in the presence of Bengali migrants who had already been coming to London in the 1960s and had settled – like the French Huguenots and the East European Jews before them – in the Spitalfields area of East London.

12   Freitag, S. (2003) *Exiles from European Revolutions. Refugees in mid-Victorian England.* Berghahn Books, Oxford
13   Winder, R. (2004) *Bloody Foreigners. The Story of Immigration to Britain.* Little, Brown, London
14   Ibid., p. 344.

In many ways, this area in the East End of London perfectly summarizes London's ethnic and linguistic diversity throughout the centuries. Historically labelled *'Petty France'* and *'Little Jerusalem'*, the area is now known as *'Banglatown'* due to the large presence of Londoners of Bangladeshi origin. To add to the mix, the area more recently saw the arrival of many Somali refugees, while it is also home to many Eastern European migrants who have come to London since 2004, as well as many young urban professionals from all over the world, who are attracted by the cosmopolitan feel of the area.

3. Contemporary perspective: Demolinguistic profile of London

As a result of the historical migrations just outlined and continuing contemporary population movements, London is by far the most ethnically and linguistically diverse area of the UK. Around 40% of all the UK's migrants live in the capital, it is Britain's number one destination for new migrants, and the city is also home to some of Britain's longest-settled immigrant communities. According to the latest census carried out in 2011, London has a total population of just fewer than 8.2 million inhabitants, who live in 3.27 million households. The figures also show that almost 3 million Londoners were born outside the UK, and that nearly half of these migrants arrived in the capital during the last decade. Compared to 1987, when just under a fifth of all London residents had been born abroad, the relative size of London's immigrants has more than doubled from 18% to 37% of the total population of the city.[15]

3.1. Contemporary immigration

While historically London has seen significant periods of immigration not only, but mainly from colonies and former colonies of the British Empire, its population has become increasingly ethnically and linguistically diverse over the last thirty years.[16] From the 1980s onwards, new groups of immigrants arrived, including labour migrants and refugees from countries with little or no historical links to Britain. The process of European integration, and specifically the creation of a common European market, which led to the increasingly free movement of EU workers and citizens, also contributed significantly to an increase in London's immigrant population. In 2011 nearly 9% of London's population was born in an EU member state other than the UK or Ireland.[17] The UK's decision to open its labour market to migrants from the 'A8' accession states that joined the EU in 2004, created another wave of migration, demonstrated by the fact that 4.5% of today's London residents were born in these countries, nearly half of them in Poland.

Figure 2: A new arrival on Covent Garden Market: the Polish Delicatessen.

However, the most significant aspect of recent migration to London is its diversity and the fact that no particular global region or country dominates. Of the nearly 3 million Londoners not born in the UK, nearly 1 million were born in Europe, almost 970 000 in Asia and the Middle East, 620 000 in Africa, more than 325 000 in the Americas and the Caribbean, and more than 84 000 in Australasia and Oceania. A look at the 20 numerically most significant countries of birth, shown in table 1, confirms the overall diversity, in particular if one considers that together these countries only account for little more than half of the total of London's immigrant population.

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15   All data compiled from the census publications made by the UK Office for National Statistics available at:
      http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/index.html
16   For a historical overview of immigration to the UK and London see Winder (2004).
17   UK Office for National Statistics available at: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/index.html
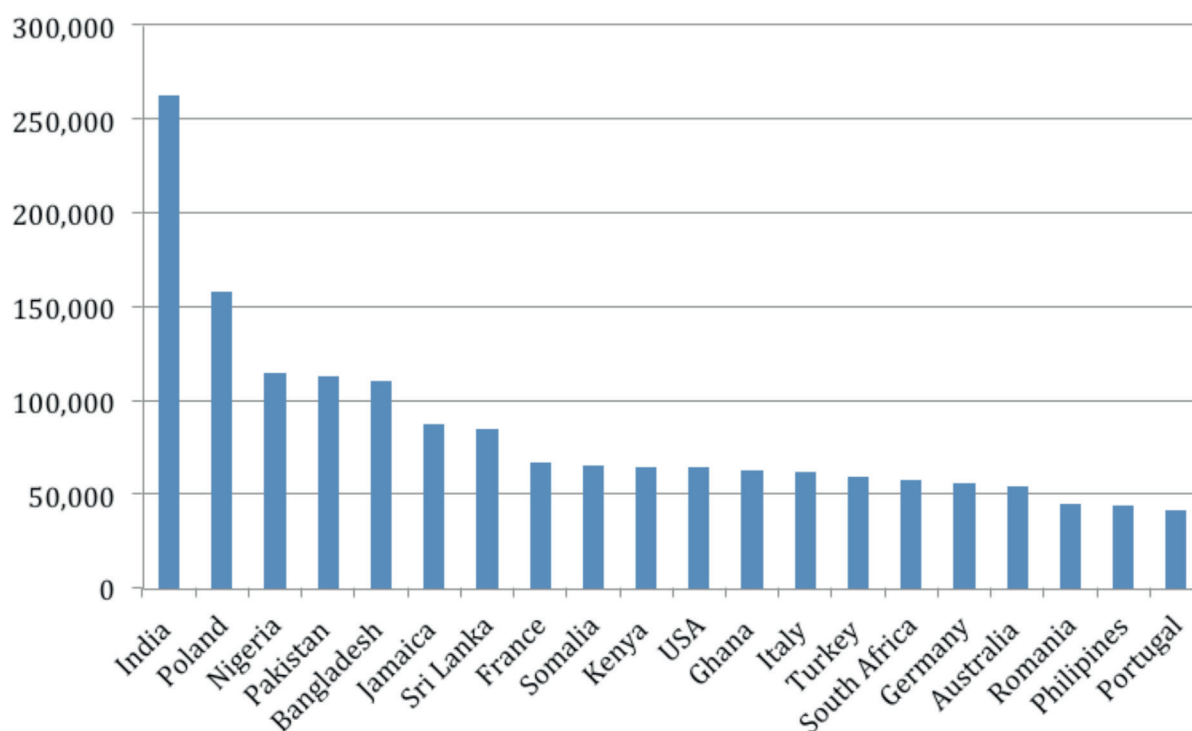
Table 1: London migrants by birthplace - top 20 countries (census 2011)

3.2. Ethnicity

Another angle from which to look at London's ethnic and linguistic diversity is provided by examining how its inhabitants respond to questions about their "ethnicity". The 2011 census asked London residents to describe their ethnic origin or identity in terms of five main ethnic-geographical categories, which subsume a number of sub-categories:

(i)   White (including, English, Scottish, Welsh, Northern Irish, British, Irish as well as other white);

(ii)   Mixed/multiple ethnic group;

(iii)   Asian/Asian British (including the categories Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Chinese);

(iv)   Black / African / Caribbean / Black British;

(v)   Other ethnic group (including Arab).

Ignoring the numerous methodological and other problems related to this rather crude attempt of measuring ethnic affiliations,[18] the results confirm London as a city characterised by extraordinary ethnic diversity, as shown in figure 1, which divides the category of white into British white and non-British white.

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18   For a recent discussion see Aspinall, P.J. (2012) *Answer formats in British census and survey ethnicity questions: Does open response better capture 'superdiversity'?* In *Sociology*, 46 (2). pp. 354-36

Other ethnic
groups [2] 3.4%

Black /African/
Caribbean/Black
British 13.3%

White British
45.0%

Asian/ British
Asian[1] 18.4%

White other
(non-British)
14.8%

Mixed or
multiple
ethnicity 5.0%

[1]including Indian,
Pakistani,
Bangladeshi and
Chinese
[2]including Arab
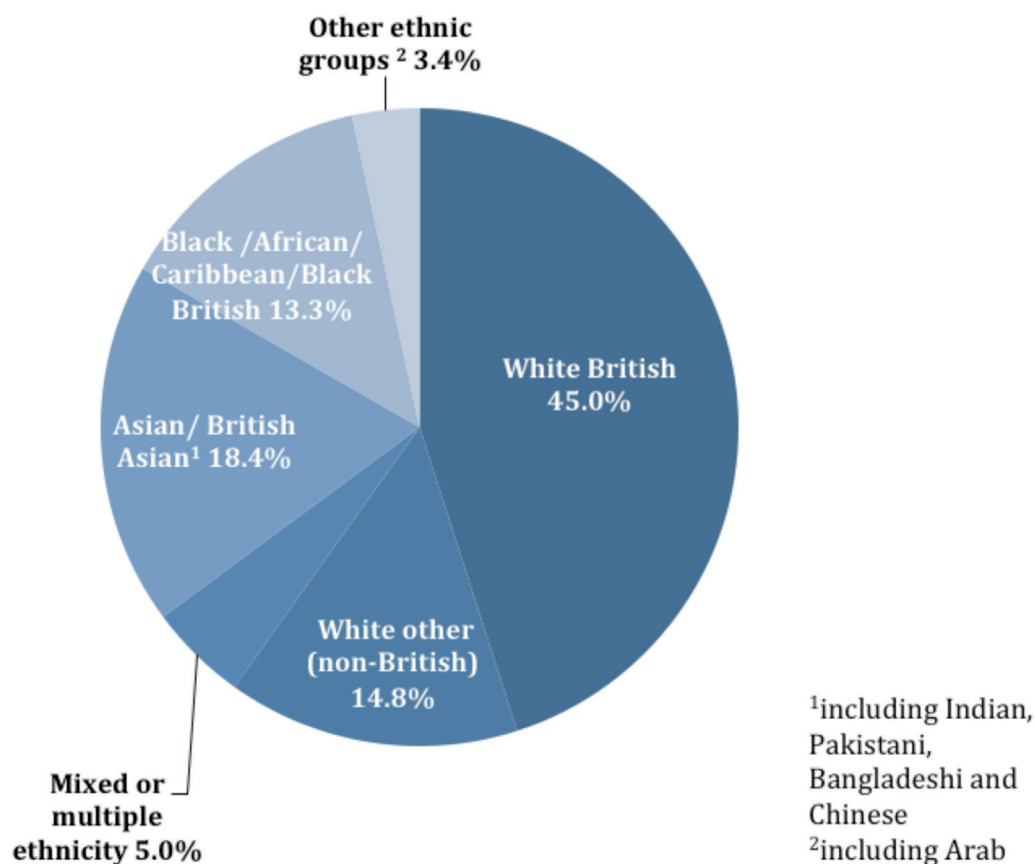
Figure 3: Relative frequencies of ethnic categories chosen by Londoners in response to census question

Using data on nationality as well as birthplace in conjunction with reported ethnicity, it is possible to outline the present situation in some more detail. Some of the longest-settled migrants arrived in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s from former British colonies and countries belonging to the Commonwealth. Although large scale labour migration from these areas has since come to an end due to restrictions placed on migration from former colonies and Commonwealth countries, many of these migrants were joined by relatives, and migrants continue to arrive from these countries to this day. The long-standing South Asian presence in London is reflected by the number of Londoners describing their ethnicity as Asian or British Asian (Indian 6.6%, Pakistani 2.7%, Bangladeshi 2.7%)[19] as well as the significant presence in London of people who were born in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The data also show some prominent settlement patterns. The majority of Londoners who identify themselves as Indian (Asian/British Asian) have settled in outer London, particular in the boroughs of Harrow, Hounslow and Brent, where up to a fifth of the local population describe their ethnicity in these terms. These boroughs also contain the highest number of Londoners born in India. A look at Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants and communities confirms that their presence is particularly prominent in East London. In the inner London borough of Tower Hamlets nearly a third of the local population describe their ethnicity as Asian/ British (Bangladeshi), while nearly 10% of the population of Newham, also located in the East End of London, identify themselves as Asian/British Asian (Pakistani). This borough is also home to a large number of Londoners who describe themselves as Indian or Bangladeshi.

Looking at Londoners who identify their ethnicity as black or black British (African, Caribbean or other black), settlement is more evenly spread across the boroughs of inner and outer London, with significant clusters of settlement in the South London boroughs of Lambeth, Southwark and Lewisham, Hackney in North London and Newham in East London. The presence of Londoners identifying themselves as black African and black Caribbean is linked to different patterns, phases and types of migration. Historically, a relatively large number of black Caribbean migrants arrived as

19   The sub-categories Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi are part of the main category Asian/British Asian

labour migrants in the 1950s and 1960s, and after immigration possibilities from Britain's former Caribbean colonies became more restricted as family members or spouses. Numerically significant immigration from Africa began in the 1950s and 1960s from colonies and former colonies and in the form of family chain migration and professional as well as educational migration it continues to this day.

The category "white – other" is related to long established presence of migrants from mainland Europe, the US, Australia and Latin America. As already mentioned above, the most important recent migration saw the arrival of hundreds of thousands of working migrants from Eastern and Central Europe (mainly from Poland).

3.3. Linguistic communities

For the first time the census also contained a question on languages spoken in households ("What is your main language?") and a question on English language proficiency ("How well can you speak English?").[20]

Figure 4: 2011 Census Language Questions

Source: UK Census questionnaire

According to the published planning documentation, the questions were included to ascertain "the need for translation and interpretation services […] and for providing English language lessons […], to gain a better understanding of the ethno-religious diversity of the UK population, […] to understand the impact of English language ability on employment and other social inclusion indicators [and] to identify linguistic resources in the UK for business reasons."[21] Figure 3 shows that 26% of households in London have members whose main language is not English, and that in nearly 13% of all households no person has English as their main language.
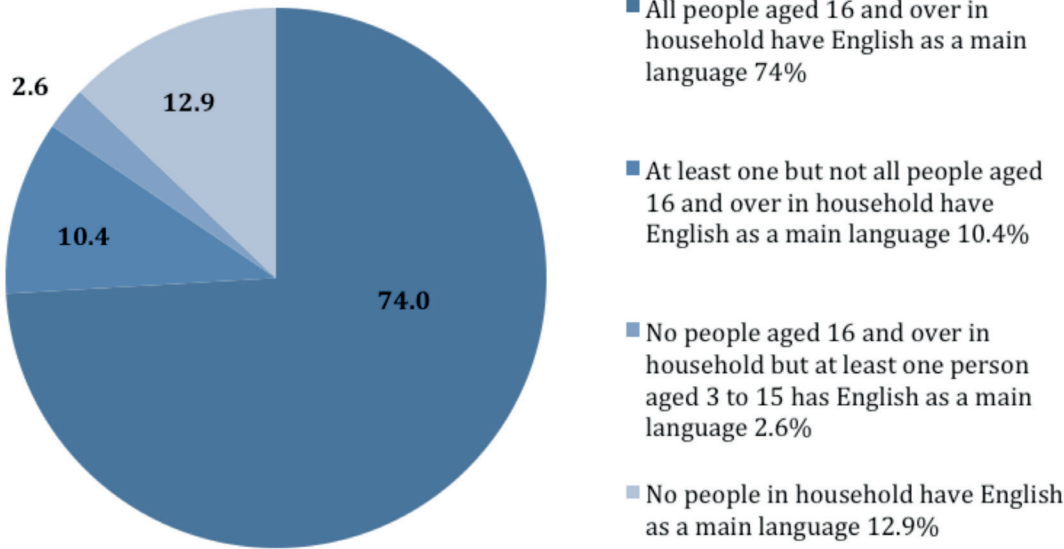
Figure 5: English as a main language in London households (percentages of London households; census 2011)

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20   UK Office for National Statistics (2011) Census 2011 Questionnaire. Available at http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/the-2011-census/2011-census-questionnaire-content/2011-census-questionnaire-for-england.pdf

21   UK Office for National Statistics (2009). Final recommended questions for the 2011 Census in England and Wales - Language. Available at http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/the-2011-census/2011-census-questionnaire-content/question-and-content-recommendations/final-recommended-questions-2011---language.pdf

A closer look at the quarter of households in London where English is not the main language reveals the current degree of linguistic diversity in the capital. More than 1.7 million Londoners over the age of three speak a language other than English as their main language. Table 2 shows the 15 largest community languages/language groups[22] in London.
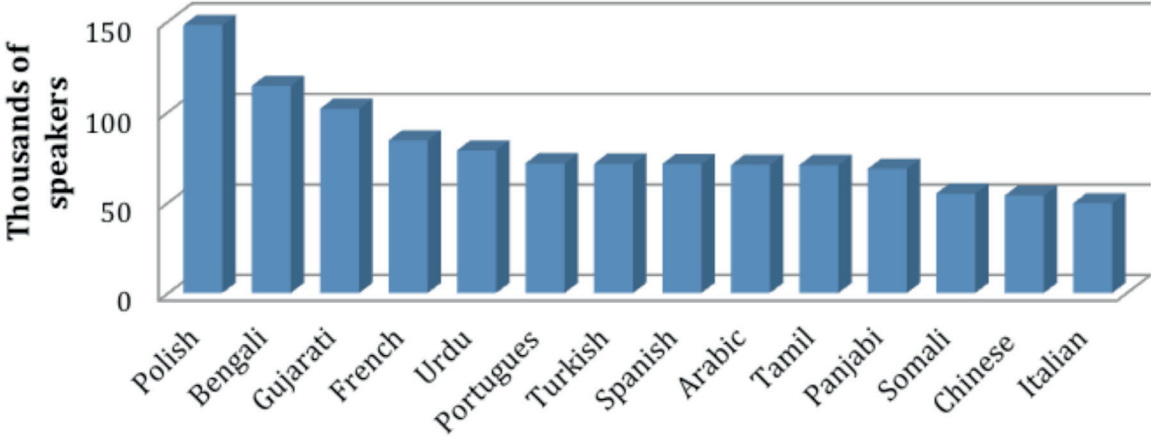
Table 2: The 15 largest community languages/language groups in London

This set of 15 languages can be divided into groups of

(i) very large community languages (more than 100 000 speakers): ***Polish, Bengali*** *(with Sylheti and Chatgaya)* and ***Gujarati***,

(ii) large community languages with 68 000 to 84 000 speakers: ***French, Urdu, Portuguese, Turkish, Spanish, Arabic, Tamil, Panjabi*** and

(iii) sizeable community languages with around 50 000 resident speakers: ***Somali, Chinese languages*** (including *Mandarin*, *Cantonese* & others) and ***Italian***.

Together these 15 languages account for 64% of residents who do not have English as their main language. The remaining 58 languages named in the data account for 33% of community language speakers, while the last 3% of numerically very small languages spoken by London are not named in the published census data.

If we compare these figures with the data on school population,[23] there are interesting differences to be observed:

(i) The top 3 languages in schools are: Bengali (46 681 speakers), Urdu (29 354) and Somali (27 126)

(ii) Followed by Panjabi, Gujarati, Arabic, Turkish, Tamil, Yoruba and French (between 21 000 and 13 000 speakers)

(iii) Other sizeable groups are: Portuguese, Polish, Spanish, Albanian, Akan, Persian and Chinese languages (between 12 000 and 6 000)

One of possible explanations for the differences between adult and school populations can be that the new waves of immigrants from countries, such as Poland, are naturally predominantly adults looking for work, often arriving as single men or women. On the other hand Bengali is very high up in both sets of data, reflecting a settled community with a

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22   Bengali includes Sylheti and Chatgaya; Chinese includes Mandarin, Cantonese and other varieties. We are using the term 'community language' to refer to any language other than English which is spoken in London.

23   Eversley, J., Mehmedbegovic, D., Sanderson, A., Tinsley, T. and Von Ahn, M. (2010). *Language Capital: Mapping the Languages of London's Schoolchildren.* CILT & Institute of Education, London.

consistent presence in both the adult and school populations.

One group that goes against these trends are Somali speakers. Although they are a recent and growing immigrant group, there is a higher ratio of children in comparison to adults. This can be explained by the fact that Somali women typically have children earlier in life and very often more than two children. Also, because of the conflict in Somalia a significant number of Somali school-age children arrive in the UK as unaccompanied minors, having lost their parents in the war. This shows that having insights into the background of each individual community is essential in order to understand current trends and differences in data sets.

Looking outside the group of 15 large or very large languages, the next 20 languages listed in table 3 below have between 10 000 and 40 000 speakers and account for a quarter of all residents reporting that English is not their main language.
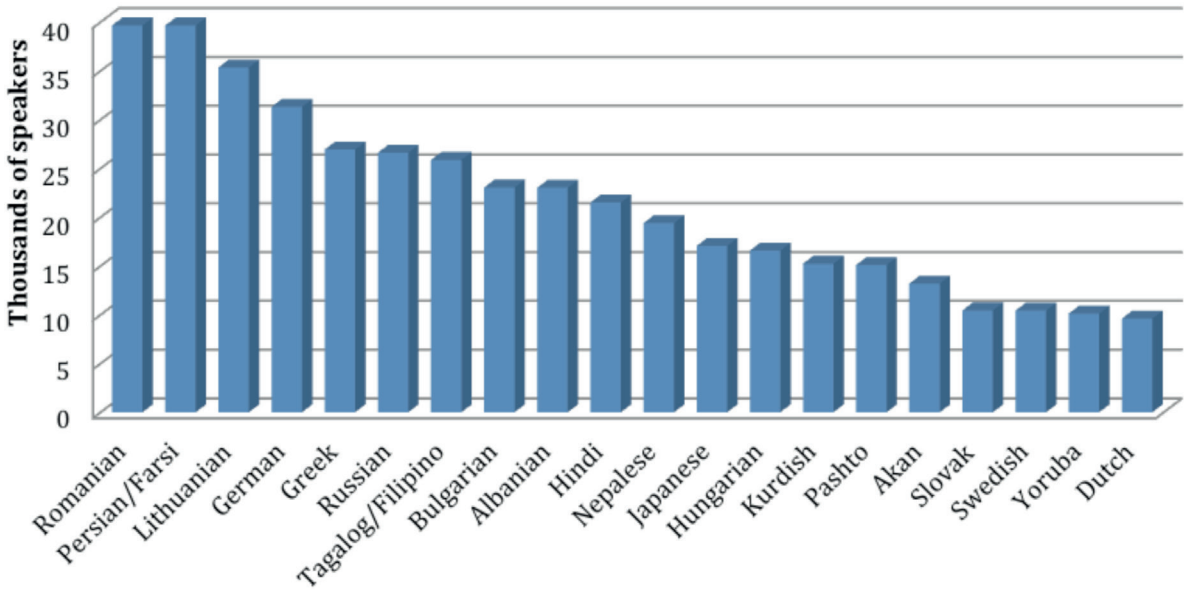
Table 3: London languages with 10 000 – 40 000 speakers

In the City of Westminster, which is the main focus of our City Report, the 15 largest community languages account for 77% of all speakers of community languages.

Figure 4 shows the absolute number of speakers for each language, as well as the percentage each language has of the total of residents who do not have English as their main language.
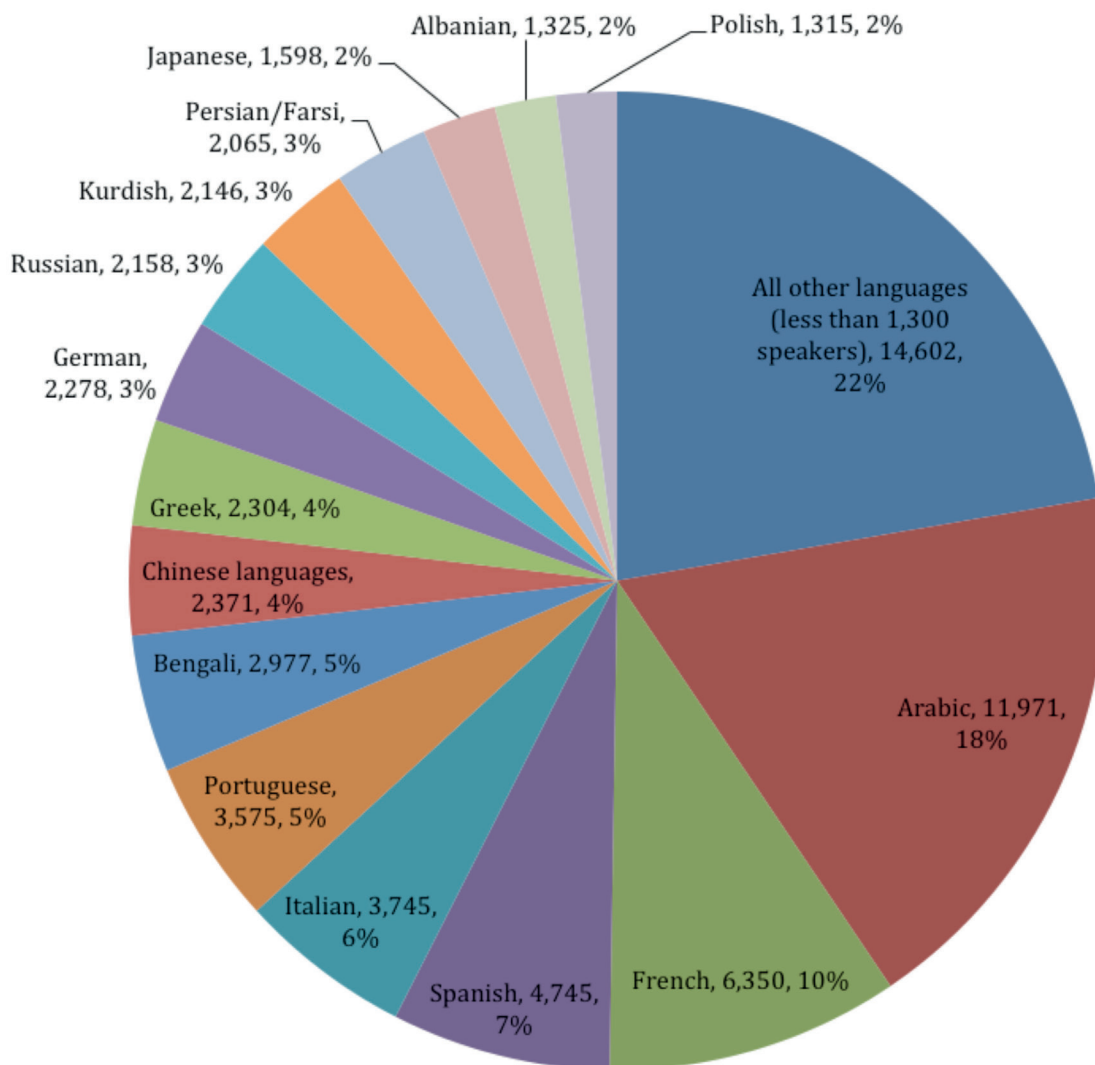
Figure 6: Communities' languages in Westminster, Central London[24]

In Westminster, as in the rest of London, the overall picture is one of extraordinary linguistic diversity, where amongst the different community languages of a local government area no single linguistic community is particularly dominant. The one exception to this is the London borough of Tower Hamlets, where more than 18% of inhabitants (i.e. more than 50% of the total of speakers of community languages) have Bengali as their main language. Figure 5 shows notable linguistic communities across London. The percentages relate to the total number of residents in each local government area. Figure 6 is a map of second languages spoken in central London.

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24   Bengali includes Sylheti & Chatgaya; Chinese = Cantonese, Mandarin & other Chinese languages.
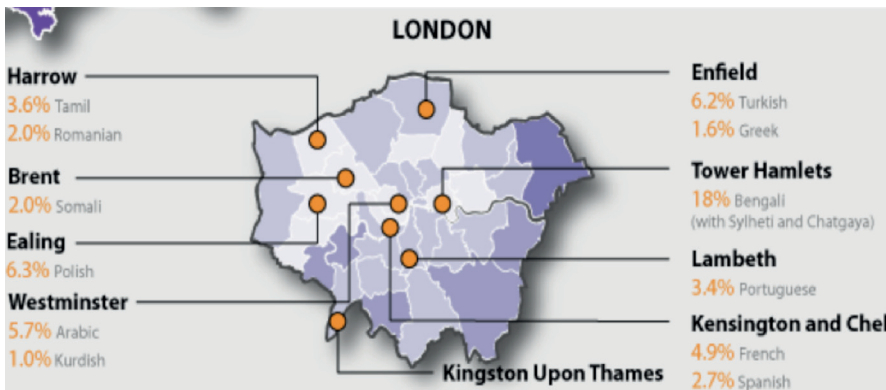
Figure 7: Notable linguistic communities (% of total population in each borough)[25]
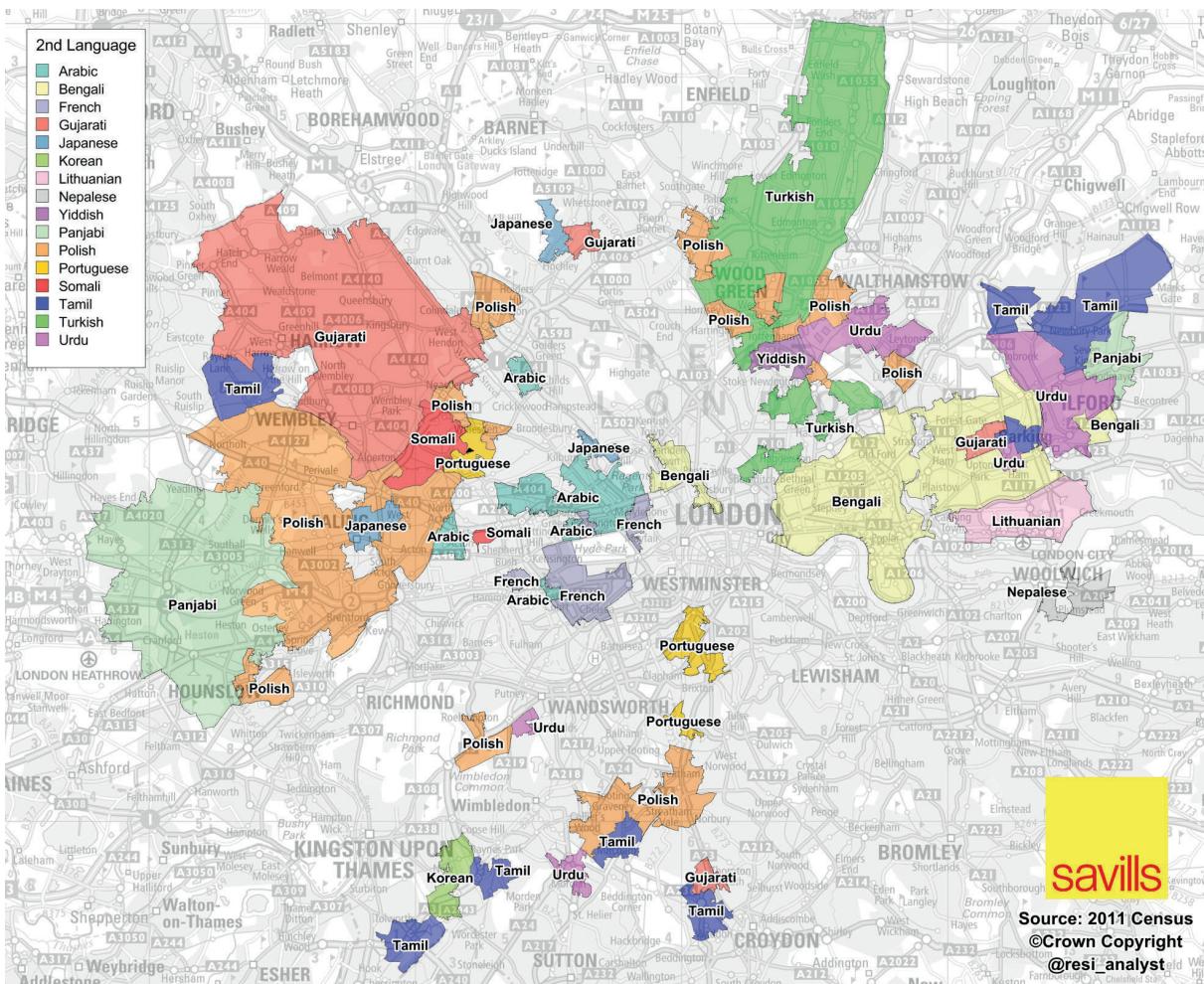
Figure 8: Second languages spoken in London[26]

25   UK Office for National Statistics (2013). *Language in England and Wales, 2011.* Available at
      http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_302179.pdf © Crown copyright 2014
26   Hudson, N (2013) http://mappinglondon.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/londonsecond_lang.jpg Reproduced by permission.
      © Crown copyright 2011 @resi_analyst

3.4. English language proficiency

The census also included a question asking residents whose main language is not English to state their proficiency in English ("How well can you speak English?") giving the choices of (i) very well, (ii) well, (iii) not well and (iv) cannot speak English. Figure 7 shows the overall picture for London:

Cannot speak English, 47,917, 3%

Cannot speak English well, 271,693, 16%

Can speak English very well, 763,502, 44%

Can speak English well, 643,410, 37%
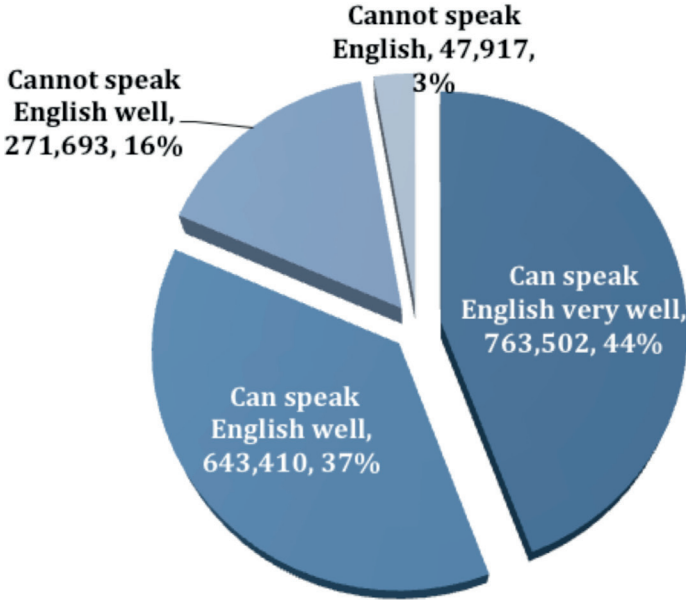
Figure 9: Self-assessed oral English language proficiency of speakers of community languages

While the overall reported proficiency is certainly positive and should alleviate often voiced fears about a general lack of English language proficiency amongst migrants, these numbers also show that a large number of Londoners (more than 300 000 in total) report that they do not speak English well or think that they cannot speak it at all. Keeping in mind, furthermore, that these figures relate to self-reported oral proficiency and do not say anything about reading and writing abilities in English, an increase in the English language proficiency of speakers of community languages should be an important political and social goal. To achieve this, the continued public funding of ESOL classes, which has repeatedly come under threat, is a prerequisite.

Figure 10: An ESOL class

The data on English language proficiency in the population of London shows the need for continued funding ESOL classes.

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4. The LUCIDE network

This city report is produced as a contribution to a partnership exploration of multilingualism and plurilingualism in 13 European cities: Athens, Dublin, Hamburg, Limassol, London, Madrid, Osijek, Oslo, Rome, Sofia, Strasbourg, Utrecht and Varna. The research methodology has been jointly agreed, aimed at generating new knowledge about improved use of diversity as an economic and social cohesion resource. These new and joint insights from 13 European cities of diverse profiles will provide a knowledge base of interest to a wider research and professional communities working on enhancing our understanding of how the cultural richness of urban contexts can strengthen the "diverse unity" of Europe in the 21st century.

The aims of our network are to depict how communication occurs in multilingual cities and to develop ideas about how to manage multilingual citizen communities. In LUCIDE's research activities, we are therefore interested in the real-life complexities faced by individuals in various spheres and aspects of city life.

4.0.1. Research approach

Our approach considers language in its communicative processes and practice rather than from a more static perspective (e.g. counting people/languages). These communicative processes and practices may be understood within a typology of language use:

1. Symbolic/representational use of language;

2. Transactional/communicative/ pragmatic use of languages other than the national language by authorities on the ground, for communicative efficiency;

3. Authoritative/directive

During 2012 the research was organised in two phases - secondary data collection, followed by primary data collection. These two phases were designed to feed into the content development of our network: inter alia, its seminars, workshops and city reports. These two phases are presented in turn below.

4.0.2. Secondary data collection

LUCIDE partners conducted fifteen meta-surveys of recent secondary data on multilingualism and plurilingualism in the network's cities. As well as the more traditional academic or policy documents on multilingualism, we were also interested in a variety of examples of multilingualism. These varied in each sphere, but included artefacts (printed/visual/digital) which illustrated the multilingual reality of the city, like websites, advertising campaigns, public or private documents (biographies, diaries, official correspondence).

Five key spheres were delineated in order to provide for comprehensive and systematic exploration of how languages are encountered, used and learned in city life.

These spheres included the public sphere, education, economic life, the private lives of citizens, and urban spaces or the 'cityscape'. It was decided to examine education as an individual sphere, given the focus of our network on language learning, although often it falls within the public remit. This phase of secondary research yielded a considerable quantity of data which allowed us to generate a relevant set of research questions.

4.0.3 Primary data collection

In the second phase of our research, we sought to gain insights from city respondents about the reality of multi/plurilingualism in their city, about language policy/practice, visibility, affordances and challenges. These interviews were adapted according to local circumstances but included questions on the visibility of different languages, on the challenges involved in creating and managing multilingualism in an urban context and on some of the difficulties posed for individuals.

In London a team of four researchers consulted 82 professionals relevant to the identified spheres. The methods used were either interviews or questionnaires. Our sampling was purposive in terms of relevant professions: education, social work, public services, police and finance and business sector professionals. In terms of linguistic and ethnic background our participants reflected a wide range of diverse profiles present in London, the breakdown of which will be provided in the continuation of this report. The collected data was analysed within the five identified themes, as already listed.
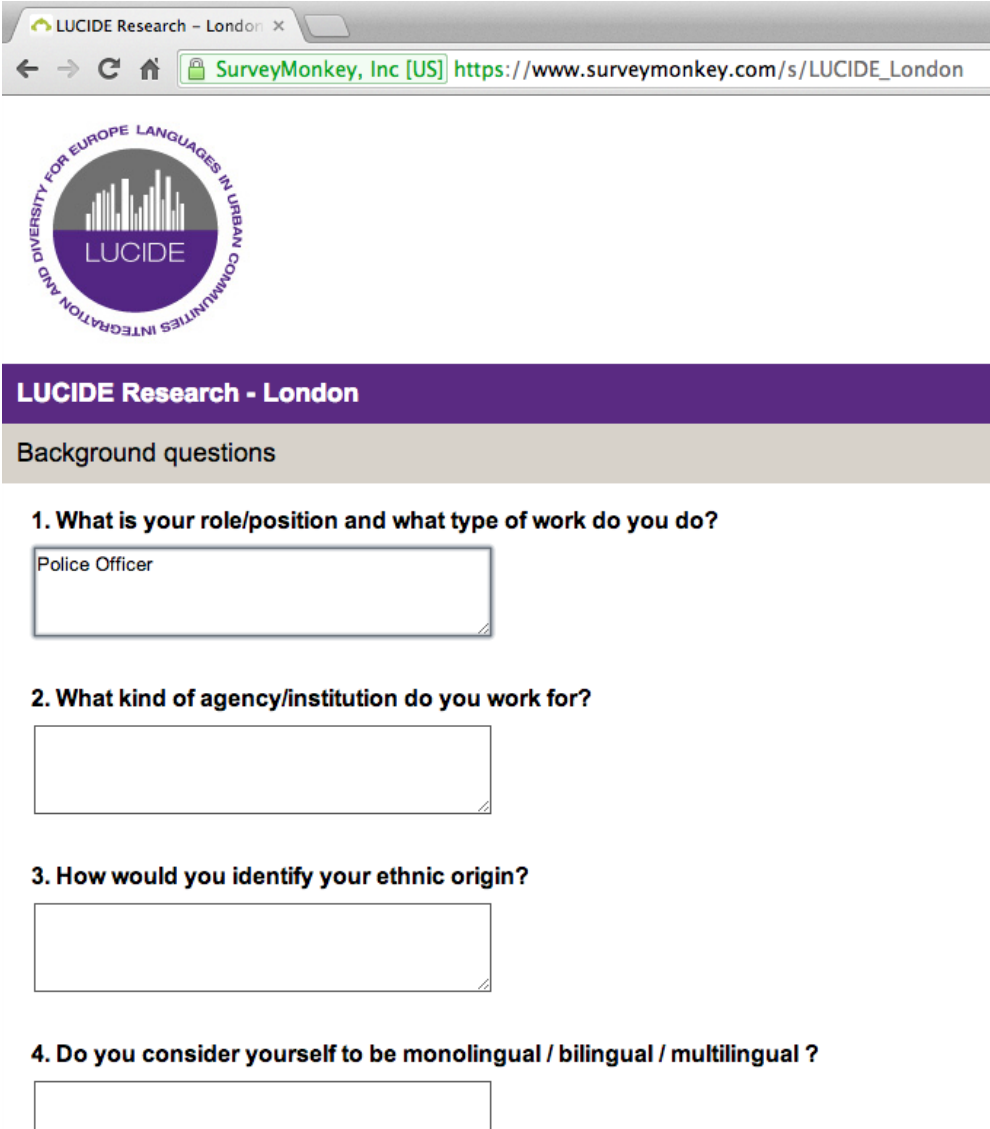

Figure 11: LUCIDE questionnaire screenshot

Data was collected by face to face interview and via questionnaires

4.1 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the education sphere

4.1.1 Policy Context: English as an Additional Language(EAL)

England as a country with high rates of immigration has been addressing the issue of English as an Additional Language (EAL) since 1966[27] [28]. While in the 1960s the waves of immigration were linked to the Commonwealth ties and history, more recently the main influx of immigrants has been from the countries of the European Union. Amongst these, Polish people are the most represented group. In urban areas there is a higher concentration of EAL or bilingual pupils, defined as 'children exposed to another language (other than English) in their homes or communities'.[29] It is estimated that over 50% of the school children in inner London classify as bilingual and in individual schools it can be as high as 70 to over 90%. It needs to be emphasised that the broad and inclusive definition of exposure to more than one language is necessary and suitable to the context where there are many different types of bilingualism with various degrees of competencies in languages used. In London alone there are around 233 languages recorded as used by school children.[30]

The patterns of immigration have also changed and although London remains the main site of mass and multiple immigrations, other urban and even rural areas and schools are now also receiving new arrivals. The urgency to equip all the layers of the national school workforce for working effectively with children who are new to English and still developing age appropriate competencies in English has been apparent for some time. The Institute of Education (2008) research identified the lack of recruitment of specialist teachers who are increasingly being replaced by teaching assistants.[31] According to the interviewed experts a lack of understanding of EAL specialism among school leaders and increasing financial pressures result in such practices[32].

Specific to the context of London is a growing number of international and bilingual schools, supported either by the European Union or national governments. The International Schools England Directory (http://www. independentschools.com/england/international_schools.php) lists 42 schools in England, while LISA (The London International School Association, http://www.lisa.org.uk/) lists 14 international schools dotted around London. Other searches also reveal a number of bilingual schools: the heavily oversubscribed and well established French Lycée in South Kensington, supported by a local network of bilingual French primary schools; the German Grammar School in Richmond; the Swedish School; the Norwegian School; a number of American Schools; the Spanish School and the more recently established Italian School. Some of these schools have over 1000 pupils on roll and offer exposure to and learning in more than one language. Bilingualism and plurilingualism in this parallel education system are highly valued and strategically developed. In terms of the way the workforce in international schools is equipped to support the language development of their pupils, requirements are very high. According to the requirements of the European Council of International Schools,[33] every teacher – regardless of the subject specialism – is required to have the International Teacher Certificate (ITC), which is developed and examined by the University of Cambridge. Its main aim is to 'equip teachers with the global mind-set necessary for successful teaching in the 21st century'.[34] This certificate has five standards, one of them focuses on the 'language dimension' of teaching and learning. The intercultural aspect of education in international schools is also addressed by the standards. These schools are committed to developing 'able communicators' through English, foreign languages and mother tongues. The danger of not engaging with the elite layer of bilingual/plurilingual pupils educated in the independent sector may lead to having a skewed picture of this phenomenon on the whole. The independent sector offers an insight into contexts where pupils experience bilingualism/ plurilingualism as the norm and a highly valued resource.

Although bilingual pupils are becoming a norm in many urban mainstream settings too, most of all in London, the mainstream sector in England still largely suffers from the deficit model of bilingual pupils.

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27   Education Act, Section 11 (1966)
28   Excellence in Schools White Paper (1997)
29   Hall, D. (2001) *Assessing the needs of bilingual pupils: Living in two languages,* 2nd edition. David Fulton, London.
30   Eversley, J., Mehmedbegovic, D., Sanderson, A., Tinsley, T. and Von Ahn, M. (2010) *Language Capital: Mapping the Languages of London's Schoolchildren*. CILT & Institute of Education, London.
31   Institute of Education, (2008) *English as an Additional Language (EAL) provision in schools - 10 Case Studies*. Institute of Education, London.
32   Ibid
33   http://www.ecis.org
34   http://www.internationalteachercertificate.com/why.asp ECIS [Accessed May 2013]

4.1.2. Mainstream practice

Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs) in England mostly arrive in schools having had very little input, often one lecture, on working with EAL learners.[35] In inner London schools, all NQTs are likely to have the majority of their lessons in highly multilingual classes. In such contexts their ITT (Initial Teacher Training) is a seriously insufficient preparation for the reality of London schools. This has been an issue for the last ten years. The NQTs themselves have raised it with the then Teaching Training Agency.[36] The Teaching Development Agency (TDA), the successor to the TTA, responded to these concerns by supporting the development of the Multiverse Website for NQTs which for many years provided examples of good practice and relevant research findings. However, this resource is no longer available, due to recent cuts. Individual PGCE (Post Graduate Certificate in Education) providers in London, such as the Institute of Education (IOE) have been providing two whole days of EAL training, which has recently become the EAL pathway with more added time, for PGCE students in Languages. This way teachers of foreign languages are also prepared to work in EAL departments, which is especially useful if they only offer one foreign language they can teach.

In the last decade there has been an increased recognition that teachers in the capital need a distinct set of skills and professional knowledge in order to engage with "complex issues of diversity and pupil learning found in London schools".[37] As a part of the London Challenge, the Charted London Teacher Status (CLT) initiative, launched by the DfES in September 2004, put a significant emphasis on the knowledge of the range of communities, cultures and subcultures in London and developing inclusive practices.[38] However having a strong focus on culture in CLT has the potential of creating a culture-language dichotomy. Many London practitioners are already advanced in terms of accommodating multiculturalism as one of the defining elements of citizenship, education and everyday life, whilst multi- and plurilingualism mainly manifests itself as part of a school's data. Often the fact that a school lists 40 languages spoken by 30 per cent of its pupils will not be visible in the classrooms, notebooks or schemes of work. It is a missed opportunity therefore that the Chartered London Teacher Status scheme does not specifically mention linguistic diversity. The importance of multiculturalism to excellent teacher practice in London is recognised but the recognition of excellent teacher practice in relation to multilingualism is left more open. Also, it is not ideal that EAL learners are mentioned under the point referring to 'reducing individual barriers to learning' and in the same sentence as SEN pupils.[39] Referring to bilingualism as 'a barrier to learning' undermines a natural process of new language acquisition and can perpetuate the attitude that bilingualism is a problem rather than a resource. The CLT Scheme is still available to teachers, although it does not have the presence or popularity that it did during the London Challenge period.

For practitioners at senior level and headteachers, the situation is somewhat similar. There is no compulsory EAL module in the NPQH (National Professional Qualification for Headship) training. Even though there is a compulsory module on racial and cultural diversity, again it cannot be taken for granted that multilingualism will be sufficiently covered under these two headings. The data and evidence collected in a study of four London headteachers provides an insight into the absence of professional development specifically addressing multilingualism.[40] Securing sufficient input on multilingualism for future headteachers currently going through training and for existing heads through professional development is of vital importance in a system where headteachers have almost unlimited autonomy to decide how to utilise funds allocated to schools for bilingual children. London schools cannot afford a leadership vacuum in this area as without good leadership existing pockets of good practice in using first languages in the curriculum and supporting children to develop bilingually can easily be lost. This is a serious issue for the leadership of schools in London which needs headteachers who will champion good practice that enhances the acquisition of English and plurilingualism.[41]

4.1.3. Recent Developments: National School Workforce Strategy for EAL

35   NUT/NALDIC, (2011) *National Ethnic Minority Achievement Education Survey – A Summary of Findings* available at http://www.naldic.org.uk/Resources/NALDIC/Advocacy/Documents/NUT%20NALDIC%20SurveyOctober%202011.pdf

36   http://www.tda.gov.uk/training-provider/itt/data-surveys/nqt-survey-archived-results.aspx Training & Development Agency for Schools [Accessed May 2013]

37   DfES (2004) Chartered London Teacher Standard

38   Ibid

39   Ibid

40   Mehmedbegovic, D. (2008) *Leading increasingly linguistically diverse schools.* In *Educate*, Special Issue, October 2008 Vol 8, No 2, *The Journal of Doctoral Research in Education*. IOE, London

41   Mehmedbegovic, D. *Community/ Foreign Languages* in Hill, D. and Helavaara Robertson, L. (eds.) (2009) *Equality in the Primary School: Promoting good practice across the curriculum*, Continuum, London

In 2007 The Training and Development Agency (TDA) commissioned the Institute of Education, in the consortium with the Learning and Skills Network, to advise them on the development of a national school workforce strategy for EAL. This project was charged to outline a strategy in which every EAL learner in mainstream schools in England would be supported better in achieving their full potential, and every member of the teaching workforce would be more appropriately equipped to address the needs and talents of EAL learners.

One of the key distinctions of this strategy in comparison to previous policy responses was its intent to challenge deficit models of bilingual learners, made very prominent in its publicity and consultation documents: "This should not be a strategy being put in place to address a "problem". It has ambitious goals; to support the language and curriculum learning of EAL learners at every level, including the most gifted and talented, across the breadth of the curriculum and throughout their school lives."[42] The evidence for the development of this strategy was collected in a research exercise carried out by the project team from November 2007 to April 2008.

After five years of investments and efforts into developing a National EAL Workforce Strategy this job remains unfinished. The legacy of what has been developed and achieved so far is uncertain. The strategy was envisaged as enhancing initial teacher training and all stages of professional development, encompassing all members of the teaching workforce across all key stages; those who have a classroom role (teaching and supporting learning), including EAL specialists and mainstream staff, as well as school leaders. In 2010, with the change of government and cuts in the budget for education, the work on the strategy was put on hold. In the following academic year (2010/2011), only one aspect of developmental ITT work was funded. Two pilots titled: Additional Experience in EAL, one for primary PGCE students and one for secondary PGCE students, were developed in consultation with an advisory board. These pilots were offered to two small cohorts of 15 students (30 in total), one at University of Leeds and one at the Institute of Education, University of London. The purpose of these pilots was to widen the current ITT provision addressing EAL learners and offer an optional additional training to teacher trainees across primary and secondary stages and subject specialisms. These pilots received a lot of interest from students and staff and their evaluation emphasised that this small group of students is evidently better equipped than their peers for the school population with which they will be engaging.

4.1.4. Current situation

Under the current political leadership EAL remains a priority on the official agenda for education. However in the climate of severe cuts the process of a loss of relevant specialist expertise continues, at this stage especially at the Local Authority level. This is highly concerning considering that the conducted research[43] identified the Local Authority level as the hub of expertise, good practice and the driver of professional development and good practice dissemination.

A recent NALDIC[44 45 46] survey revealed that 80% of respondents had experienced the reduction of EAL support posts through forced or voluntary redundancies. Common negative impacts identified by respondents included: a reduction in pupil support; a reduction in the availability of knowledgeable specialists; and fragility of the current arrangements. The biggest deterioration was in the quality or availability of support for EAL and bilingual pupils and students; over 60% of respondents reported that support for EAL and bilingual pupils had deteriorated over the previous 6 months.

The most pressing concern remains for bilingual learners. The latest evidence provided by the secondary PGCE students who participated in the above outlined pilot 2010/2011 confirms that concerns raised by experts a few years ago still remain. The students on the pilot were charged with a task of shadowing a bilingual learner in order to understand experiences of bilingual children. All of them, without exception, reported that in their placement secondary schools bilingual children were placed in low ability sets even when they outperformed students in one or even two sets up. They also reported in most cases lack of recognition of skills and knowledge that bilingual children had in their first languages. In some cases schools had stated: 'we do not have EAL issues', whereas Ofsted reports were describing

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42   IOE National EAL Workforce Strategy, Consultation documents (2008)

43   Ibid

44   NUT/NALDIC (2011) *National Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant Survey – A Summary of Findings* available at
      http://www.naldic.org.uk/Resources/NALDIC/Home/Documents/NUTNALDICSurveyreport060211.pdf

45   NALDIC (2006) www.naldic.org.uk/docs/news/archive/news

46   NALDIC (2007) www.naldic.org.uk/docs/news/archive/news

learners of these schools as plurilingual children who spoke up to 50 different languages. Academies styled as focusing on languages were not interested in linguistic competencies of their students beyond French and Spanish. This evidence is clearly communicating that the good practice that exists in isolated pockets is not being disseminated.

Development and dissemination of good practice increasingly depends on individual practitioners, institutions and professional associations. Current national politics and policies are proving to be facilitating deterioration rather than progress in this field. The only stepping stone that remains is EAL in the Teachers' Standards[47]. Organisations such as NALDIC are doing excellent work in filling in gaps in the system in terms of guidance, dissemination of relevant research and supporting practitioners to enhance and enlarge their 'pockets of good practice'. A positive impact that an individual practitioner can make is evident even with teacher trainees, who report increased engagement of all learners when developing approaches based on principles of good EAL practice (IOE Evaluation of the Pilot 2010/11). Developing excellence at the individual level has probably never been more important for this field and learner experience.

4.1.5. Pockets of good practice

The vacuum, which has been created by the lack of ring fenced funding and appropriate policies, is being filled by external agencies: charities, specialist external agencies and professional associations. Below are some examples of excellent practice:

1. Translation Nation

Outline: The **Translation Nation**[48] project introduces children at primary school to translation. It promotes inclusivity of all languages and uniquely links community languages with a curriculum focus on literacy including listening skills and the use of phonics. Translation Nation aims to inspire children at primary school to begin a lifelong exploration of literature from around the world, an enjoyment and appreciation of literary English as well as taking pride in the many languages that have become part of the community.

Method: Working in small groups under the guidance of literary translators, children translate stories that their parents have shared with them from their home languages into clear, vivid English. The process introduces the children to literary fiction and by including music and performance, children find it easy to become engaged and the workshops encourage a more thoughtful, confident, nuanced and imaginative approach to writing in English.

Outcome: Translation Nation is a celebration of the languages spoken in Primary schools in England. By sharing their languages with their peers, students become fascinated by the different worlds that language can create and develop a respect for those with linguistic ability. Parents are able to find new ground on which to communicate with their children and build a bridge between their childhood and their child's. Schools are able to offer parents different ways of becoming involved within the school community and teachers become inspired to adopt more creative ways to engage with their students.
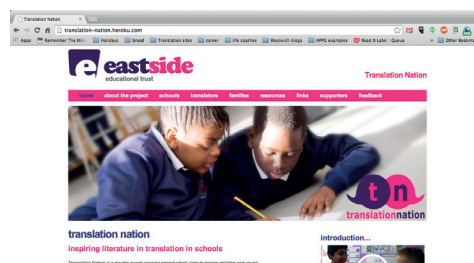
Figure 12: Translation Nation

Translation Nation: http://translation-nation.heroku.com/

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47   DfE (2012, revised 2013) Teachers' Standards. Available at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/208682/Teachers__Standards_2013.pdf
48   http://translation-nation.heroku.com/

The project is a partnership between Eastside Educational Trust and the Stephen Spender Trust. Translation Nation brings together the expertise of Eastside's work in educational settings and Stephen Spender Trust's commitment to literature in translation.

2. Feltham Community College, London

The school[49] has invested in staff from its own budget rather than rely on the uncertainties surrounding external funding such as the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant. To build capacity and to ensure a legacy for the future, the school has organised a 'literacy dream team' to ensure a spread of literacy and EAL skills across all departments. Leaders are ensuring that every department sees literacy and EAL as their responsibility. Last year, twelve teachers across a range of subjects completed an intensive local authority course on supporting bilingual learners in mainstream lessons.

A comprehensive training programme uses the expertise in the department and the local authority specialist language service. As well as whole school training about

Figure 13: Feltham Community College

Feltham Community College: www.feltham.hounslow.sch.uk

how bilingual learners achieve and learn, the school tailors training to particular departments, for example, in science, where underperformance of learners had been identified. Key to the internal training are the two specialist, well qualified teachers who work with staff to share their knowledge and expertise.

4.1.6. Policy Context: Modern Foreign Languages

Modern Foreign Languages (MFL) were for the first time introduced as a compulsory part of education in 1989[50] (*Orders for Modern Languages*, DES) which brought Britain more into line with the European standards. Apart from introducing MFL as a compulsory subject it also classified languages in two categories. The first category listed the languages of the European Community; category two listed a mixture of international and languages spoken by ethnic minority groups in Britain (community languages): Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Gujerati, Hebrew, Hindi, Punjabi, Russian, Turkish and Urdu. Schools were obliged to offer one of the languages from the first category, while other languages were optional. Children who wanted to study more than one language had to do so outside the National Curriculum. No flexibility was given to schools to make their choice in order to reflect the linguistic heritage of their students. This policy was short lived and after only 14 years it was abandoned. MFL has not been a compulsory subject beyond KS3 (age 14) since 2003.

This decision, which was criticised by many as reinforcing the dominant monolingual culture in England, came at the same time as the rest of Europe was subscribing to a 'Mother Tongue plus two languages' European language policy as set out at the Barcelona Counil of 2004. The Dearing Report in 1997[51], which evaluated the position of MFL in the education context, reported that the number of students taking a GCSE (the national secondary school exams at age 16) in languages has fallen from 80% when MFL was mandatory to 51% after it became optional. In some schools where languages have fallen to a very low level a realistic expectation is that it will take up to three years to improve practice and increase the number of students obtaining GCSEs. Aside from numbers, studying MFL has become another aspect of the social divide. Pupils with free school meal entitlement (a measure of social disadvantage) are significantly less likely to gain a language GCSE.[52]

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49   Feltham Community College, Hownslow: http://www.feltham.hounslow.sch.uk/
50   DES (1989) Orders for Modern Language
51   Available at https://bei.leeds.ac.uk/Partners/NCIHE/
52   DfES (2006) Languages Review, pp3, 4, 23.

The impact of England's monolingual culture on economy and society was well documented in the Nuffield Enquiry Report in 2000[53] which revealed that 20% of potential orders were lost due to a lack of skills in languages. A 1% of increase in exports is worth £2 billion to the UK economy. In terms of specific industries, tourism relies on nearly 20 million customers a year from non-English speaking countries having sufficient proficiency in English while key staff at a London airport were found not only unable to respond to a request in another language, but unable to distinguish if the request was in French or Spanish.[54]

The fact that England, unlike any other European country, has categorised languages into 'Modern Foreign Languages' (with high status and educational value), and 'world languages'/ 'minority languages'/'community languages' (with low value) has been one of the main obstacles to remedying the under-utilisation of children's existing linguistic skills. It is increasingly obvious that abandoning this division on MFL and other currently spoken languages makes sound economic and social sense and would be a significant step towards having an equal opportunity system applied to languages. That does not mean that some languages will not be seen in a particular time frame or setting as more favourable, which is not an issue. The issue is the institutionalised hierarchy of languages, which needs to be removed.

Another significant development was the National Language Strategy in the primary sector in 2002.[55] This opened up the possibility of languages being offered in primary schools - and here, schools could decide which language(s) to offer. All languages were seen as equally appropriate for achieving the language learning aims of the Strategy. Giving a language the status of a mainstream subject taught within the National Curriculum had a positive impact on the status of that language in the wider society. Therefore, communities that use that language became more motivated in terms of language maintenance.

National statics show that since languages were made non-statutory at Key Stage 4 in 2004, the proportion of students at Key Stage 4 taking a language GCSE has gradually declined from 61% in 2005 to 44% in 2010. The recent government White Paper recognises this decline and indicates the intention to encourage take-up through schools introducing the 'English Baccalaureate' performance measure of five good grades (A*-C) at GCSE including a language which is now given prominence in school performance tables. Take-up in Key Stage 4 was much improved in the schools visited when students had enjoyed purposeful experiences in Key Stage 3. These included being able to say what they wanted to say and opportunities to talk to or work with native speakers.

Currently, schools are given more flexibility to shape their curriculum and they are encouraged to offer languages perceived to be of economic importance to Britain, such as Mandarin. It is expected that the forthcoming National Curriculum reform (September 2014) will make learning a foreign language compulsory for children aged 7 – 16 years. This change will aim to enable England to move up from the lowest performing nation in the recent ESLC survey of teenage language skills.[56] The main obstacles it will encounter are widely spread attitudes that foreign language learning is 'hard', 'irrelevant' or 'boring' (Headteachers' panel discussion , German Embassy conference, London, December 2013).[57]

According to the most recent reports, such as the British Academy's *State of The Nation* (2013)[58] there is strong evidence that the UK is suffering from a deficit in foreign language skills at a time when global demand for language skills is expanding. The range of languages being taught in the UK is insufficient to meet current and future demand. The existing weak supply of language skills is pushing down demand and creating a vicious circle of monolingualism. Languages spoken by British school children, in addition to English, represent a valuable future source of supply – but only if these skills can be developed appropriately.

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53   Nuffield Foundation (2000) *Languages: The next generation. The final report and recommendations of the Nuffield Languages Inquiry*, Nuffield Foundation, London. Available at http://www.nuffieldfoundation.org/nuffield-languages-inquiry-and-nuffield-languages-programme

54   Ibid, p 23

55   DfES (2002) *Languages for All: Languages for Life. A strategy for England.* DfES, London.

56   Burge, B et al. (2013) *European Survey on Language Competences: Language Proficiency in England,* NfER, Slough. Available at http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/17410/1/DfE-RR278.pdf

57   Information available at http://www.london.diplo.de/Vertretung/london/en/__pr/Embassy__Events/12/HeadTeacherConference. html?archive=2655292

58   Tinsley, T (2013) *Languages: The State of the Nation,* British Academy, London available at https://www.britac.ac.uk/policy/State_of_ the_Nation_2013.cfm

The *Languages for the Future* report published also in 2013 by the British Council[59] identifies an alarming lack of skills available in the ten foreign languages identified as the most important for the country's economy and global standing in the future: Spanish, Arabic, French, Mandarin Chinese, German, Portuguese, Italian, Russian, Turkish and Japanese were listed as the languages most vital to the UK over the next 20 years. According to an online YouGov poll of more than 4000 UK adults commissioned by the British Council as part of the report, three quarters (75%) are unable to speak any of these languages well enough to hold a conversation. French is the only language spoken by a double digit percentage of respondents (15%), followed by German (6%), Spanish (4%) and Italian (2%). Arabic, Mandarin, Russian or Japanese are each only spoken by 1% of respondents – while Portuguese and Turkish are each spoken by less than 1%.

The report calls on policymakers to introduce a broader range of languages into every child's education and give languages the same prominence as the 'STEM subjects' (Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths, which are referred to as the most important subjects). It suggests that more schools should draw on the language skills of native speakers and cultural organisations in their local communities. The report also calls on businesses to invest in language training for staff, and encourages everyone in the UK to learn the basics of at least one of the ten languages identified in the report.

It seems that no improvements have been made since the Nuffield Report in 2000[60]; on the contrary, the language skills of UK teenagers, and adults in the workforce, seem to have fallen further behind. The data collected for this study provide insights into individual experiences of foreign language learning and identify additional ways in which plurilingual skills are developed in and outside the school and the work environment.

4.1.6. Data Analysis

Approx 42 responses leaders in education, teachers and PGCE and MA students

4.1.6.1. Participants' profiles by profession:

- University students at different level, PGCE and MA

- Headteachers

- Deputy Heads

- Heads of departments

- Teachers

- Ofsted inspectors

59   Tinsley, T and Board, K (2013) *Languages for the Future. Which languages the UK needs most and why*. British Council, London available at http://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/languages-for-the-future-report.pdf

60   Nuffield Foundation (2000) *Languages: The next generation. The final report and recommendations of the Nuffield Languages Inquiry*, Nuffield Foundation, London. Available at http://www.nuffieldfoundation.org/nuffield-languages-inquiry-and-nuffield-languages-programme

Participants' profiles by ethnicity based on self-identification:

- White British
- White Anglo-Saxon
- Londoner
- British-Asian
- White European
- Chinese
- French

- Italian
- Greek
- German
- Indian
- Bangladeshi/White British
- White British/German
- White European

- White Other
- Other
- USA
- Australian
- New Zealand
- Korean

Data collection

- Email
- Hard copy

4.1.6.2. Major themes emerging

Attitudes:

- High percentage of EAL children is seen as detrimental to British children in schools.
- Multilingualism is often perceived with suspicion by English only speaking public.
- Government is only interested in promoting languages for economic purposes.
- Different attitudes in schools: Turkish and Mandarin are supported and recognised, Cantonese and African languages are not.

Difficulties:

- Bilingual children new to English struggle on everyday basis in schools, which impacts on their experiences and outcomes.
- EAL children struggle to participate on a daily basis.
- EAL children are put in bottom sets only because of the language barrier.
- Participants witness on daily basis difficulties experienced by children, parents, families, in schools and in shops.

Good examples:

- Teachers and community workers help translate for pupils.
- Bringing interpreters into schools rather than sending translated letters.

Symbolic use:

- World Languages Day – we talk about languages but there is no follow up.
- Yes, in my school 66 languages, but where are they?

- Often in schools, no resources to properly integrate languages.

- Welcome signs.

- In mosques and madrasas.

- Probably, all around me, but I haven't noticed.

If you could change one thing?:

- I would spend time in China (Chinese origin student, speaker of Cantonese) and learn Mandarin.

- Put all new arrivals in one class, to learn English then transfer them to mainstream schools.

- Emphasis on the importance of all languages, I was ridiculed for learning Swahili, now it is needed by the government. You never know which language is going to be cool next.

- More interaction with native speakers of taught languages.

- More schools to offer Mandarin.

- Remove focus on economic reasons to study languages and focus on academic and cultural. This would help remove ideas about valuable languages.

- People should be made aware that being monolingual is the exception rather than the norm.

- EAL students should be given bilingual dictionaries. Work in first languages should be encouraged. Interpreting for each other should be encouraged.

- Make educational provision (for learning languages) stronger, from an early age.

- More funding to a variety of organisations for ESOL, not just to colleges.

- Interpreters from the community should be recognised and paid.

- Charities rely on volunteer interpreters.

- More funding for ESOL.

- Compulsory age for language learning 8-16.

Recent changes:

- Cuts in ESOL provision and nursery had a severe impact on women enrolling to new classes. Also September enrolment excludes new arrivals during the year.

London contradictions:

- There are 76 languages spoken by children in my school and we operate English only rule on site. All these languages are invisible apart from Spanish and German as MFL.

Most significant language learning experience:

- Immersion.

- Studying German in school.

- Going to study at a Spanish university.

- Immersion in a different country, being taken out of your comfort zone, being constantly surrounded by words/people you don't understand, getting tired and reflective.

- Year 8 exchange (12 year old) – really motivated me to learn languages at school.

- Learning English (Chinese speaker).

- Learning Russian by immersion in Siberia – now I know how it feels to go through a cultural shock and not understand a word, the situation many children experience in our schools.

- Learning Spanish in school opened up opportunities of travelling to South America. Travelling and friends.

- "Seeing the world in another way."

- Immersion.

- Learning English.

- Learning Spanish linked to tango lessons.

- Personal contacts with international staff members and appreciation received for attempts to speak in their language.

- Learning French in school and being left with a profound feeling of failure.

- Learning Latin.

Visible languages:
- In placement school, big majority of Bengali speakers, therefore Bengali more visible.

- As a worker for the refugee council I notice that Kurdish is not available.

- Rightly – there should be pressure on immigrants to learn English.

- French – very visible because footballers speak it.

Which languages need a boost:
- All languages should be treated as equal.

- Many languages need it.

- All.

- Mandarin for economic reasons.

- English.

- Latin.

Neglected languages:

- Most languages other than English are invisible.

- Kurdish, not available in terms of interpreting.

- Those not spoken by many students.

- Often in schools, no resources to properly integrate languages.

4.1.6.3. Reflections

It was very interesting to see how differently participants reacted to the question of sensitivity. Many professionals who work with children/adults who are new to English had a lot to say, while those who work in the contexts where this is not the case expressed that the question is not clear and provided no response.

A similar situation was reflected in the question regarding symbolic use. Students who work in placement schools immediately identified examples of symbolic use with no follow-up and proper integration of other languages, while most other participants did not respond or said that the question was not clear.

4.2 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the public sphere

The section contains information on multilingualism in the public sector looking at institutional policies and practices (4.2.1); multilingualism in the provision of legal, healthcare and other public local public services (4.2.2); and multilingualism in public and private media in London (4.2.3). It also contains an analysis of relevant responses to the questionnaire send out to professionals working in these sectors.

4.2.1 Institutional policies and practices with regard to multi- and plurilingualism

The fact that Londoners speak many different languages has been recognised and is reflected in a number of policies and practises adopted and practised by the Greater London Authority and local government councils. National language policies circumscribe and delimit the scope of local policymakers; therefore the most important national language policies are outlined first, before looking at policies and planning at the local level. Issues related to the teaching of foreign languages and to learning English as a second language will not be considered in this section, which will focus instead on two main aspects, namely (i) cultural policies affecting the maintenance and visibility of languages other than English and (ii) public and institutional policies related to the provision of interpreting and translation services.

At the national level, the highest form or recognition and protection which can be afforded to a language is its recognition as an official language or recognised minority language. While strictly speaking Welsh is the only language which is a *de jure* official language in any part of the UK, English is the *de facto* official and national language of the country. The case of Welsh is interesting insofar as the language has recently enjoyed a revival after centuries of neglect and marginalisation. It now enjoys the status of an official language equal to English in Wales and the numbers of speakers has stabilised.[61]

Besides Welsh, a number of other regional and minority languages (Scottish Gaelic, Scots, Ulster Scots, Cornish, Irish, Manx and British Sign Language) enjoy legal protection and recognition through a number of national and international legal instruments. This leaves all the important community languages of London – which officially are considered to be non-UK languages – unrecognised and without specific legal protection. The position taken by successive UK governments is – in line with other EU countries – that no explicit linguistic rights, other than language rights guaranteed by general human rights or equality legislation, are needed for members of immigrant communities.[62] On the contrary,

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61   Welsh Government (2013) *2011 Census: First Results on the Welsh Language.* Available at http://wales.gov.uk/topics/statistics/headlines/population2012/121211/?lang=en

62   For an overview of the development of language rights in the European context see De Witte, B. (2011) *Language Rights: The Interactions between Domestic and European Developments*, in Kjaer, A-L & Adamo, S (eds) *Linguistic Diversity and European Democracy*. Ashgate, Farnham, 167-188.

the specific migration-related language legislation which does exist in the UK places a duty on migrants to learn English in order to gain admission or residence rights in the UK.[63]

However, the absence of specific legal recognition of community languages does not mean that the UK government and local government institutions in London are not engaged in promoting the value, visibility and maintenance of community languages in other ways, mainly in the formulation of educational policies (mentioned elsewhere in this report), but also more generally in the acknowledgment and celebration of "multicultural" Britain and London. For example, every year the Greater London Authority organizes and gives support to cultural and religious festivals like the Chinese New Year, *Vaisakhi* – the Sikh New Year festival, the Muslim festival of *Eid ul-fitr* or the Hindu *Diwali* festival as well as many smaller events which showcase and celebrate the cultural and linguistic diversity of the capital.

At the local government level, London's borough councils try to maintain a programme of support for migrant communities and their languages despite growing problems related to cuts in funding imposed by the central government as part of their fiscal austerity policies. Councils do support charities and self-help institutions like the *Marylebone Bangladesh Society* in Westminster or the organisation *Ethiopian Community in Britain* (ECB) based in Camden.[64] [65] Some local councils or also offer English language courses as well as multilingual educational and cultural resources in their libraries. A number of examples of this kind of support for speakers of community languages will be shown later in this section.

The language rights enjoyed by speakers of community languages in London essentially originate from human rights as well as equality legislation. The 2010 Equality Act [66] requires public bodies to "have due regard to the need to eliminate discrimination, advance equality of opportunity, and foster good relations between different people when carrying out their activities."[67] Although legally this can probably not be interpreted as a general right to receive public services in one's own language or the right to use one's own language when dealing with public bodies in the UK, the provisions of the Act have been interpreted as creating the legal requirement for public bodies to provide "language and communication assistance" for speakers lacking English language proficiency.[68] This, however, is not the position taken up the UK government. In a brochure published in December in 2012 entitled "50 ways to save - Examples of sensible savings in local government", the minister responsible for local government, Eric Pickles, went as far as advising local government councils to "[s]top translating documents into foreign languages," and made the wholly unsubstantiated claim that "[t]ranslation undermines community cohesion by encourage [*sic*] segregation." [69] In March 2013, the minister reiterated his (and the UK government's) position in a written statement to Parliament, claiming that there is no

> legal duty to translate documents into foreign languages. Even if publishing only in English could put some people at a particular disadvantage, such a policy may be justified if local authorities can demonstrate that the integration and cost concerns pursue a legitimate aim and outweigh any disadvantage.[…] Stopping the automatic use of translation and interpretation services into foreign languages will provide further incentive for all migrant communities to learn English, which is the basis for an individual's ability to progress in British society.[70]

Despite this rather hostile position towards the use of translation and interpreting, many local government institutions do provide some assistance to speakers whose first language is not English.

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63   The English language requirements for non-EU migrants are described at the following UK Border Agency website: http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/visas-immigration/partners-families/citizens-settled/spouse-cp/can-you-apply/english-language/ Home Office UK Border Agency [Accessed May 2013]. For an analysis of this practice in the UK and other European countries see Goodman, S. W. (2011) *Controlling Immigration through Language and Country Knowledge Requirements*. In *West European Politics* 34 (2), 235-255.

64   http://www.marylebonebangladeshsociety.org/ Marylebone Bangladesh Society [17/2/2013]

65   http://ethiopiancommunity.co.uk/ Ethiopian Community in Britain [17/2/2013]

66   Available online at http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/section/149 [17/2/2013].

67   UK Government Equalities Office (2011) *Equality Act 2010*: *Public Sector Equality Duty What Do I Need To Know? A Quick Start Guide For Public Sector Organisations*. Available at http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/equalities/equality-act-publications/equality-act-guidance/specific-dutiese [17/2/2013]

68   See the assessment by the organisation "Happy to translate". Website: http://www.happytotranslate.com/4/4/Useful-Information/Useful-Information.html [17/3/2013]

69   UK Department for Communities and Local Government (2010). *50 ways to save - Examples of sensible savings in local government*, available online at https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/50-ways-to-save-examples-of-sensible-savings-in-local-government [17/2/2013]

70   Department for Communities and Local Government (2013). Written Statement to Parliament. Translation into foreign languages, 12 March 2013. Available at https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/translation-into-foreign-languages

While the UK central government website simply refers to the possibility that "council[s] may provide a translation or interpreting service,"[71] the London Greater Authority and the majority of local government councils in London commit themselves on their websites to the provision of translating and interpreting services for speakers who lack English language proficiency.

Although the use of languages other than English might not be a legal requirement in the provision of public services in general, the use of translation and interpreting is a legal requirement in matters concerning the safety of children and in many judicial proceedings where speakers of other languages are involved. It is also an acknowledged matter of public safety in the provision of health services. Public institutions in London involved in the provision of judicial services, policing and health services have therefore all developed practices and policies on the use of translation and interpreting in their provision of public services and a brief overview of a variety of practices will be given in the following sections.

4.2.2 Multi- and plurilingualism in the provision of legal, healthcare and other public local public services

With regard to the judicial system, the 2007 agreement on the use of interpreters and translators in investigations and proceedings within the criminal justice system confirms that the requirement "to provide satisfactory interpreting and translating services flows from the United Kingdom's international treaty obligations" and it gives detailed guidance on the use of translation and interpreting in law courts.[72] While the document constitutes a useful and welcome clarification, the recent outsourcing of translation and interpreting services has led to a dramatic reduction in the quality and reliability of services. In August 2011, the UK Ministry of Justice decided to outsource all translation and interpreting services and signed a four-year exclusive contract with one private translation and interpreting company. The move was immediately condemned by all of the UK's professional interpreters' organizations and boycotted by the majority of its members who protested against "the cut-price employment terms imposed" by the private company.[73] In a recent report, the UK Parliament's Judicial Select Committee has come to the conclusion that the new monopoly provider "failed to deliver on many aspects of the agreement and did not implement appropriate safeguards to ensure that the interpreters it provided were of sufficient standard." In a separate statement the chair of the committee remarked that "[t] he Ministry of Justice's handling of the outsourcing of court interpreting services has been nothing short of shambolic [...] [the Ministry] did not have an adequate understanding of the needs of courts, it failed to heed warnings from the professionals concerned, and it did not put sufficient safeguards in place to prevent interruptions in the provision of quality interpreting services to courts."[74] The episode shows the results of ill-advised cost-saving measures which are implemented without proper consultation and understanding.

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71   https://www.gov.uk/council-interpreting-translation-service Gov.uk [17/2/2013]
72   Available at http://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/courts/interpreters/National_Agreement_on_Use_of_Interpreters-August_2008.pdf
      Ministry of Justice [Accessed February 2013]
73   Guardian 2012. "Interpreters stay away from courts in protest at privatised contract", *The Guardian* 2/3/2012. Available at http://www.
      guardian.co.uk/law/2012/mar/02/interpreters-courts-protest-privatised-contract?INTCMP=SRCH [20/2/2013].
74   Guardian 2013. "Trials collapsing thanks to 'shambolic' privatisation of translation services", *The Guardian* 6/2/2013. Available at http://
      www.guardian.co.uk/law/2013/feb/06/court-interpreting-services-privatisation-shambolic?INTCMP=SRCH

The Greater London Authority (GLA) and the local government councils in London express their commitment to recognising the multicultural and multilingual character of London. In practical terms this commitment can be seen in the organization and/or support of events showcasing or celebrating London's cultural and linguistic diversity. Besides the big cultural and linguistic events sponsored by the Greater London Authority already mentioned above, numerous smaller activities and institutions enjoy the support of local government. One example is the Westminster Chinese Library, a local library based in Westminster. The library has a team of four Chinese speaking staff and provides access to over 50 000 Chinese books and films. It is "one of the largest collections of Chinese materials in UK public libraries."[75]

Other local libraries all over London stock non-English books, newspaper, magazines and DVDs to cater for speakers of community languages, as the following example from the website of the London borough of Harrow shows:

Figure 14: Bilingual opening times displayed at Charing Cross public library, London (Westminster) - May 2012

Harrow libraries stock a wide range of foreign language books, newspapers, magazines and DVDs (usually with English subtitles). All branches also stock Hindi Bollywood films.

Where to find what:

- Bengali items at Gayton Library and Wealdstone Library

- Chinese items at Gayton Library

- Gujarati items at all libraries (except Civic Centre Library)

- Hindi items at Kenton Library, Rayners Lane Library and Roxeth Library

- Tamil items at Kenton Library, North Harrow Library, Rayners Lane Library and Roxeth Library

- Urdu items at Gayton Library, Kenton Library, Bob Lawrence Library, Roxeth Library and Wealdstone Library

Most libraries (except Civic Centre and Bob Lawrence) have books in some of the European languages - please check our online catalogue for specific works.

Our children's libraries stock dual language books - for example, picture books with both English and Gujarati texts.

Translation dictionaries for many languages are available at the Civic Centre Library.

Figure 15: Screenshot of a webpage from Harrow Council, West London

Rating: 0 votes

Average: NO RATINGS

rate this page

📄 Print this page

✉ Email this to a friend

💬 Help us improve this page

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75   http://www.westminster.gov.uk/services/libraries/special/chineselibrary/ City of Westminster Council [17/3/2013]

Another example of the provision of public services in languages other than English is the Greater London Authority's commitment to responding promptly to "translation requests made by Londoners." The Authority states that summaries of key documents are published on request in the following languages "Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Greek, Gujurati, Hindi, Punjabi, Turkish, Urdu, and Vietnamese."[76] Newham Language Shop, situated in the borough of Newham in East London, provides services for a number of London boroughs, is an institution which aims at providing "high quality translation and interpreting services" to residents who may experience difficulties in accessing public services.[77] Similar schemes exist in the majority of London's boroughs. A good example of the rationale behind such offers is the following quote from a local government website: "Haringey Council believes that all members of the community have the right to equal access to information and services provided by the Council. For this reason we provide translation, interpretation and communication services."[78]

The following illustration gives a visual impression of the services offered in the London borough of Redbridge in East London:

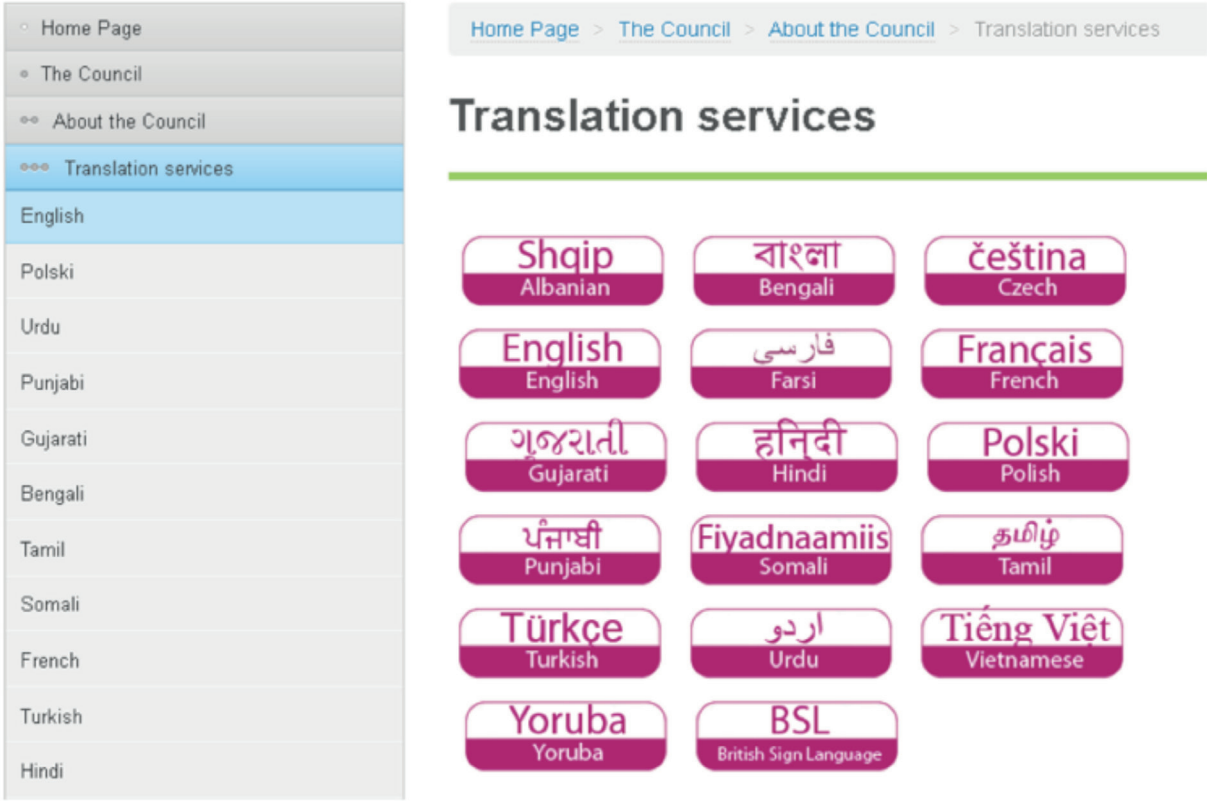*Figure 16: Webpage of the Translation and Interpreting Service of the London Borough of Redbridge*

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76   Greater London Authority (2012). "Publications in translation", statement at http://www.london.gov.uk/who-runs-london/mayor/publications/translation [17/2/2013]

77   http://www.languageshop.org/languageshop.htm [17/2/2013]

78   http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/contact/translate.htm [17/2/2013]

The analysis of London council websites and of policy documents on translation and interpreting published by local government bodies carried out for this report, shows that the degree of commitment as well as the practical arrangements for delivering multilingual services vary widely from council to council. While some councils specifically acknowledge that the "provision of Translation and Interpreting services for residents who require them to access council services is embedded within both European and UK law,"[79] and publicly commit themselves to making these services available ("Enfield Council provides a wide range of Translation and Interpreting services to people […] who need help because English is not their first language"),[80] other local councils seem less committed, as the following example shows: "Hammersmith & Fulham Council is unable to translate this web page into the non-English languages spoken in the borough."[81]

Overall, two-thirds of local government councils (20 out of 32) commit themselves fully to the provision of translation and interpreting services on their websites, while the remaining councils make only limited or no references to the availability of translation or interpreting services. The provision to provide interpreting to users of British Sign Language is a specific legal requirement and acknowledged by all local councils.

Although the overall commitment to providing services in languages other than English is laudable, the continued ability and commitment to do so has been put in jeopardy by a public discourse hostile to the provision of interpreting and translation services as well as central government funding cuts. Fiscal austerity and public statements hostile to public service interpreting and translation —like the statement by the Communities Secretary Eric Pickles mentioned above — pose a threat to the continued provision of multilingual services and there is evidence that a growing number of local councils have scaled back their translation and interpreting services in recent years thus endangering access to services for some of the most needy and vulnerable groups. In the words of one local government worker who responded to our survey:

> Where I work [...] we are focused on ensuring appropriate services in different languages, but it is difficult to provide this with current funding cuts. The funding policy is going to impact on vulnerable groups and those who can't speak English.

The use of community languages in the provision of health services is an accepted necessity and reflected in the policies and arrangements, which exist for the provision of interpreting services in health centres and hospitals all over London. While the necessity and expediency of interpreting and translation in the provision of public health services are widely accepted as a matter of safety — in the words of one doctor: "it can put people at risk if they can't communicate" — the organisation of language support depends on arrangements made by local health providers and can vary widely in scope and quality. One example is the service provided by the local NHS authority in Camden, North London. According to their website NHS Camden Interpreting Services can guarantee that "people with language needs have access to the service" and that "there is a good understanding between service users and health professionals."[82] The service of professional interpreters can be booked in advance of appointments. The Central London Community Healthcare Trust who provides healthcare in the boroughs of Barnet, Hammersmith and Fulham, Kensington and Chelsea, and Westminster runs an in-house interpreting service designed "to ensure that patients whose preferred language is [a language] other than English have equal access to health and non-health services." According to their website they deliver "face to face interpreting in more than 100 languages and dialects."[83] Some local health authorities have published performance indicators and refer to translation and interpreting services in their planning documentation,[84] but unfortunately —due to the decentralisation of public health services and current re-structuring

79   Croydon Council (2009) Croydon Translation and Interpreting Services Policy, available at http://www.croydon.gov.uk/business/interpretation-translation/about-ctis. [17/2/2013]
80   Enfield Council website: http://www.enfield.gov.uk/info/169/languages-translating_and_interpreting_services/569/translation_and_interpreting_service [17/2/2013]
81   Hammersmith & Fulham Council website: http://www.lbhf.gov.uk/Directory/Community_and_Living/Equality_and_Diversity/Interpreting_and_translating/42411_Interpreting_and_translating.asp [17/02/2013]
82   Face to face language interpreting: NHS Camden Interpreting Services, website at http://www.camden.nhs.uk/Utils-Parent-page/face-to-face-language-interpreting.htm
83   Website of the Interpreting Service of the Central London Community Healthcare Trust: http://www.clch.nhs.uk/services/interpreting.aspx [Accessed May 2013]
84   For example: "NHS Tower Hamlets Strategic Plan 2009/10 – 2012/13", available at http://www.towerhamlets.nhs.uk/EasysiteWeb/getresource.axd?AssetID=6343&type=Full&servicetype=Attachment

processes — it was not possible to access or find robust London-wide data on requests for health service interpreting or translation.

The East London NHS Foundation Trust published a detailed report reviewing their healthcare-related translation and interpreting services as well as a best practice guide to employing interpreters. The findings are interesting in so far as they stress the need for permanent contracts with reliable agencies instead of relying on ad-hoc arrangements or the services of bilingual members of staff. The main problems identified with regard to unmet demand for interpreting were related to delays in asking for interpreters and a lack of supply of suitably trained interpreters in particular languages. The report recommended the creation of the central post of a translation and interpreting service manager as well as the employment of bilingual or plurilingual interpreters in each locality for the most popular languages required.[85]

4.2.3 Multilingualism in public and private media in London

Although the importance of local multilingual media has arguably declined due to the global availability of multilingual media via the internet, London is home to a number of locally produced non-English print and audio-visual media. The following section gives a brief overview of radio stations, selected print media and their websites.

Although the programmes are not directed at local London residents, but at an international audience, the BBC World Service -- whose headquarters are in London – offers radio and internet news programmes in 27 different languages, which can also be consumed by local London residents via DAB (digital audio broadcasting). Figure 17 gives an overview.

Figure 17: Multilingual news services of the BBC Word Service

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85   Both available at http://www.eastlondon.nhs.uk/get_involved/interpretation_translation.asp East London NHS Foundation Trust [Accessed May 2013]

Additionally, the BBC Asian Network offers programmes in a number of South Asian languages (*Hindi*, *Urdu*, *Punjabi*, *Bengali*, *Gujarati* and *Mirpuri*) to a domestic audience.[86] [87] The BBC also offers websites devoted to language learning.

Besides the public service broadcaster BBC, there are numerous community and commercial local radio stations, which broadcast all or some of their content in languages other than English.

The following list is not exhaustive, but it gives an overview of what is available:

Name	Language(s)	Type
Resonance FM 104	Some output in Farsi, Serbian and Albanian	Non-commercial community radio
Voice of Africa community radio	English and African languages with some French and Portuguese output	Non-commercial community radio
French Radio London - "La voix française de Londres"	French	Commercial
London Greek Radio	Greek	Commercial
London Turkish Radion	Greek	Commercial
PRL (Polish Radio London)	Polish	Commercial
Aculco Radio: The Latin American radio from London	Spanish	Commercial
Punjabi Radio	English and Punjabi	Commercial
Sout Al Khaleej	Arabic	Commercial

Figure 18: Sout Al Khaleej, an Arab language radio station broadcasting on FM in London

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86   The Network's language website is http://www.bbc.co.uk/asiannetwork/languages/ BBC [Accessed May 2013]
87   For an article on the popularity of the BBC Asian Network see Burrell, I. (2013). "The rise of Asian radio", *The Independent*, London,
      22/4/2013: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/opinion/ian-burrell-the-rise-of-asian-radio-8582097.html

In addition to these official commercial and community radio stations, there also numerous non-English internet and pirate radio stations operating in London.

Besides non-English radio stations numerous print media and websites are published in community languages in London. With Polish being the largest community language, there is a market to sustain a number of commercial print publications. The weekly *cooltura* has a circulation of 55,000 copies, it belongs to the 4YOUK media group, which also owns and manages the website www.elondyn.co.uk as well as Polish Radio London.[88] The magazine writes about Polish news and topics from London and Poland and is involved in organizing cultural and social events for the Polish community in the British capital. *Dziennik Polski* (lit: "(the) Polish Daily") is Britain's only daily Polish-language newspaper. Its origins date back to the Second World War – it was founded in 1940 – and it has an estimated readership of 30,000.[89] The weekly *Polish Express* (*Polish*) claims a readership of 60,000.[90]

Other notable local foreign language newspapers or websites include *Nowy Czas* (New Time, Polish*)*; *Bangla Express* (Bengali), the *Gazeta Russkiy London* (Russian), the Journey (*Japanese*), *Ici Londres* (French), *La Jornada* (bilingual English/Spanish); *As Notícias* (Portuguese); *Parikiaki* (Greek, Cypriot), and the *Olay Gazette* (Turkish). It is difficult to estimate how many smaller non-English newspapers and websites are published, but there are undoubtedly many.

Figures 19-22: Local and international foreign language press & local news websites
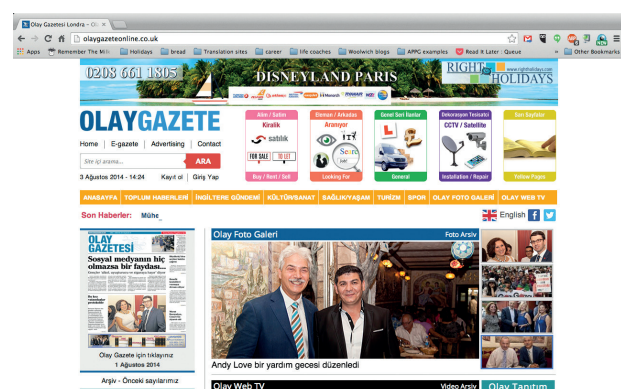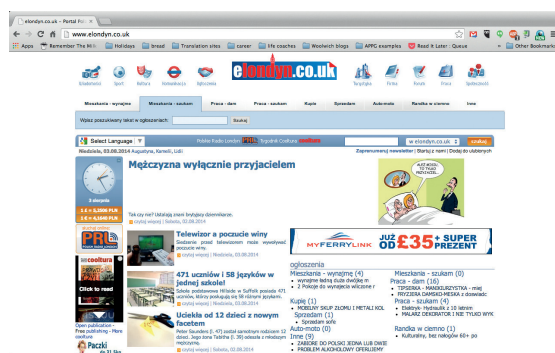
www.elondyn.co.uk

www.olaygazete.co.uk

88   http://elondyn.co.uk/coolturaeng_about_us 4YOUK Media Group [Accessed May 2013]
89   http://www.dziennikpolski.co.uk/ Official Polish [Accessed 3/5/2013]. There is also a short Wikipedia entry at
      http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dziennik_Polski_(United_Kingdom) Wikipedia Foundation [Accessed May 2013]
90   http://polishexpress.polacy.co.uk/ Polish Express [Accessed May 2013]

4.2.4 Analysis of responses to questionnaire

The questionnaire was sent out to selected participants working as professionals in London's public service sector in areas which are related to the provision of multilingual services. The table below gives an overview of the areas in which the respondents work:

Sector/employer	Roles	Numbers
Public health provision	• Doctor (3) • Discharge facilitator (1) • Mental health researcher (1)	5
Local government	• Head of communication (1) • Policy & strategy manager, Customer Services (1) • Child protection manager (1)	3
Police	• Senior Police Officer (1)	1
Senior Civil service	• Senior Civil Servant; education administration and policy making (1) • Head of International Relations, Department for Education (1)	2
Legal profession	• Solicitor (1) • Events specialist law society (1)	2
Think tank	• Director (1)	1
Charity	• Client manager (1)	1
Consultancy	• Language training, skills development and accreditation (1)	1
Higher Education	• Academic support (1) • Lecturer (1) • Academic exchange (1)	3
Language outreach/promotion	• EU Language Officer (1) • Routes into Languages Manager (1)	2

The questionnaire sent out to these professionals was designed to elicit responses to the issue of multilingualism in London as it relates to the respondent's field of practice and expertise. In particular we were interested in their assessment of the political sensitivity of the issue, their assessment of "London's" approach towards multilingualism, their experience of the handling of translation and interpreting, as well as their evaluation of the public visibility of languages. In the following the responses are summarised and analysed.

Multilingualism as a sensitive issue

The clear majority of respondents (16/21) considered multilingualism to be a sensitive issue. Although this was formulated as a yes/no questions, some respondents gave reasons for their assessment. Here two related lines of reasoning can be identified: on the one hand respondents thought the issue of multilingualism was sensitive because it was an issue of equality and concerned the access of public services and participation in public life where residents with limited English often face difficulties in accessing services, while respondents also mentioned the prestigious status of some languages (mainly European languages widely taught in schools and universities) whereas the speaking of other non-European migrant languages is often perceived as a hindrance to integration. Interestingly, one respondent identified a widespread bias in favour of learning the host language and societal monolingualism and commented that there was "a drive by the government – an ideology which expects that people should be learning English if they don't have it as a first language." On the other hand, some respondents stressed the need for more publicly sponsored English language learning and also considered it to be the responsibility of individuals with limited English to learn the host language.

Visibility of languages/languages deserving a boost

Nearly half of respondents found it impossible to identify particular languages which they considered to be more or less visible than others. Three respondents thought that all languages were less visible in relation to English, while the remaining respondents identified a variety of languages they thought to be more or less visible. There is a clear tendency to identify European languages as strong and visible, while the languages of non-European migrants (in particular asylum seekers and refugees) were considered to be less visible and neglected, although a number of respondents thought that some community languages like *Somali*, *Tamil* and *Hindi* were more established than others (*Amharic, Tigrinya, Lithuanian* amongst others).

The majority of respondents found it impossible to identify "any one language" which would deserve a boost in use or visibility in London. A frequent comment was that all languages should be treated equal and a number of different languages were identified as deserving a 'boost', but no clear pattern emerges.

Importantly, a number of respondents commented that the visibility of community languages may vary significantly from one London area to another. While in some local areas a language might be very visible and well catered for in terms of multilingual services, the same language might not be as visible in another part and its speakers might face difficulties in accessing public services. In correspondence with resident patterns, local authorities often seem to concentrate their efforts on dominant community languages and its speakers, for example Bengali in Tower Hamlets, while neglecting other less widely spoken community languages in their area. In this context, co-operation in providing multilingual services across local government boundaries – as practised by some local boroughs – seems to be a good solution and model practice.

Agreement with/assessment of "the way London approaches" multilingualism

The majority of respondents found it impossible to answer this question either because they did not know enough about policies on multilingualism in London, or because they thought that there was not an identifiable coherent approach towards the issue. The majority of examples of multilingual policies mentioned by respondents were negative rather than positive. Some respondents thought that the provision of ESOL classes and of translation and interpreting services was negatively affected by budget cuts, while others thought that there was a lack of serious effort with regard to multilingual policies in general or that some initiatives were tokenistic rather than real. Another recurrent theme was that translation and interpreting were often viewed as negative due to cost implications, while not enough emphasis was put on the learning of foreign languages. The few positive examples that were mentioned concerned the use of telephone interpreting to deliver public services, the general willingness of local councils to use professional interpreters to provide services and the recent encouragement to learn foreign languages at primary school.

One respondent, already quoted above, thought that too much pressure was put on some non-English speakers to learn English, although there were reasons for why particular people and or groups (e.g. refugees) have been unable to learn much English.

Another question related to multilingual/multicultural policies concerned the "symbolic" or "tokenistic" use or presentation of languages. Here two-thirds of respondents stated they had not had any experience of the symbolic use of language in their work or area of expertise. This might also be related to a lack of understanding the question, since quite a few respondents stated that they did not understand the question and could therefore not provide an answer.

Assessment of the handling and use of translation/difficulties on account of a lack of English language proficiency

Two-thirds of respondents thought that translation and interpreting were generally handled well in their area of work or expertise, although the quality of translators and interpreters can vary. A positive aspect mentioned repeatedly was the use of qualified professional interpreters and translators. At the same time some problems were identified, primarily related to a lack of adequate resources or the quality of translation/interpreting, especially when interpreting was carried out over the phone. One interesting comment concerned the circumstance that public service workers need to be aware of how best to work together with interpreters. Talking to or interviewing clients with the help of interpreters requires specials skills on the part of the interviewer who has to ensure than they actually get all the information they need to provide the relevant service. This indicates that there is a need for training public service workers in how to best work together with interpreters and translators.

Quite worryingly, there were a number of respondents working in public health services who mentioned that interpreters were not always available resulting in delays and sometimes inadequate treatment of health service users. One doctor commented that they were always able to find a translator through Language Line (a commercial interpreting service working over the phone), but that this was not always sufficient. The use of family members, for examples children interpreting for their parents, was considered an unacceptable practice, which nevertheless was resorted to occasionally.

Figure 23: Language Line

Our data indicates health services rely heavily on telephone interpreting services such as Language Line

An issue related to the use and availability of translation and interpreting services are the problems faced by individuals or groups because of a lack of proficiency in English. The vast majority of respondents (18/21) stated that they had recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English. Those who further commented on this issue identified a number of groups or individuals who appeared to be especially vulnerable, namely female and elderly members of certain migrant communities as well as refugees and asylum seekers who suffered from a lack of employment and social opportunities due to insufficient English language skills. Respondents working in public health services and judicial services reported that they had recently observed public service users struggling to cope because of their lack of proficiency in English. In the words of one social worker: "Lots of [our clients] have English as a second language, they struggle, they are marginalised and struggle to get themselves understood and they can get frustrated and feel they're not being listened to."

4.3 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the economic sphere: London languages and global business – feedback from the financial sector

4.3.1 Introduction – contributing factors to London's wealth

London is often the headquarters or major home for many of the most powerful global players in a wide range of industries. As a city it is seen a financial punctuation mark between New York and the Far East, a role which has grown as key global businesses perform a balancing act between the influence of New York and Hong Kong, cities which are representative power-houses of a revised world financial order but which do not obviate a need for a strong European base.

In trying to assess the business factors which contribute to the wealth of any city, it is relatively easy to put a price tag on distinct activities. It is also fairly easy to be able to target and attribute success to key factors such as the quality of a product, profit margins, sales figures - all of which are finite indicators of why a business is or is not successful.

It is also possible, but not so easy, to drill down into the stories of a business to find out why a business is successful. Elements that can be assessed are good practice in management, technology, development of effective policies, recruitment of talented staff, and the role of qualifications and an array of skills ranging from hard to soft, from technical to interpersonal. It could therefore be assumed that language skills could play a role in these profiles, particularly in a city with such potential in terms of a plurilingual workforce.

Those who work in London will be a mix of those who were born in the city, those who moved to London from other parts of the UK, those who moved to London from the EU, and those who came from countries outside of the EU. All of these people will have their own language story. Some will be monolingual, most plurilingual. And those who are plurilingual will have a range of language skills which bridge a broad scale of ability and usability for any business.

The issue is perhaps with the character and role of London *both* as a capital city of the UK *and* as a global city. The former role emphasises perhaps its English or Britishness from the traditional to the modern, the latter its hybrid status as a cosmopolitan meeting point and melting pot. The recent Olympics were seen by many as a clear demonstration of this hybrid status which fused tradition, heritage and multiculturalism as the new standard. It was interesting that one of the top examples of this hybrid of Global Britishness – Burberry – actually had a starring role in the opening ceremony. It was used to showcase a company which fuses tradition with modernity and Britishness with global appeal.

However amidst the many examples of multi-culturalism in the Olympics, multi-*lingualism* did not find its voice amongst the choreographed images of a multi-racial society. It could be asserted that multilingualism happened *against* or rather *behind* a backdrop of *mono*-lingualism. As a clear example I would cite the following: the Olympics offered a challenge and an opportunity in integrating a multilingual approach to signage. The design team fell at the first linguistic hurdle. All signs on the London Underground, in the streets and generally with a few exceptions even in the Games arena were only in English. Whether it was a case that the organisers did not want to favour a particular group of languages, or whether it was a question of cost, or whether it was simply acquiescence to the belief that English is the sole global language is unclear. So you have a paradox, London, a multilingual city displaying a very monolingual face to both its visitors and also longer term inhabitants.

4.3.2 The role of language skills in global companies in the financial sector

Over the last five years there have been key reports looking at the elements which have created the financial success of London, and one in particular (Gordon et al, *The Impact of Recent Immigration on the London Economy*) touched on language issues as part of the question of looking at imported skills.[91]

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91   Gordon, I., Travers, T., & Whitehead, C. (2007) *The Impact of Recent Immigration on the London Economy.* LSE, London.

A key report from 2008, *Languages, ethnicity, and education in London,*[92] looked at the linguistic capital of the city and the way this capital could be better exploited. Other reports have also looked at the skills set of the workforce based in London, and how these differ from those in other cities in the UK.[93] A greater range of language skills was cited as an element to these skills sets. In 2012, Birmingham and Manchester ran a business investment campaign mentioning the language skills of their cities' workforce. It is interesting to note the following statement from the Mayor of London:

Response from Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, to consultation by the Migration Advisory Committee on the level of an annual limit on economic migration to the UK:

"Not all skills gaps can be filled by training the domestic labour market. The 2009 National Employers Skills Survey by UKCES found that financial intermediation and transport/storage/communications sectors were two sectors in the UK where there were much higher than average skills gaps in foreign languages, and (perhaps as a result of this, given these sectors' prominence in the London economy); foreign language skills were significantly more likely to be described as lacking in London compared with other regions."

Unfortunately the Mayor of London seems to think it is just about "importing" language skills, rather than achieving a mix between "linguistic immigration" and maximising the linguistic capital of resident population.

In talking to Professor Overman at the London School of Economics & Political Science, author of the report *Investing in the UK's most successful cities is the surest recipe for national growth*,[94] it was interesting to hear that he felt language skills could not always be separated as a clearly defined economic bonus to the success of the city. He felt that language skills were part of a far more complex equation. Languages contributed to the urban creative mix and formed part of a particular type of creativity which is linked to a multinational and multi-functional mind-set.

4.3.3 The London-based financial sector as a maximiser of linguistic capital

We asked eight global companies in the finance sector about:

• how they saw the importance of languages in general terms

• how they saw languages in terms as being an important skill for their workforce, and

• how proactive their company should be in achieving a plurilingual workforce.

We also asked questions about:

• the role of English as a Lingua Franca

• the advantages of native speakers versus good speakers of other languages

• the languages which should be taught or supplied

• the economic benefits of language skills to these particular companies

92   Von Ahn, M., Lupton, R., Greenwood, C., Wiggins, D. (2008) *Languages, ethnicity, and education in London.* Institute of Education, London
93   Foreman-Peck, J. (2007) *Costing Babel: the contribution of language skills to exporting and the economy.* Cardiff University, Cardiff and Mann, A., Brassell, M. and Bevan, D. (2011) *The economic case for language learning and employer engagement.* Education and Employers Taskforce, London
94   Overman, H. G, (2012) *Investing in the UK's most successful cities is the surest recipe for national growth*. British Politics and Policy at LSE, London

The data came up with very similar comments:

- All companies agreed that language skills were important and should be a part of a normal secondary school education. Concern was expressed about the declining role of languages in UK schools and there was agreement that employers had to play a role in underlying the importance of language learning. Furthermore those interviewed acknowledge the under-exploited linguistic capital of the multinational population of the city.

- In terms of language skills and their respective workforces, only two of the seven companies had a proactive policy towards language learning and providing free or low-cost tuition. Only one of the seven had a system for rewarding acquired language skills. However all companies interviewed noted languages on the skills profiles of their employees.

- In terms of CPD, only one of the companies encouraged a wide range of languages (although there was an emphasis on those languages most needed for their own business), whilst the second company focused on Mandarin. This one-language policy was however carried out across the whole workforce and across the full range of both management and non-management levels.

- All companies perceived English as a Lingua Franca as a business reality. However all were aware of the importance of not "taking advantage" of non-native speakers, of working through interpreters, and of acquiring some knowledge of the target language of their client both as a way of respecting cultures and of facilitating inter-cultural communication. In this way a business-neutral acceptance of ELF resulted in an acknowledgement of the intercultural role of language skills other than English.

- There were interesting comments regarding the use of native speakers of other languages and the use of British workers who had good or very good language skills. All companies felt they would be happy to use a British person using a language other than their own, providing they not only had good negotiating, communication and business skills, but also with the proviso that they understood the cultural needs of the client.

- Language skills on their own would not be enough; they had to be accompanied with a close knowledge of the country and proof of experience that they had lived there for enough time to understand fully the mind-set of the client.

- Companies were happy for employees to demonstrate any language capabilities as part of a soft skills agenda, but they would not risk a sale or misunderstanding due to poor or misplaced language skills.

- Only one company expressed a possible preference for a British person with good language skills over a native speaker. The senior manager (Swedish) felt that a British person with the appropriate language skills would demonstrate a value-added quality and convey sense of a new globalised Britishness which was not dependent on his view of "linguistic imperialism" and an over-reliance of using English.

- All eight companies recognised the value of Mandarin as a key communicative soft skill, but there was variation as to the feasibility and/or desirability of training up British employees to a higher standard of language skills. As previously mentioned only one company was committed to language upskilling in Mandarin as part of company policy.

- One company maintained an "old-school" approach to the choice of languages – German and French still playing both a commercial and traditional role; four companies, owing to the nature of their business, needed particular language skills in Spanish, Arabic, Russian and Portuguese; and two others focused in particular on the Far East with Japanese and Korean having a role alongside Mandarin.

- Here, in terms of linguistic capital, it was agreed that they, as representatives of global companies with a base in London, could play a bigger role in finding, recognising and possibly nurturing the talent of the school-age multinational population and showcase their language skills.

- The final question was the most difficult to quantify. Although practice varied from company to company, all agreed that language issues had to be dealt with. It was accepted that business had to be conducted either in a lingua franca, or in two or more languages, and that communications had to be paid for by hiring native speakers and/or interpreters, and/or making use of any relevant and acceptable language skills.

- However in terms of putting an exact figure on how much a company could lose or gain because of either a surfeit or lack of language skills, there seemed to be both an unwillingness to address this issue, precisely because all eight companies had developed their own flexible work-around which fitted their own ways of doing business.

4.3.4 Conclusion

Although this survey was highly focussed on the needs of eight highly specialised companies, it should be noted that all were committed to maximising the talent of their employees. In terms of the importance of language skills they made the following observations:

- Professional linguists should not over-obsess on the practical rationale for language acquisition.

- They saw language skills as key to gaining a better understanding and mutual cooperation.

- British monoglots could lose out to others in a competitive globalised workforce, and should therefore exercise their native speaker advantage (if it really does exist) with great caution.

- Universities had to make sure they played "catch-up" with students who lost out linguistically, and provide a range of courses that facilitated this.

- Ways should be found to balance the "languages for" agenda with a way of feeding language study into a broader curriculum.

- Mandarin in particular could act as an energiser to help young people (re)gain an interest in languages.

- Companies could pay a premium for a language skills in particular circumstances, but they are seen more as part of a key talent package.

- Language skills are important just as much for what they can represent – tolerance, understanding, a collaborative attitude – than just for simple language exchange.

- London does need to make more overt use of linguistic talent and languages other than English should be more visible than they are.
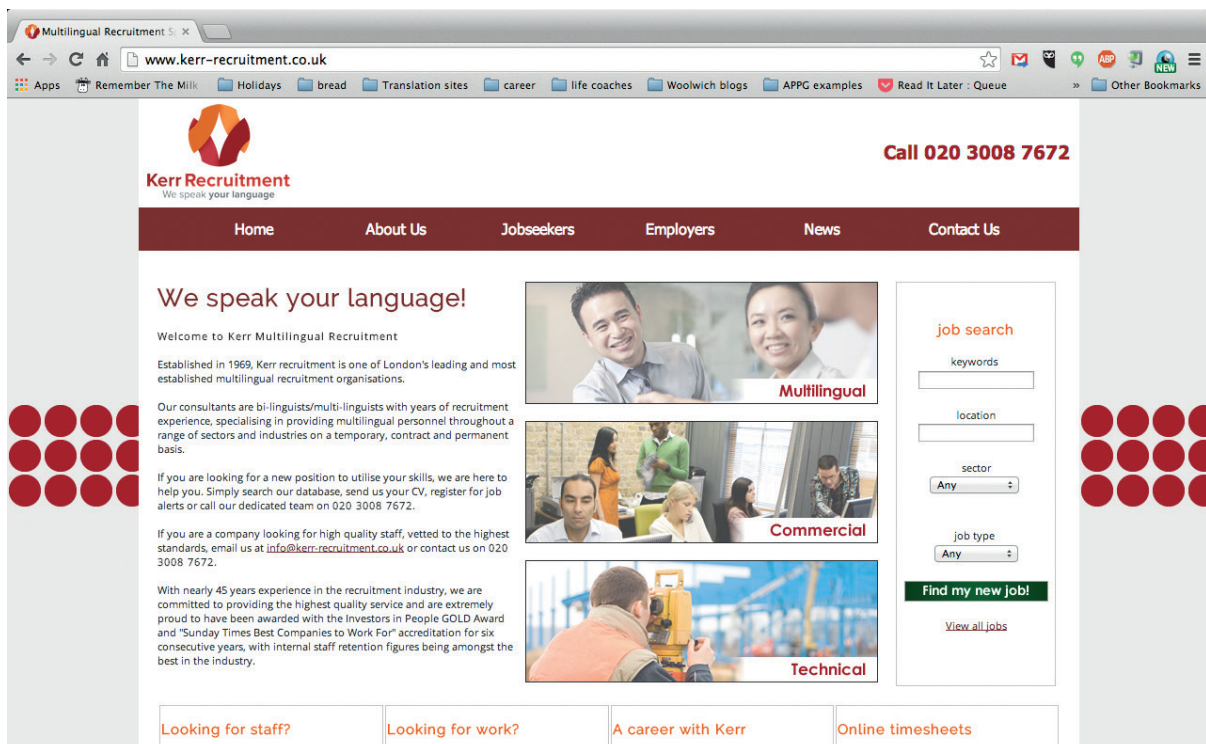
Figure 24: Kerr Recruitment

Companies can pay a premium for language skills, but only in particular circumstances.

4.4 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the private sphere

4.4.1. Gaining insights into the private sphere means engaging with a range of dynamic and fluid settings manifesting in multi-layered and sometimes overlapping types of activities.

For the purposes of this study, private sphere is defined as:

- families;

- community groups, association and networks;

- complementary/supplementary schools;

- faith schools.

Families and complementary schools are the two pillars of maintaining and developing plurilingual skills of present and future generations; therefore more space is given to these two contexts in this section. Other sections – such as urban landscape also cover aspects of individual activity conducted within the private sphere, such as a map of languages used on Twitter in London.

4.4.2. Complementary/supplementary schools

What are complementary/supplementary schools?

These schools offer a range of learning opportunities. Their most important task is to help children and families maintain and develop skills in home languages, particularly literacy skills. These schools can also offer support with work in mainstream schools by offering additional tuition in National Curriculum subjects (English, maths, science and others), and religious studies. They also offer extra curricular activities which focus on understanding the culture in focus, and a range of extra activities, such as sport, music, dance and drama.

This provision is mainly offered in the evenings, or at weekends. They are facilitated by local community groups and they rely almost exclusively on volunteers. They operate from a variety of venues: community centres, youth clubs, places of worship, mainstream schools and other places.

4.4.3. Positioning of complementary/supplementary schools

Until recently, supplementary education existed in the 'private sphere' without much publicity and little recognition. In the last ten years, however, a significant shift has occurred: more agencies have acknowledged the contribution that supplementary schools make to the education and social development of children and young people, as well as to building communities.

Between 2002 and 2004 the Department for Education and Skills (now the Department for Education (DfE)) funded a Supplementary Schools Support Service (known as S4). Supplementary education has also been included in a number of government policy documents, for instance, those on extended services in and around schools. The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), which no longer exists, also officially recognised the positive contribution that supplementary education can make to children's achievements.

The National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education holds a database of around 5000 supplementary/complementary schools in the UK. In London itself there are 1365 of these schools on record.

Perhaps the most significant recent shift has been in the approach that children's trusts (formerly local education authorities) are now taking to supplementary and mother-tongue schools. In a large number of the UK's largest cities, including London, children's trusts are now providing support to their local supplementary schools or are at least attempting to engage with them.

Encouragingly, a number of mainstream primary and secondary schools are now opening their doors to supplementary schools and have established teaching and operational partnerships. We need to acknowledge that some supplementary schools due to lack of funding have to rely on parents and volunteers for teaching, who may not be qualified teachers. In these circumstances, teaching and learning will vary in terms of children's experiences and their success, some not being very successful. Several attempts have been made to map this type of provision and provide insights into range of practices found in these schools, as presented in the following section.

4.4.4. Relevant research: Complementary/supplementary schools

In 2010 London Metropolitan University conducted a survey of 1,136 supplementary schools in England.[95] The survey was completed by 301 supplementary schools, achieving a response rate of 26%. The main aim of the survey was to map and profile supplementary/complementary schools in England in order to gain insights into the type of provision offered by these schools, the communities served, their costs and funding, organisational issues (including premises, number of staff employed and level of qualifications, links with supplementary and mainstream schools), pupil characteristics and attendance patterns. An additional purpose of the survey was to use the information obtained about pupils to give an indication of the proportion of pupils who are reached by this form of educational provision.

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95   London Metropolitan University (2010) *Impact of supplementary schools on pupils' attainment: an investigation into what factors contribute to educational improvements* (research report). DCSF, London

Case studies of 12 supplementary schools located across England were conducted. The case studies covered areas similar to the survey. However, they sought to provide more in depth information about supplementary schools catering in particular for minority ethnic communities who have tended to underachieve in mainstream education in national assessment examinations. A key objective of the case study research therefore was to ascertain the factors which supplementary school staff, pupils, parents, community groups and local authorities identified as benefiting the children that attend supplementary schools. Equally important was a concern to understand respondent perceptions of supplementary school impact on children's experiences in mainstream schools and their educational outcomes. Thus children's attitudes to learning, attendance, their behaviour and attainment patterns in mainstream schools were of interest. So too were the nature of links that supplementary and mainstream schools had developed with each other. The case study research sought to learn more about the extent of parental involvement in supplementary schools, together with why supplementary school teachers choose to work in these schools and their subsequent experiences. Where teachers also taught in the mainstream sector they were asked to compare their teaching experiences, and any differences they encountered in pupil attitudes and engagement, between the two sectors. Pupils were similarly asked to compare their experiences of teaching and learning in mainstream and supplementary schools.

As supplementary schools target particular minority ethnic communities, the research also aimed to understand supplementary school perceptions of 'community' and 'community cohesion'.

Findings

The main findings based on the survey:

- 60% of schools served one ethnic community. 48% of the schools surveyed served Asian communities, including Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi. 38% served Black African communities, while 23% served African-Caribbean communities, and 22% communities from Europe (such as Greek, Polish, Hungarian or Russian). Other communities served were Middle Eastern (18%) and South East Asian (14%, includes Chinese, Vietnamese, and Japanese).

- 85% of schools provided teaching in culture and heritage and 79% taught community or mother tongue languages representing 53 language groups. The majority of schools teaching language also taught culture, and the majority of schools that taught faith also taught culture.

- 68% of schools offered teaching in National Curriculum subjects, the majority of which focused on Maths (63%) and English (60%), whilst 70% of schools provided coaching for exams and tests. Of schools who said they provided coaching, most of these provided support for their pupils in taking national academic exams. 75% provided coaching for GCSEs, 50% provided coaching for Key Stage 2 tests, 38% provided coaching for Key Stage 1 tests, and the same proportion (38%) coached for Key Stage 3 tests. Over a quarter (26%) provided coaching for A level and AS level exams.

- Schools were most likely to operate on Saturdays (64% mentioned this), although many operated on weekdays before or after school (41%) and on Sundays (28%).

- 85% operated during term-time while a much smaller proportion of 34% operated during the school holidays.

- Oversubscription was a problem for some of the schools.

- 45% of schools reported that their pupils usually attended for between two and five years, while 32% said their pupils attended for more than five years. 20% said their pupils typically attended for a year or less.

- More than half of the schools reported that pupils attended three or more hours a week; this was true for all age groups (under 5s, 5-11, 12-16 and 17-18).

- Although most supplementary schools operate from mainstream school premises, the majority of supplementary schools had no links with mainstream schools.

- Most supplementary schools were funded by local authority grants, followed by pupil fees.

- 56% of schools said they had been in operation for over 10 years, 14% between 6 and 10 years and 25% between 1 and 5 years, while only 4% had been in operation for less than a year.

- Schools tended to have both voluntary and paid teachers; with 78% having at least one voluntary teacher, compared with 62% of schools having at least one paid teacher.

- Class sizes were typically smaller than in mainstream schools. In 82% of supplementary schools a typical class had 20 or fewer pupils, while 12% had 21-30 pupils in a typical class, and only 3% of schools said that they had more than 30 pupils in a typical class.

Key findings: Case studies

Where supplementary schools were teaching National Curriculum subjects respondents made comparisons with mainstream school education. These comparisons implied a positive impact on mainstream schooling (i.e. the child has been effectively taught some aspects of the National Curriculum in their supplementary school). Overall, parents reported an increase in their children's attainment in mainstream school, improved confidence and the reinforcing of a cultural identity as a result of attending supplementary schools. A key aspect which contributed to the extent to which pupils engaged with their learning was that they attended supplementary school because they wanted to, either because they enjoyed it or because they recognised that it would bring benefits. Pupils in the case study schools tended to attend supplementary school throughout their primary and secondary education.

Conclusions

The benefits/added value which the case study respondents saw as being derived from attending supplementary schools at a pupil level include:

- developing positive attitudes towards education (including more focused, attentive, better behaved and more motivated learners);

- positive identity reinforcement; an increase in self-esteem/self-awareness;

- increased confidence in asking questions/speaking out aloud/socialising with others in and outside school;

- a better understanding of one's cultural background (heritage, language, religion);

- increased community/mother tongue language skills.

The data suggests that it is possible for the above to be transferred into mainstream learning. There are also benefits at a teacher level which include:

- reinforced commitment to working in the supplementary school sector;

- having the flexibility to be creative in their teaching and enhance teaching and learning strategies;

- opportunities for mainstream teachers to become reflective practitioners and transfer their knowledge to the supplementary sector;

- enhanced teacher qualifications – some staff were encouraged to study for UK QTS;

- positive teacher-parent-pupil relationships.

And at a parent level:

- parental engagement;

- good teacher-parent relationships

Overall, this research has shown that pupils attending supplementary schools derive immense support from attending supplementary schools. This was due to more concentrated teacher-pupil time, and the different ethos created by the supplementary schools. Case study respondents also emphasised the importance of having pupils taught by teachers from similar backgrounds, with shared culture and heritage, norms and expectations. This research also indicates that there is a need for better understanding at a policy level of the added value, and not just in relation to academic attainment, that supplementary schools offer to children's learning.

These findings are also confirmed in an even more recent London study – *Interconnecting Worlds* by Charmian Kenner and Mahera Ruby[96] – based on two innovative action research projects in east London. Although it establishes that mainstream teachers are still largely unaware of their pupils' other worlds so the children's bilingual identities and resources remain hidden or marginalised in mainstream school, it demonstrates what can be done to change matters and describes how mainstream and complementary teachers can work together as equal partners to:

- build rapport with pupils

- help children become independent learners

- create a learning community within the classroom

- maximise children's bilingual resources

- develop a holistic approach to learning

The first project worked with mainstream teachers to help them discover how central children's linguistic and cultural knowledge is to their learning. In the second, close working partnerships were formed between teachers from primary schools and those from Bengali, Somali or Russian schools. And when the children's worlds are thus interconnected, their learning thrives.

Kenner and Ruby's *Interconnecting Worlds* study provides new suggestions for ways forward in school policy and classroom practice.

4.4.5. Families and parents

Parents are the natural 'policy makers' within the family context. In the process of first language maintenance parents are the key link. If they have the awareness and determination to keep first languages in use at home, their children will receive that crucial influence which will almost certainly decide whether they grow up as monolinguals or bilinguals. However, even in the privacy of their own homes and throughout the intimacy of family interactions, parents will be encountering either support or negativity to bilingualism filtering in through interactions of children with their peers, teachers and the media. This support or negativity can significantly alter the course of parental language maintenance actions.

The issue that 'policy makers of early years' are actually largely and seriously uninformed on the matters of bilingualism has been explored in several studies. [97] [98] [99]

An example of good practice when it comes to supporting parents exists next door – in Wales. The initiative termed Twf (Growth) and launched in 2002 made the bilingual campaign promoted by the Welsh Language Board focus on social inclusion and the principle of reaching out to everybody rather than just specific profiles of families. Mixed Welsh-English speaking families were targeted during a pilot, but the guidance and resources soon became available to all families.

96   Kenner, C. and Ruby, M. (2012) *Interconnecting worlds: Teacher partnerships for bilingual children.* Trentham Books
97   Mehmedbegovic, D. (2009) *Researching attitudes and values attached to first language maintenance*. In *The Best of Language Issues articles from the first 20 years of NATECLA's ESOL journal*, Bhonet, R. and Illes, E. (eds.). Avanti Books, London
98   Mehmedbegovic, D. (2011) *A study in attitudes to minority languages in England and Wales.* Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany
99   QCA (2006) *Community languages in the National Curriculum.* Report & Guidance.

The Twf initiative had been evaluated as:

> … rapidly growing in a relatively short period and … very successful in transforming the abstract notion of family bilingualism into a concrete message with which the target audience can identify. [100]

As the key elements that had made this initiative so successful, the researchers[101] identify working jointly with the health department and providing training for midwives and health workers. These are the staff in the system who already have access to every new parent; this is therefore a very efficient outreach mechanism. The added bonus is that midwives and health visitors have a well-established and respected role within the context of new families and newborn children. Specialist advice on the developmental, social and economic benefits of bilingualism has become a compulsory and integral part of the training for midwives and health workers in Wales.

An initiative like this one is desperately needed in London too. However, even simple written information on bringing up children bilingually is not available in any of the health, social or educational institutions that parents with young children are likely to visit in London. Once children start schooling, parents will be making contact with teachers, but teachers themselves are not given any guidance on what to say to parents about this issue. Often nothing is said. The only support that could be identified available to parents in London too is the Bilingual Families Newsletter, published by Multilingual Matters. Sadly, this newsletter was discontinued in 2010.

In the words of one English Member of Parliament[102] the entire first language maintenance responsibility should remain with parents and *'parents should simply speak it (the home language) at home'*. The study with Bosnian parents[103] showed that children in that community were consistently spoken to in their first language in the family context mainly for the reasons of parents wanting to make sure children would be able to communicate with grandparents and other non-English speaking members of the family, and for reasons of maintaining identity.[104] These reasons will largely disappear for the second and third generation of Bosnians in London and England. Also, 'simply speaking it at home' will do nothing for bilingual children in becoming biliterate. Many linguists argue that oracy without literacy in the first language is actually disempowering and decreases the potential of language survival on both individual and community levels.

4.4.6. Relevant research

A team of London researchers conducted a study with adult English Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL).[105] Several of their interviewees talked about experiences of their own children rejecting communication with them as parents and the increasing feeling of mutual alienation. Children were growing up as English speakers, while parents were struggling to find opportunities for conversations in English and the development of their skills in English. A Chinese mother experiences rejection on different levels from her two children of very different ages. Her youngest child of four reportedly said to her: *'Don't speak to me in Chinese, because Chinese is stupid.'*[106] This very young child had not only already internalised negative attitudes to her home language, but she had started making choices and depriving herself of exposure and language use during a crucial period of language development.

This vignette of a child at the beginning of her life, as a bilingual or monolingual individual, encapsulates a multiplicity of issues for parents in the process of language maintenance; the lack of an early years advisory service; the absence of affirmative messages about bilingualism; the low value attached to home languages; the issue of language choice, especially for children; issues of self-esteem and achievement in later years.

The questions that it provokes are many. Where are these powerful negative messages coming from in the context

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100 Edwards, V. & Pritchard Newcombe, L. (2005*) Language transmission in the family in Wales: an example of innovative language planning.* In *Language planning and language problems* 29 (2)

101 Ibid

102 Mehmedbegovic, D. (2011) *A study in attitudes to minority languages in England and Wales*. Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany

103 Mehmedbegovic, D. (2009) *Researching attitudes and values attached to first language maintenance*, in *The Best of Language Issues articles from the first 20 years of NATECLA's ESOL journal*, edited by Bhonet, R., and Illes, E., (eds). Avanti Books, London

104 Ibid

105 Roberts et al (2004) *English for speakers of other languages (ESOL): case studies of provision, learners' needs and resources.* National Research and Development Centre for Adult Literacy and Numeracy, London

106 Ibid

of such a young child? How can they be reversed? How can we start communicating equally powerful messages motivating children to look for opportunities to develop the languages available to them?

An ESRC funded research project [107] carried out with six families of Bangladeshi origin and six monolingual English families provides insights into learning between grandchildren and grandparents, little known to schools particularly with regard to ethnic minority families. The researchers suggest potential benefits if teachers widen their links with 'parents and carers' to ensure that the significant role of grandparents is recognised and built upon in home-school interactions.

4.4.7. Community groups in London

For a broad picture of the type of activities that are organised by citizen action and communities in London, we took a snapshot of listings of community groups as provided by Westminster council on their "Community information database".[108]

We performed a search for groups identified as 'Ethnic communities' and one or more of:

• 'Community centres'

• 'Community groups'

• 'Women's centres'

This resulted in a list of 20 organisations.

The following data is therefore only as accurate as the listing on the Westminster database; nevertheless it gives us a useful picture of the types of activities organised by community groups.

The main activity of the groups identified is advice, support and information – explicitly listed in 18 out of 20 entries here.

107 Kenner, C., Ruby, M., Gregory, E., Jessel, J. and Arju, T. (2007) *Intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in East London.* In *Journal of Early Childhood Research* 5 (3), 219-243. Sage, UK.

108   Via http://www.westminster.gov.uk/services/libraries/info/ci/ City of Westminster Council [Accessed May 2013]

Much of the support and information entails facilitating access to public services, including welfare and benefits (11), housing (10), health (10), legal advice (8) and translation and interpreting (2) – including onward referral to other agencies where appropriate (5).

A major focus for almost all the community groups is education, classes and training, from cultural activities such as dance classes to life skills such as parenting skills, to professional development such as IT training and language classes.

Language classes may be ESOL (4) but also classes in the community's main language (4). 5 of the organisations are listed as having a library or other resources available.

18 languages are explicitly mentioned in the listings for these 20 organisations (not including mention of ESOL classes):

1. Amharic

2. Arabic (four times)
3. Bengali (three times)
4. English (twice)
5. French
6. Gujarati
7. Hindi (three times)
8. Italian
9. Lingala
10. Nepali

11. Punjabi
12. Spanish
13. Swahili
14. Sylheti
15. Tigrinya
16. Turkish
17. Urdu (three times)
18. Mandarin

The other main area of activity is the promotion of, and organisation of,

cultural activities and social activities for the community, including sport, music, dance, festivals, outings and clubs. 14 of these organisations list one or more of these areas as being part of their work. 5 of the organisations explicitly mention community development as an area of focus.

The database also lists the main target populations catered for by these organisations. Unsurprisingly (given the search criteria), three quarters of the listings specify a particular ethnic group (or groups); although others specify that they are open to everyone. Some organisations are working with very linguistically specific groups, for instance Al-Hasaniya the Moroccan and Arabic-Speaking Women's Association, while others are not language-specific e.g. the Asian Women's Resource Centre.
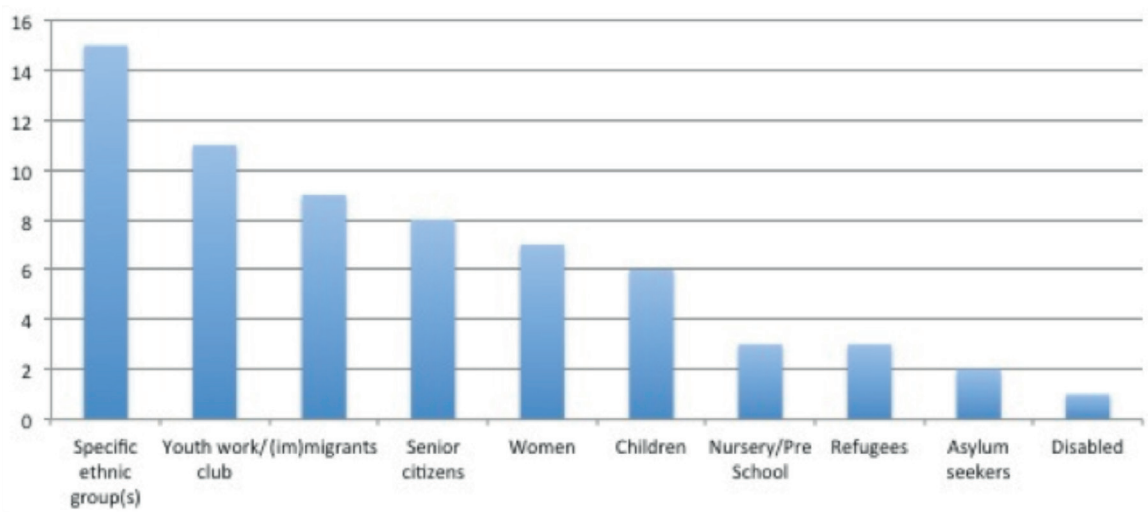
Table 5: Target audiences of the community groups (Number of community groups listing each audience as a target)

There seems to be a particular focus on activities for children and young people – 15 of the organisations list activities for these groups – as well as immigrants, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (9) and senior citizens (8).

This data shows clearly the overlap between community-led activities in London and services normally provided by the state; these organisations provide a real bridge to public services for ethnic communities and groups such as vulnerable women.

Only a minority (8/20) of the organisations listed here are actually located in Westminster i.e. community groups, even when concentrating on a particular London local authority, provide services for the community at large – Westminster council recognises this and includes community groups from across London on its database. This is significant given the identification of a 'postcode lottery' in the provision of some public services (see Public Sphere).

On another note, given that the target audiences are clearly not always proficient in English, there is a potential accessibility issue in finding this information on the Westminster website, as it is all in English and the database itself not very user-friendly. There is also evidence that the listings are inconsistent, as some organisations that would seem to be clearly a 'community group' are not listed as such (and are therefore excluded from this analysis).
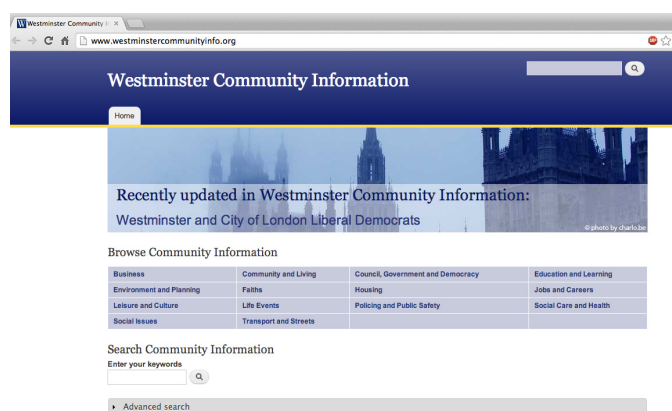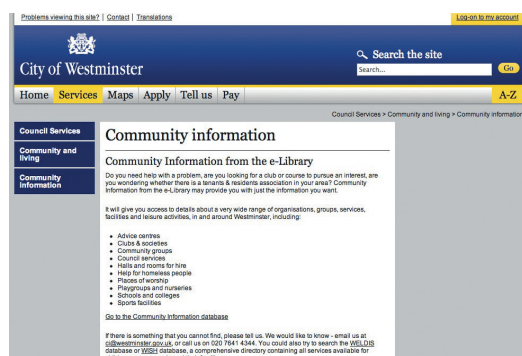
Figures 25 & 26: Portals of the Westminster Community Information Database

4.4.8 Empirical Data

The empirical data collected across different sections of our sample does not provide many references to the private sphere. The main points made are to do with the hierarchy of languages which are applicable across different spheres addressed in this report.

Comments made can be summarised as: attitudes to high status languages (French, Spanish and, increasingly, Chinese) are positive, while attitudes to languages which are categorised as 'community language' are of low value, while participants from Urdu and Bengali speaking backgrounds also raised the point that 'recognition is not given to second and third generation immigrants who speak their home language'. One participant made the link between economic status of a country and the international status of its language: 'Richer the country the higher status of its language internationally.' Chinese is a very good example of this observation.

A few of our participants made references to: 'Monolinguals who feel threatened by multilingualism and especially those who think that the British culture is disappearing.' This type of fear is has been discussed in previous research, Hugo Baetens Beardsmore wrote an insightful chapter on this issue titled: 'Who is afraid of bilingualism?'[109] demonstrating that feelings of fear related to bilingualism/multilingualism do not appear in those who live bilingual/plurilingual lives, but are expressed in principle by those who do not: monolinguals.

Our participants also raised the issue of women in certain communities, where women are expected to have more traditional roles of housewives, mothers and grandmothers, who end up being kept out of the public eye and never learn any English. This was seen more as a cultural problem, than a language barrier.

The private sphere remains the most complex to research and gain insights into. The data we have collected only exposes the tip of the iceberg that should be explored in future research.

Figure 27: BBC News

Monolinguals feeling threatened by multilingualism is a subject that is regularly covered by UK media.

Screenshot of: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-20728634

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109   Baetens Beardsmore, H.(1988) *Who's Afraid of Bilingualism?*. In *Euskara Biltzarra/Congreso de la Lengua Vasca*, vol. II, 75-90.

4.5 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in urban spaces

There are many manifestations of multilingualism and plurilingualism in urban spaces in London and these are more obvious in some areas than others. These manifestations tend to reflect either the predominant community language of the local population, or the high number of overseas tourists in that area.

The 2011 census[110] shows how immigrant populations settle in particular areas in London. This was also observed in a 2012 map of languages other than English used on the Twitter mobile app. French (red) is seen in the West African communities of South London and in the French community in West London; Arabic (green) predominates in Westminster.

Figure 28: Top 10 Twitter languages in London

Screenshot of http://twitter.mappinglondon.co.uk/

4.5.1. Public signs, storefronts, particularities of certain districts

Public signs which are intended for the general public – such as street signs, road signs, bus stops, train stations, underground trains, trams, etc are predominantly monolingual (English).

The most diversity on the streets is usually to be found in storefronts, as traders cater for local populations' specific needs; for instance Arabic in Westminster; Chinese in Chinatown; or Bengali in Tower Hamlets.

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110   UK Office for National Statistics, available at: www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/index.html

It is common to see several languages represented in the same area, sometimes on the same shop; the example below shows a shop front with both Japanese and Korean signs. Many of these businesses also carry signs in English, or even 'explanatory notes' in English to encourage English-speakers to buy their trade.

Figures 29: Hairdresser on Brick Lane, Tower Hamlets

Figures 30-32: Store fronts

Market stall in Chinatown, Westminster

Shop front at St Giles, Camden, with signs in Korean and also English-language descriptions of Korean dishes to attract non-Korean clientele.

Signs in Japanese, Korean and English at the Centre Point Food Store, St Giles, Camden.

Just because a restaurant displays signs and/or menus in another language, it does not necessarily follow that the staff there can speak the language.

One of our respondents referred to "pseudo-Italian restaurants": "you go to a so-called 'Italian' restaurant and the menu is in Italian (more or less) but actually no one there is Italian! So you get the impression you can speak Italian but if you do, it doesn't work!"

In these cases the use of more than one language is more a type of marketing or branding and is very common in London, such as these examples in Covent Garden show (right).

Another, significant multilingual manifestation in street signs is to be found on churches and other places of worship, where the churches are often specific to a particular community.

Sometimes multilingual manifestation in our places of worship are nothing but 'symbolic' in that the language is not necessarily actually used during worship, or necessarily understood by worshipper. One of our respondents, from the police, said that symbolic use of language is "sometimes identified in mosques and madrassas" in London.

Figure 33: Restaurants

Figures 34 & 35: Places of worship

The Presbyterian Church of Wales, City of London

Sign outside St Giles in the Fields Church, Camden, advertising the Korean Anglican Church

It is significant that multilingual manifestations in London's urban spaces are mostly due to the private activities of citizens, as opposed to the work of local authorities or other public bodies. Local authorities do make an effort to reflect the local population's languages in their street signs, such as local advertising campaigns, library signs, street names or other street furniture (see examples below); but usually only one of several community languages is visible in an area on signs put up by local authorities. For example, in Tower Hamlets, Bengali is by far the most dominant community language (see Public Sphere chapter) and efforts are consistently made to communicate in Bengali as well as English.

We found only one example of a street advertisement by a council (again, Tower Hamlets), for a recycling campaign which featured multiple community languages (see photos below).

Figures 36-39: Multilingual public signs

Tower Hamlets's recycling campaign (top left) is a rare example of a local authority communicating in the urban space reflecting a multitude of local languages. Typically, a single local language will be visible above all others (as in the other photographs from Tower Hamlets; in this case, Bengali).

There is a sense in which well-intentioned, useful signs (such as the rubbish dump sign in Bengali, from Tower Hamlets, above) are 'symbolic' in the sense that the council is responding to local population languages, but why only this one language? In Tower Hamlets, 42% of local residents do not have English as a main language (see Public Sphere chapter), but the overwhelming majority of these are Bengali speakers. The council is therefore reflecting this community's language. Nevertheless, this may mean that thousands of local speakers of other languages are systematically ignored (visually speaking). This supports our hypothesis about language representing economic/cultural capital; that once a local language reaches a critical mass, it will begin to be reflected in the physical surroundings in that area; whereas others remain invisible.

Chinatown and Brick Lane – the two most obvious areas where street signs themselves are bilingual – have become tourist destinations in themselves; and the 'branding' of these areas are a big part of their attraction.

Bilingual street signs in Brick Lane and Chinatown

Figures 40 & 41: Bilingual street signs

This is significant in that the local language being embedded in the fabric of an area creates a sense of ownership by what can be otherwise marginalised communities; and that it reflects the establishment, and official recognition by the city, of that community. Even if this process ignores other communities, it is still a significant development. It is interesting to note that according to the 2011 census[111], the second language of the UK is now Polish – but this (recent) phenomenon is not yet much reflected in London's urban fabric.

The London cityscape includes physical manifestations of London's multilingual history, such as buildings with inscriptions, commemorative plaques or works of art.

The example, right, is the *Dispensaire Français*, set up to provide health services to London's growing population of French and French-speaking people in 1867. Today it is funded by the French state and benefactors, as well as UK benefactors, doctors and sponsors (the Duchess of Cornwall is a current benefactor). The *Dispensaire* is today based in Hammersmith and Fulham but its original building in Westminster survives and is now the Covent Garden Hotel.

Figure 42: Multilingual signs as branding

Some multilingual signs are really a kind of branding, and not of any real practical use

Figure 43: Dispensaire Français

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111   UK Office for National Statistics, available at: www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/index.html

4.5.2. Advertising (billboards, leaflets, in public transport, etc)

In central London the most visible multilingual manifestations tend to be aimed at tourists. The most effective use of multilingual signs are in advertising, for instance in ticket sales for West End shows or bus tours, or in national museums.

Figures 44 & 45: Signs for tourists

Tourists are effectively targeted by multilingual advertising by the tourism industry

Tourists are also sometimes catered for by signs in the city's transport services – which are such an important part of the London cityscape – but the effectiveness is mixed. Multilingual welcome signs in the city's main train station termini are nothing more than symbolic, as really useful information is usually mainly offered only in English, both visually and orally. One of our respondents recalls: "In a mainline London station, a notice read: 'If you need an interpreter, go to platform 8'."

However the advent of touchscreen machines means there is more effective – and interactive – multilingual coverage for tourists on the transport system; and public telephones have had a dedicated 'languages' button for years.

Figures 46-49: Transport & telephones

The city's website for transport services www.tfl.gov.uk offers basic information (including fully translated journey planners) in 15 languages; however it would appear that these languages are mainly driven by the predominant community languages in London (Polish comes first) rather than catering for the tourist. The list is hidden below the fold of the front page – difficult to find for anyone unfamiliar with the site.

Language options from London transport web portal www.tfl.gov.uk (screenshot)

Section 4.2.2 gives an analysis of local authorities' and public services' commitments to providing information in different languages. These services often communicate via leaflets distributed to every household in an area (example below).

Multilingual press, posters and leaflets are visible on the street (see the analysis of multilingual media in section 4.2.3).

Figure 51: Public information leaflet
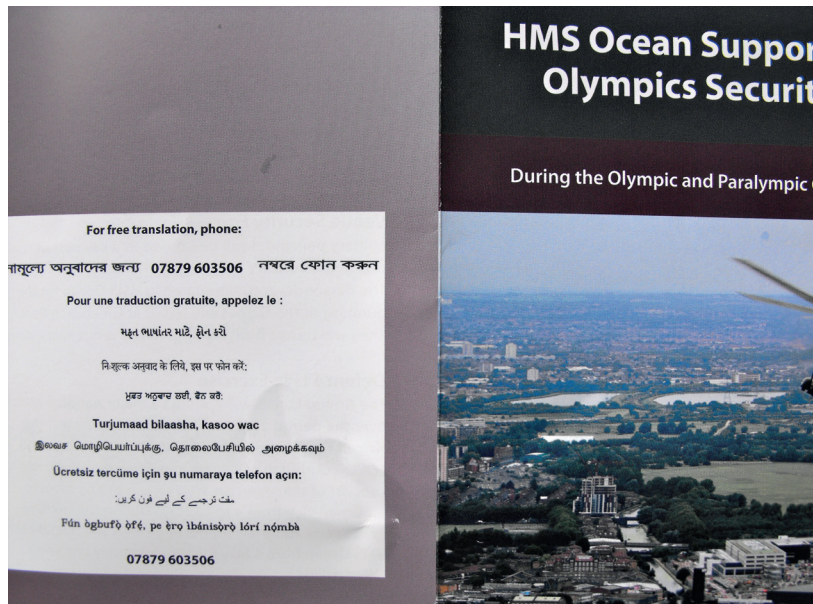
An example of a public services leaflet with translations offered in 11 languages (in this case, from Greenwich). Recently local authorities have been discouraged from offering systematic translations for many such services by central government guidelines.

Figure 52: Community noticeboard

Japanese community noticeboard (Westminster).

At the 2012 Olympics, signs were primarily in English and French. Efforts were made to provide signs in other languages, but with some embarrassing mistakes. One of our interviewees remarked: "There was a crass mistake made in an Arabic sign welcoming visitors to Stratford Westfield shopping centre [integral to the site of the Olympic Games], which made news across the world and made London look very stupid and ill-informed".

4.5.3. Announcements delivered via loudspeaker/other types of 'audio' announcement

On London's transport system, audio announcements are in English apart from explicitly international hubs: Heathrow airport and Eurostar for instance.

Efforts were made in 2012 for the London Olympic Games, with programmes of recruitment[112] for language volunteers to greet athletes and visitors. There is some evidence of transport systems making efforts to increase their language skills in advance of the Games, such as a scheme for London 'black cab' taxi drivers, developed by the publisher Collins[113]. At the Olympic Games themselves, announcements were in French and English but with little else in other languages – other than the fact that the Olympic teams themselves came from 204 participating nations.

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112 http://blog.westminster.ac.uk/careers/2010/10/05/language-volunteers-required-for-the-london-2012-olympic-games/ Westminster University [Accessed 1/5/2013]
113 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-11420344 BBC [Accessed May 2013]

Figure 53: The London Olympic Games

Signposts and audio announcements at the 2012 London Olympics were in English and French, but other languages were not well supported.

LUCIDE hypothesises that lack of political will can inhibit good communication between people in multilingual cities. In London, an example of the effectiveness of political will in encouraging good communication between people in multilingual cities has been measured in the profile of the city's taxi drivers: in 2005 the Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, undertook a campaign[114] [115] [116] [117] to increase the number of ethnic minority taxi drivers as he wanted these "ambassadors" for the city to reflect London's cultural diversity better. By 2008, one third of applicants to the trade were from ethnic minorities, reflecting the success of the campaign. This campaign was rooted in ethnic diversity rather than linguistic diversity but nevertheless contributes to the multilingual profile of the city's transport services.

The soundscape of London is nevertheless richly multilingual and multicultural in everyday life. A visitor is almost guaranteed to hear several other languages spoken on any journey across the city. A multitude of community radio stations in different languages are broadcast across the city (discussed in detail in the chapter on the Public Sphere).

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of London's soundscape is the emergence among the city's culturally diverse young people of 'Multiethnic London English' (MLE) which has recently been characterised by academics such Jenny Cheshire[118], Paul Kerswill[119] and others[120]. MLE is an emerging variation of English, the features of which are generated from the specific sociolinguistics of inner-city London, where at least half the population is undergoing group second-language acquisition and where high linguistic diversity leads to a heterogeneous feature pool to select from. Jenny Cheshire's study charts the development of a set of "innovative linguistic features […], new, divergent distributions of existing forms ([…]), a big increase in a latently present feature […] and, finally, the adoption of two global changes […]". Individual speakers use these features variably, and the authors have labelled the resulting 'variety space' Multicultural London English, in recognition of the fact that the features are only loosely associated with specific ethnicities or language backgrounds.

114   http://www.london.gov.uk/media/press_releases_mayoral/diverse-taxi-industry-diverse-london
115   http://clickwalla.com/cw/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=568&Itemid=48 Clickwalla.com [Accessed May 2013]
116   http://taxidriver.8.forumer.com/a/increasing-ethnicity-in-taxi-industry_post416.html Forumer [Accessed May 2013]
117   http://www.tfl.gov.uk/static/corporate/media/newscentre/archive/8845.html
118   Cheshire, J. et al (2011) *Contact, the feature pool and the speech community: The emergence of Multicultural London English*. In *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15/2, 2011: 151 – 196.
119   Kerswill, P. (2012) *Multicultural London English: the emergence, acquisition and diffusion of a new variety. ESRC Impact Report, RES-062-23-0814*. ESRC, Swindon.
120   http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fss/projects/linguistics/multicultural/output.htm Lancaster University [Accessed May 2013]

It is interesting that the language diversity of London seems to be resulting in certain patterns of linguistic change in the host language (London English) but that these changes are not driven by ethnicity or even individuals' particular language backgrounds.

Some media commentary on the research has characterised MLE as "Jafaican" [121] [122] i.e. an intrusion into English of Jamaican patois, which is 'put on' by the young speakers. Researchers however show that this view is entirely wrong (for instance in this talk by Paul Kerswill: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hAnFbJ65KYM):

> "it is not Jamaican patois … it is not put on, it's home grown, it's not intruded or foreign. … it forms part of young people's identities. It reflects the melting pot of the East End… it cuts across ethnicity and race… they feel that this way of speaking is theirs".

4.5.4. Monuments, Sculptures, official street art, the official 'face' of the city

There are many instances of art and sculptures in the city which are by non-English artists or which refer to other cultures and languages, but few are manifestations of language in themselves. An obvious example would be Cleopatra's Needle in Westminster, inscribed in hieroglyphics – but this a symbol of Britain's colonialist past – hardly a representation of multilingual London in the sense of living languages being spoken here.

There are examples of artwork commissioned by agencies or organisations with a particular interest in languages and cross-cultural relationships. One is a mural at the London School of Economic Language Centre, with manifestations of several different languages alongside images, by Michel Herreria.

Figure 54: Cleopatra's Needle

Figure 55: Mural at the London School of Economics and Political Science

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121   http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/ 100091088/jafaican-may-be-cool-but-it-sounds-ridiculous/
      The Daily Telegraph [Accessed May 2013]
122   http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/aug/13/david-starkey-claims-whites-black The Guardian [Accessed May 2013]

Another example is a replica of the Russian monument to Yuri Gagarin which was sited at the Royal Observatory Greenwich in March 2013:

"The monument, which is a gift from Roscosmos to the British Council to mark the 50th Anniversary of Manned Space Flight, was made in Izhevsk. It is an exact copy of the monument built in 1984 by a famous sculptor Anatoliy Novikov. The original monument was set up in Lyubertsy, Moscow Oblast, where the future cosmonaut studied in craft school in 1949-1951."[123] The monument includes text in Russian (Gagarin's name) and had been exhibited outside the main British Council offices in Westminster since 2011 before its move to Greenwich.

Figure 56: Monument to Yuri Gagarin

However, for the most part, language does not feature prominently in works of art in public spaces in London, despite the very international profile of the artists who have produced the work. For instance, although the shortlisted artists for the current round of artworks to be shown on Trafalgar Square's Fourth Plinth are from all over the world,[124] their work – visually speaking – is not multilingual. The only indication is, occasionally, in the title of a work, such as the artwork currently on the plinth, *Hahn/Cock* by German artist Katharina Fritsch.

On the other hand, street performances and festivals often do include multilingual performances. There are those which are inherently multicultural, multilingual and international in their nature, such as the Notting Hill Carnival; and many which are more culture-specific such as Chinese New Year or the Maslenitsa festival (Russian Sun Festival) which centres on a day-long event on Trafalgar Square.

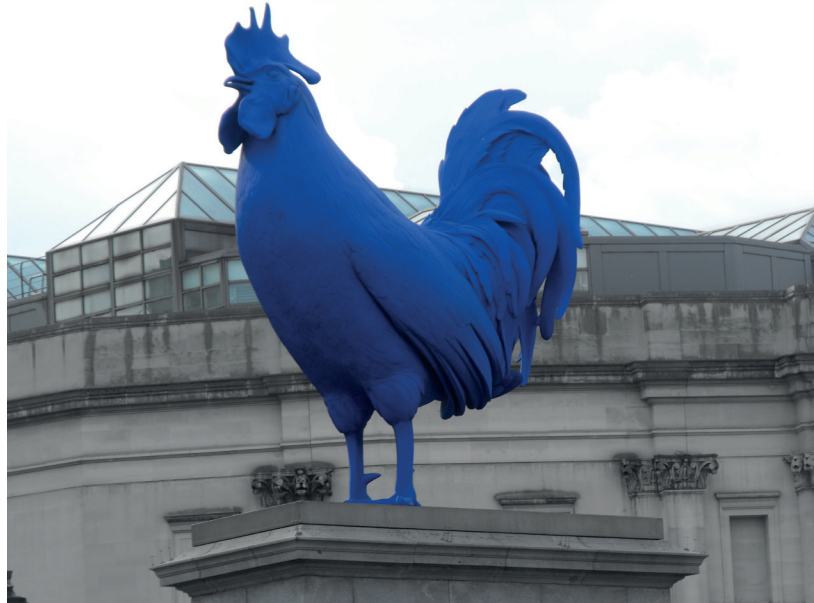*Figure 57: Hahn/Cock by Katharina Fritsch*

123   http://www.britishcouncil.org/russia-common-unveiling-statue-yuri-gagarin-royal-observatory-greenvich.htm British Council [Accessed May 2013]
124   http://www.london.gov.uk/fourthplinth/commissions/shortlist2010 Greater London Authority [Accessed May 2013]

London has a strong record in welcoming and endorsing such events. For instance, the 2013 Maslenitsa festival website included a welcome video by the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, in which he speaks Russian[125].

The Mayor of London's welcome message, partly in Russian, for the 2013 Maslenitsa festival. Screenshot of www.maslenitsa.co.uk

London naturally plays host to many high profile national (and international) celebrations and events, during which other languages and cultures are visible in the decorations and the fabric of the streets.

Figure 59: Chinatown street decorations

Street decorations in Chinatown for the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, 2012

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125   http://www.maslenitsa.co.uk/ Ensemble Production, and http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YzdQ9oXveb8 Youtube, both accessed May 2013.

4.5.5. Graffiti, unofficial street art, informal signage, the unofficial 'face' of the city

Street art and graffiti are prevalent across the city but tend not to be in languages other than English, or are 'tags' of artists' names. Graffiti in different languages does sometimes appear, however (see photos, below). In the book *Arabic Graffiti*[126] – one of the few collections of graffiti images on the theme of language – there are examples given from the streets of London, and graffiti by artists from around the world regularly appears in spaces such as "The Banksy Tunnel" in Leake Street (Southwark), where street artists are allowed to work. It attracts artists from across the world.

Street art is increasingly recognised by the art establishment. For example in February 2013 Berlin street artist Thierry Noir (French-born himself), who made his name painting on the Berlin Wall from 1984-9, teamed up with a leading London street artist to make a collaborative mural, followed by a talk at Somerset House sponsored by the Courtauld Institute of Art.

Arabic script graffiti in Stoke Newington, Hackney (2011). © Dennis Owen, under Creative Commons licence, http://www.flickr.com/photos/empty-eye/8211631000/

Figure 60: Arabic script graffiti

Figure 61

Street art with French text in Shoreditch, Hackney. © Joe O'Malley, under Creative Commons licence, http://www.flickr.com/photos/64joe/8203060808/in/pool-littlelondonobservationist

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126   Zoghbi, P. & Zaza, D. (2011) *Arabic Graffiti*. Berlin: From Here To Fame, Berlin

Figure 62: Leake Street

Multilingual graffiti regularly appears in London especially in renowned spaces such as "The Banksy Tunnel" in Leake Street (Southwark), which attracts street & graffiti artists from across the world.

© Mark Colliton, under Creative Commons licence, http://www.flickr.com/photos/52814185@N02/8376407400/

The London street art community appears to be very international, certainly at the level of street artists with any kind of profile[127]. Many graffiti artists travel to each others' cities to paint. In a 2011 interview[128] the London graffiti artist Ludvig states:

I have connections to other cities than just London. I love to travel and don't do anywhere near as much of it as I'd like to. I like to try to paint in these places too. I'm inspired by the styles that have come out of places such as Poland, the Czech Republic and Finland. I like the feeling of being in these countries, I remember Pantal [Polish graffiti artist] once saying to me that 'soul' would always be the most important ingredient in a piece and that focussing on technique would be an error, he was right and that simple advice inspires me to this day. In London it would be hard to imagine anyone giving advice like that… I also like painting with people who are passing through London, it's always a good thing and fun. Many cities are way easier to paint than London, but they each have their own gifts to give and challenges to pose.

What is interesting here is that we identify language learning as a class issue in the UK with especially low rates of language learning, and lower results, among poorer classes and especially boys[129] [130] [131] – but this very group are well represented in street art and they are proving that they can in fact be very international in their outlook and collaborative with young people from other countries and cultures.

Even when associated with negative social aspects, graffiti is often a representation of a multilingual London. It can be a manifestation of criminal gangs[132] some of which are organised along ethnic lines (eg Somali, Turkish[133]) or, more typically, ethnically diverse as described by John Pitts in his 2007 report on gangs in Waltham Forest.[134] Pitts writes that often the street gang, "ironically… provides a rare model of inter-ethnic social cohesion".

127   http://www.ldngraffiti.co.uk/graffiti/writers/robbo/interview.html Joe Epstein, LDNGraffiti.co.uk [Accessed May 2013]
128   http://www.ptwschool.com/blog/ludvig-interview.html PTWSchool [Accessed May 2013]
129   DfE (2011) *GCSE and Equivalent Results in England, 2010/11 (Revised)*
130   Tinsley, T. and Han, Y. (2011) *Language Learning in Secondary Schools in England Findings from the 2011 Language Trends survey.* CfBT, Reading
131   Extra, G. and Yagmur, K. (2012) *Language Rich Europe, Trends in policies and practices for multilingualism in Europe.* British Council
132   Smith, D. and Bradshaw, P. (2005) *Gang Membership and Teenage Offending*. University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh
133   Hassan, M A, Samater, H M, Van Liempt, I, Oakes, W J & Obsiye, M (2009) *Conference Report and Conclusions on the London Somali Youth*. SYDRC, London. Available at: http://www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/research/transnational-spaces/migration-research-unit/publications/pdfs/SYDRC%20May%20conference%20report.pdf
134   Pitts, J. (2007) *Reluctant Gangsters: Youth Gangs in Waltham Forest*. University of Bedfordshire, UK.

So whether we are looking at graffiti as a product of gang culture, or street art celebrated by the art establishment, they are thoroughly intercultural, multilingual manifestations which surround any Londoner on journeys through the city.

4.5.6. Analysis of responses to questionnaires

We did not receive responses from professionals or experts who work in the specific field of urban spaces. However, of the 23 responses looked at here, 6 made comments with regard to some of the aspects of London's urban spaces. The two questions which elicited such responses were those about 'symbolic' use of language, and the way London approaches multilingualism.

Use of 'symbolic' language

Two very different examples of 'symbolic' language being used were given: in restaurants (Italian restaurants where none of the staff speak Italian), and in mosques and madrassas. These may be manifestations of a type of branding – using language visually in the physical surroundings to create a world for the participants to step into. It is interesting to note the irritation with which the Italian respondent described the situation of what she calls "pseudo-Italian restaurants", as if she had been cheated.

Agreement with/assessment of "the way London approaches" multilingualism

Two of our respondents made reference to the way the Olympics had been approached and expressed disappointment that the profile of languages was low, describing the Games as a missed opportunity for languages.

Two of our respondents recall embarrassing or ridiculous public signs – that of a crass Arabic message at the Olympic site, and a message (in English) that 'If you need an interpreter, go to platform 8'. The respondents imply that London should raise its game given its status as a world city, that the city's approach to languages is not serious enough. These manifestations of bad signs are perhaps an indicator that London sometimes has a rather 'symbolic' approach to languages – half-hearted attempts or making a gesture which can fail completely.

Different people can have very different experiences of London's urban spaces. One of our respondents states that "public spaces make virtually no provision for foreign languages speakers"; whereas another, an student in London from the Czech Republic, relates that "many original version cinema [sic] available, city info is multilingual".

5. Key points

The opening chapter of this report takes us back in time to the first Roman settlements and through the centuries which have shaped London to become the cosmopolitan place we experience today.

We have gained insights into the history of London as a sanctuary for many communities and high profile individuals fleeing oppression in other countries around the world, and as a world leader in terms of economy, culture and education offer (Global City Index, 2012)[135].

In our exploration of different spheres we have shown that practices are very devolved, resulting in "standard practice" being very different from area to area (local authority to local authority, school to school, hospital to hospital, etc). The advantage can be that best practice can develop quickly on a small scale and be very responsive to local needs and local resources. The disadvantage is that there is great variation and a risk of 'postcode lottery'. If you are a Somali in one part of London, you may get much better level of support than if you lived in a different part of London only a few hundred metres away. This characteristic also encourages immigrant communities to settle in particular areas.

Although our research has identified a high level of commitment to providing public services which overcome language barriers in a variety of ways, not all of London's local authorities are committed to providing services in languages other than English. Current national policy tends to discourage the multilingual provision of services (cf. the statement by the Communities Minister, discussed in Chapter 4.2.1), and austerity measures make it difficult for local councils to fund activities which are not priorities. Our participants singled out a number of sections of society as especially vulnerable to such cuts. Female members and elderly members of certain migrant communities, as well as refugees and asylum seekers, were identified as not only suffering from a lack of employment and social opportunities due to insufficient English language skills, but also as struggling to cope with language barriers on an everyday basis.

In education the vulnerability of certain groups translates into issues of equality of opportunity voiced by our participants concerned about EAL children being placed in low ability sets in particular. The approach, focussing on the lack of skills in English as a type of special need or cognitive deficiency in children new to English, has been an ongoing issue in the mainstream education system for many decades, as previously explored. Parallel to this, there is a flourishing sector of independent, bilingual and international schools in London where children from affluent socio-economic backgrounds are given opportunities and encouraged to develop their plurilingual potential.

A key point communicated by the companies we have consulted is that language skills are essential in the economic sphere and should be a part of a compulsory secondary school education. Concern was expressed about the declining role of languages in UK schools and there was agreement that employers had to play a role in underlining the importance of language learning. At the same time it was recognised that the linguistic capital of the multinational population of the city was under-utilised.

In the private sphere and urban space sections our research paints a rich and dynamic picture of London as a hub of multilingual activities. Underpinning this richness and dynamism is the language hierarchy identified by our participants and previous research. Speakers of languages which are perceived as high status – either because of their current economic value or historical circumstances – experience London in a fundamentally different way to those who speak less prestigious languages. The existence of 'rich and poor' in close proximity, but with a visible divide, characterises London in its urban landscape (and is very visible in Westminster, where very prestigious residential areas border with council estates and social housing) and this is reflected in Londoners' experiences of multilingualism, too.

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135   A.T.Kearney (2012) *Global City Index 2012 and Emerging Cities Outlook*. A.T.Kearney, Chicago. Available at http://www.atkearney.com/documents/10192/dfedfc4c-8a62-4162-90e5-2a3f14f0da3a

6. Post research reflections

This report provides a profile of a metropolis in flux, bursting with excellent initiatives in each sphere, but often failing to provide a strategic approach to utilise the talent and cater for the needs of its inhabitants. In the words of one of our participants, London operates like a collection of 300 villages existing along each other, with their own established practices, policies and distinct subcultures.

Some aspects of practice are based on national policies, such as cuts in ESOL provision or the provision of interpreting for health and legal purposes, and so are usually experienced in a similar way across the communities and professionals working in the fields concerned.

In its history there have been two distinct attempts to provide a more strategic approach in London's education sphere: the ILEA (Inner London Education Authority) in the 1970s and a more recent regional strategy: the London Challenge, in 2000. Both of these structures have left legacies and achieved results which clearly demonstrate the advantage of a strategic approach across London.

Currently London has a Mayor and a London Assembly, established with the purpose of championing London and improving the city for all its residents. These institutions have already shown some regard to issues of multilingualism in London. This research has shown that further efforts are needed to put the challenges – and advantages – of multilingualism and plurilingualism at the core of London's efforts to establish itself as the foremost global city in Europe and a truly world city.

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