An International Perspective on Language Policies, Practices and Proficiencies

**Festschrift for
David E. Ingram**

**Denis Cunningham
&
Anikó Hatoss**

Editors

An International Perspective on Language Policies, Practices and Proficiencies

Table of Contents

Section 2: Practices 199

Section 3: Proficiencies 311

Professor David E Ingram with the Festschrift Editors, Anikó Hatoss and Denis Cunningham, at the AFMLTA Biennial National Languages Conference in Brisbane in July 2003.

Foreword

The idea of creating a Festschrift for Professor David E Ingram *AM* was the inspiration of Anikó Hatoss, who was an invited research fellow to the Centre for Language Learning and Teaching at Griffith University and worked under David's guidance on her PhD thesis. Our cooperation on this volume started when we were waiting for the Keith Horwood Memorial Lecture to begin – fittingly delivered by David at the Fourteenth Biennial National Languages Conference of the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations (AFMLTA). We introduced ourselves to each other and agreed to bring together a volume commemorating David's work, as he was about to retire from Griffith University at the end of 2003.

The task of giving proper acknowledgement to David's work is extremely challenging as it is hard to capture the enormity of his contribution to the field of applied linguistics internationally, and more specifically in the context of Australian language policies, language teaching practices and language testing, the world of 'proficiencies'. The difficulty of the task, however, is alleviated by the fact that there is no shortage of colleagues, friends, students and research fellows who have worked with David in the past 35 years of his career and have been inspired by his work and personality.

He had a major influence on many careers, especially ours. For me (Denis), this began with a chance encounter at the Second AFMLTA Biennial National Languages Conference in Melbourne in 1978. This was consolidated when David and I (Denis) began working together on the AFMLTA Executive from 1982, David as President, and I (Denis) as Secretary. This marked the beginning of 15 years of close collaboration, where I (Denis) benefited considerably from his expertise, insights and experience. For me (Anikó), David's professional guidance during my PhD studies was extremely valuable both on the professional and the personal levels. David has been a major player in the field of languages teaching for over 30 years so it is fitting that we acknowledge and celebrate his extensive and influential career in the European manner: by preparing and publishing a Festschrift.

David started his career as a primary school teacher in 1958 in Wynnum North State School, and as a secondary school teacher of French in 1961. In 1971, he was appointed Lecturer (and later Senior Lecturer) in the Department of Languages and Literature, Mt Gravatt College of Advanced Education, Brisbane (Australia), where he continued his work until 1982. He was President of the Modern Language Teachers Association of Queensland (MLTAQ) between 1977 and 1982. In 1978 he graduated with a PhD from the University of Essex, the same year that he prepared the landmark submission, *National Language and Research Centre*. Early in his career (1979), he and Elaine Wylie developed the *Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ASLPR)*, today the *International Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ISLPR)*, which has served as a major step in establishing benchmarks in languages learning and English language skills of immigrants in Australia. The ISLPR is still one of the most widely used measurement tools for evaluating migrants' and international students' proficiency for work and study purposes in Australia.

During the period of 1982–1996**,** he was President of the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations (AFMLTA) when, between 1983 and 1986, he was appointed Principal Lecturer and Head of Department, at the Department of Education Studies, Darwin Institute of Technology (Australia); between 1986 and 1990, he was Principal Lecturer and Director, at the Institute of Applied Linguistics, Brisbane College of Advanced Education, Mt Gravatt, Australia. During this period, he prepared another incisive submission, *The Case for a National Institute of Languages* (1988), for the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education (AACLAME). Shortly thereafter, he collaborated with others to produce *Developing an Association for Language Teachers: An Introductory Handbook* (1989) and *The Relationship between International Trade and Linguistic Competence* (1990).

Between 1990 and 2003, he was Professor of Applied Linguistics and Director of the Centre for Applied Linguistics and Languages (CALL) at Griffith University, Nathan (Australia), and more recently, in 2004, he was appointed Executive Dean, School of Applied Language Studies, Melbourne University Private (Australia). As a member of the Australian Language and Literacy Council between 1990 and 1996, he contributed considerably to a major paper in 1994 about the needs of Australian business and industry for language skills, as well as to later publications, such as *Language Teachers: Pivot of Policy* (1996) and *The Implications of Technology for Language Teaching* (1996).

In recognition of his contribution to the field of applied linguistics and the teaching of languages in Queensland and in Australia, David received numerous awards and honorary titles. In 1979, he was awarded Honorary Life Membership of QATESOL, in 1983 Honorary Life Membership of the Modern Language Teachers Association of Queensland (MLTAQ). His work was widely recognised internationally and between 1986 and 1992 he was Vice-President of the Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes (FIPLV). It is, therefore, appropriate that the Festschrift be published by FIPLV.

In 1987, he was awarded a Fellowship of the Australian College of Education. During 1993 and 1994 he was the recipient of the Mellon Fellowship at the National Foreign Language Center, Washington DC (USA). In 1994, he received the AFMLTA Medal for Outstanding Service to Language Teaching in Australia and in 2003, he was awarded Member of the Order of Australia "*for service to education through the development of language policy, through assessment procedures for evaluation of proficiency, and through research and teaching*".

David has published extensively in the area of applied linguistics, second language teaching, testing, language policy, language-in-education policy, multiculturalism and teacher education in journals and monographs published in Australia, New Zealand, South East Asia, the U.K., Poland and the United States. He has presented papers in a wide range of countries including Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Singapore, Thailand, China, Ireland, Sweden, the U.K., Finland, The Netherlands, Hungary, Nigeria, Canada and the United States. The areas and themes of his publications and presentations are many, but one area stands out: language policy and language planning, especially in connection with the role of languages in business and industry in Australia, the United States and the U.K., with implications for language policy, curriculum design and methodology. In a recent book, *Language Centres*, he made a significant contribution to the field by discussing the roles, functions and management of language centres, indirectly paving the way for a new area of language planning.

Since the idea came up in 2003, the Festschrift initiative has enjoyed a long period (i.e., two years) of preparation. As the notion took shape, we agreed to contact high profile contributors to the languages and applied linguistics fields, who had worked in some way with David. We also saw the Festschrift as a means for former students and others early in their careers to have the possibility to publish – a necessity in the tertiary sector

in recent years. Consequently, the Festschrift is an intended mix of articles by luminaries whose names are known to all, and younger scholars who will be leaders of the future.

As David's outstanding input has been expansive, not merely limited to the fields of language teaching and applied linguistics, we decided to invite contributions under a range of themes – using the letter "P" to map the text: Policies, Practices, Proficiencies, Parity, Presence and Prosperity – all areas in which David has been involved in the context of languages. We commend the volume to you in the spirit in which it was initiated, undertaken and intended. In recognising David's extensive role, we hope that this volume, *An International Perspective on Language Policies, Practices and Proficiencies* – and the forthcoming issue of *Current Issues in Language Planning*, the second component of a dual tribute to David – will further his and our cause in promoting and assisting language learning around the world.

Denis Cunningham & Anikó Hatoss
Editors

Introduction

David E Ingram is one of those rare, gifted and indefatigable gladiators, who has fought long and hard for the cause of languages.

As indicated in the Foreword, David has assumed an integral and leading role in many fields related to the teaching of languages. The mapping of these – under the section themes of policy, practices, proficiencies, and parity, presence and prosperity – does not do justice to this leading role, but it is a reflection of some of the areas in which he contributed so much.

Language Policies

It is an unfortunate fact that there are precious few languages policies in place across the globe. This begs the basic question – why? One simple answer is the lack of significant leadership, until recently, in this area. This was rectified to a certain extent by UNESCO's adoption and publication of *Education for a Multilingual World* in 2003. In effect a policy, the impact of this position paper will take some time to filter down through the various governmental, legal, educational and bureaucratic levels of the 190 member states of UNESCO.

Another regrettable response is the lack of priority given to linguistic diversity by many in powerful positions across the globe, especially in economically rich states and international conglomerates, blinkered when it comes to humanitarian issues such as linguistic identity. The deity is the dollar, the person valued in pesos.

A third response is superficially financial: it costs more to value and resource multilingualism than it does to drive unilateral monolingualism, whether this be in English or another language (of global import).

Australia had the best languages policy across the globe in 1987. Now it has none. This retrogression is countered by a country such as South Africa, where the languages policy recognises eleven official languages. In the U.S.A., there is no official languages policy. On the contrary, this

nation is being overrun by shortsighted, divisive action in favour of "English only" legislation.

Where should language policy be taking us as a global society that values linguistic and cultural diversity, yet needs to communicate and collaborate for our collective future?

The contributors to this section come from a variety of these countries – Europe, Africa, Australia, Asia and the U.S.A. – to offer insights on how to best address the challenges before us.

Richard Lambert, former Director of the National Foreign Language Center in Washington DC, provides a succinct overview of language policy across the globe, drawing on his renowned expertise, of which his *Language Planning around the World: Contexts and Systemic Change* (1994) is merely one lighthouse example. Colin Power, former Assistant Director-General for Education at UNESCO, considers the linguistic needs in an increasingly globalised world, before giving pragmatic recommendations on action for policy development and the implementation of an enhanced environment of multilingualism. György Szépe, Professor Emeritus at the Janus Pannonius University in Pécs (Hungary) and former Secretary-General of FIPLV, focuses on linguistic diversity, especially in the context of the expanding European Union. He addresses the role of the State in light of the recommendations by key summit meetings.

Robert Kaplan, Emeritus Professor at the University of Southern California and co-editor (with Richard Baldauf) of the "Language Planning" series, tackles the challenge of language-in-education policy. Following an historical overview and defining the terms of references, he draws upon experiences in Pacific nations (i.e., North Korea, Japan and the Philippines) to underline his thesis and anticipated implications. Guus Extra of the Babylon Centre for Studies of the Multicultural Society at Tilburg University (The Netherlands), draws upon his extensive work on minority languages in the European Union, more extensively covered in his recent volume, *Urban Multilingualism in Europe. Immigrant Minority Languages at Home and School* (2004), co-edited with K Yagmur. After defining the contextual parameters, he analyses trends in language shift before making salient recommendations. Zeynep Beykont, former researcher at Harvard University, looks at the emerging prevalence of "English Only" policies in the U.S.A. Tracing language policy development and trends in the U.S.A. in the twentieth century, she uses this as a springboard to demonstrate the move towards a monolinguistic policy in many American states.

David's quasi-autobiographical coverage of the languages scene during his career in Australia – the Keith Horwood Memorial Lecture at the AFMLTA Biennial National Languages Conference in Brisbane in 2003 – provides a clear focus on policy development, among many other related aspects, from a personal perspective. Francis Mangubhai of the University of Southern Queensland (Australia) traces the language-in-education policy development in the Fiji Islands. In doing this, he considers the context of English and vernacular languages. Ibrahima Diallo (Griffith University, Australia) takes us into the context of multilingualism in Senegal and gives an historical insight into the spread and dominance of French from the early colonial times when French enjoyed a high status and was a key to social mobility, to the present, when local languages do not only have to stand the test of time against French, but the newly emerging and strengthening power of English.

Language Practices

A further area of David E Ingram's expertise is his impact on the evolving methodology exercised in classrooms at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The coverage is diverse, difficult to grasp.

For example, what pedagogies work for language learners in today's information and communication technology (ICT) rich and increasingly virtual world? The discussion of pedagogies, with specific reference to some micro-fields, embraces ICT, pathways, teacher training, professional development, and language choice.

A fundamental purpose for teaching and learning languages is inter-national understanding, the acceptance and celebration of linguistic and cultural diversity, and peace. UNESCO among others has recognised this fact for decades – reflected widely in its action, declarations and policies – and, in this context, initiatives such as the 1987 collocation of languages and peace: Linguapax. A cornerstone for many behind the education of languages, contributions to this theme detail aspects of the UNESCO project of Linguapax. Interrelated is the notion of intercultural communication, a current thrust underpinning the promotion of the teaching and learning of languages.

Tony Liddicoat, of the University of South Australia and former President of the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations (AFMLTA), defines the context and terms of intercultural communication in the teaching of languages, before providing pragmatic suggestions on why and how it can be taught. Svetlana Ter-Minasova, Dean of the Faculty

of Foreign Languages at Moscow State University, addresses linguistic aspects of intercultural communication, using the juxtaposition of English and Russian for her examples. Terry Lamb, former President of the Association for Language Learning (ALL) in the U.K (University of Sheffield) and Hayo Reinders (University of Auckland) introduce the relatively new and emerging focus on leaner independence in language teaching.

Reinhold Freudenstein of the Department of Education, Philipps University in Marburg (Germany), FIPLV Honorary Counsellor and former Treasurer-General of the Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes, draws upon the UNESCO project of Linguapax, to argue the need for peace education in the languages curriculum at the secondary and tertiary levels. Indra Odina of the University of Latvia in Riga provides details of recent development in cooperative learning and its potential for teacher professional development. Shirley O'Neill, Chen Nian-Shing, Li Min-Lee, Mokoto Kageto and Laurence Quinlivan lead us to the area of computer assisted language learning in the context of EFL in Taiwan and Japan and report on a research project which investigated the effectiveness of an innovative Internet-facilitated exchange program offered for Taiwanese and Japanese students. Indra Karapetjana of the University of Latvia in Riga defines a specific research context before discussing communicative competence for further research. Denis Cunningham, President of the Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes, presents a global context before extrapolating to technological developments in society and education.

Language Proficiencies

The need for competence in language skills is critical for successful communication and existence in our multilingual world. While the steps leading to linguistic proficiency fall more logically within the section devoted to pedagogy and practices, a key factor is assessment of language proficiency. We need to consider what assessment mechanisms of language proficiency can foster a focus on meaning and specific purposes in our "shrinking world". This inevitably addresses the various testing instruments, such as IELTS and the ISLPR, to which David was a key contributor, while considering related issues such as the Common European Framework of Reference (CEF), and English as an international language.

In his paper on increased authenticity in language testing, David E Ingram identifies shortfalls in existing testing instruments, before making

recommendations informed by the *International Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ISLPR)*. Sabine Doff and Jan Franz of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Unversitaet in Munich analyse the Common European Framework of Reference (CEF) before making recommendations for enhanced relevance. Ieva Zuicena of the University of Latvia in Riga considers developments and the evolution of the language proficiency levels in learning and assessment for Latvian.

Parity, Presence and Prosperity

The retention of linguistic diversity is a major challenge facing the globe. We are faced by the juggernaut of global English at one end of the languages continuum, while confronted by the increasing disappearance of languages at the other end. The challenge is before us: how do various ethnolinguistic communities maintain their cultures and languages? Is globalisation leading to monolingualism? How can policies, educational programs and community initiatives contribute to the prosperity of languages? How does the spread of English (and other major languages) affect the presence of less widely spoken languages?

Contributors to this section cover some of the above challenges, identifying pragmatic and effective solutions for the maintenance of linguistic diversity in the world and in various ethnolinguistic communities. Alan Hedley of the University of Victoria (Canada) uses his web analysis of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to postulate ways in which these can play an active role in promoting linguistic diversity and sustainable development.

Anikó Hatoss of the University of Southern Queensland in Australia discusses the impact of language policies on small ethnolinguistic communities in Australia and reports on a sociolinguistic survey conducted in the Hungarian community of Queensland. Marie-Claire Patron of Bond University on the Gold Coast (Australia) analysis language shift – and makes recommendations for language maintenance – using the context of Franco-Mauritians in Australia. Francisco Gomes de Matos, former Professor at the University of Pernambuco in Récife (Brazil), draws upon his path-paving career in linguistic rights and peace linguistics to deliver a plea for the fundamental communicative right.

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Denis Cunningham & Anikó Hatoss
Editors

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Section 1
Policies

Language Policy around the World

Richard D. Lambert

Director Emeritus, National Foreign Language
Center, Washington D. C., Emeritus Professor of South
Asian Studies, University of Pennsylvania.

1   Introduction

The term language policy refers to rules set by authorities to govern the acquisition and/or use of languages. Some policy makers and analysts have used the term to apply to a wide variety of administrative levels ranging from international organisations (eg Van Els 2001); to world regions (e.g. Extra & Gorter 2001); countries (Van Els 1990; Lo Bianco 1987), to single educational institutions (Clyne 2001). Recently, the term has been expanded to include what is referred to as "grass roots language policy", that is policy originating in or influenced by the affected members of the speech community (Hornberger 1996; Christ 1997). Most analyses of language policy are concerned with formal, governmentally-backed policies at the national or regional level aimed at language use within a country or region.

Language policies fall in one of the following domains: (1) corpus policy or the specification of the proper form a particular language should take; ((2) status policy or the appropriate ranking of particular languages; and (3) foreign language policy which is concerned with the role and acquisition of languages based outside a country or region. While these domains are conceptually distinct, in practice they may overlap. Fishman (2000) describes in detail how corpus and status policy intermingle. Foreign and domestic language policies are blended in situations like the status of French in Canada, the retention of colonial languages in Africa, and the status of trans-border languages in ethnic enclaves such as Swedish in Finland, German in Italy or French in Switzerland.

2   Corpus Policy

In many countries, a large portion of language policy is concerned with the prescription of the proper form a language should take. Corpus policy can take a variety of forms. In many of the least developed countries and among some aboriginal groups in developed countries, the principal

activity in corpus policy is the development of a script for a language and the promotion of literacy among its speakers. Another goal of corpus policy is language purification. In some cases this involves an attempt to return it to a sometimes fictitious primal language, purging the modern language of loan words and expressions imported from other languages. Examples are the purging of Persian and the substitution of Sanskrit-based words in Hindi and the reverse in Urdu. Similarly, the deletion of foreign influences in German during the Nazi years and the perpetual struggle of French against Franglish are of the same order. Sometimes purification is more extensive. For instance, under Ataturk, a deliberate attempt was made to simplify and modernise Turkish (Lewis 1999). Older linguistic elements borrowed from Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Arabic were replaced with elements identified with a Turkic past, and the perso-arabic script was converted to a roman one. Similarly, in China the development of Putonghua was accompanied by extensive modernisation of vocabulary and morphology. In similar vein, the attempt to create a pan-national standard Arabic and to diffuse it throughout the Middle East and North Africa, overlaying the sometimes mutually unintelligible country dialects, has required major innovation in the writing system, grammar, and lexicon of the language.

Sometimes corpus policy has been directed to the revival or rejuvenation of a language that historically has become fossilised or marginalised, for instance, the attempt to support the use of Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes (King 2002). Similar corpus policy may be found in the attempts to spread the use of Celtic languages in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany. The success of the Celtic revivals in various countries has depended on the extent to which they are backed by political power, as in Ireland where the Celtic language has become a symbol of nationhood, or in Wales, where a regional government has championed its use. However, even in countries and regions where there is strong governmental backing, only a minority of the population actually speaks the Celtic language.

Another example in which corpus policy fosters the status of marginalised languages is the use of government power to promote canonical languages. For instance, the status of Hebrew has been transformed from a canonical language to the official language of everyday use in Israel. Classical Arabic has been used to enhance religious identity among Muslims. After Indian independence, Sanskrit was made one of the official languages of India and for a brief period of time was even proposed as a medium for the transmission of news on the radio.

The converse of the policy of promoting little-used languages is the deliberate removal or downgrading of languages. The systematic suppression of the use of Tibetan in China or the native language among the American Indians are clear examples. In the same vein, but less dramatic, are the efforts by the former Soviet states (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele 2001) to replace Russian with their regional language. While most of this policy is directed at language use – in government, the press, the media, the educational system – it also includes changes in the language itself. These changes include the purging of Russian forms and vocabulary from the regional language, a search for alternative cultural and historical roots – in the case of Muslim states emphasising Turkic origins – and the creation of neologisms both to replace Russian borrowings and to modernise the traditional language. In most of these regions, shifts to roman scripts had begun even before independence, but recently became more pervasive. In some of the former satellite Baltic and Eastern European states, the Russian language has been stripped of its dominant position in government and the educational system.

3   Status Policy

The status of languages refers to their relative rankings in society and the domains and extent of their use. More particularly, status policy usually refers to the designation of languages as official and their use in the public sector and the educational system. In recent years, most scholarly analysis of language policy is concerned with status policy, although as Fishman (2000) points out status and corpus policy are often intertwined. The nature of status policy depends substantially on differences in the number and types of languages spoken in a country. Countries with a single dominant language face a different set of policy issues compared with linguistically dyadic or triadic countries – those with two or three relatively equal languages. Similarly, countries that are linguistic-mosaics, that is, countries with a large number of important languages, have very different sets of problems from monolingual and dyadic or triadic language countries.

3.1   Monolingual Countries

Few countries are truly linguistically homogeneous, but many countries in Western Europe and the Americas perceive themselves as essentially monolingual. In Europe this is especially striking in the face of persistent multilingualism. A recently published Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe (Price 2001) listed some 300 historical and currently used languages in Europe. Several of the countries in East Asia essentially see

themselves as monolingual although each contains important language minorities. In linguistically homogeneous countries, the principal focus of language policy has been on corpus planning, the management of the national language itself, supplemented in some countries – notably France, Germany, and Japan – by efforts to export the national language abroad.

Within "linguistically homogeneous" countries language policies that relate to linguistic minorities differ for different varieties of minorities.

3.1.1 Ethno-linguistic Regional Minorities

Long-standing, geographically-concentrated minorities receive the bulk of attention in both governmental and educational language policy, as well as in academic analysis. Examples of such minorities are the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, the Sami in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia, and the Celtic language communities in Ireland, Great Britain, and France. Currently, the dominant paradigm in governmental status policy and in academic analysis is the protection of linguistic minorities against the absorptive effects of the dominant national language. A wide variety of country and language specific case studies is now available (Dickson & Cumming 1996; Extra & Gorter 2001; Fishman 1999; Fishman 2001; Lambert 1994). Most of them reflect this approach. The use of terms such as "threatened", "dying", "endangered" languages and at the extreme, "language death" and "linguistic genocide" reflect the nature of such analyses. The intended effect of such an approach is to characterise the aspirations of ethno-linguistic minorities as group and individual rights. These rights are elaborated by law in many monolingual countries, as well as in covenants and resolutions enacted by international bodies: The European Charter for Minority or Regional Languages, a Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, The Oslo Recommendations regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities, The Hague Recommendation Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities, and the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights. For instance, the term "other languages" of Europe is a product of an international organisation, the European Union. It refers to "all languages apart from the eleven official languages that are ignored in public and official activities of the EU" (Extra & Gorter 2001).

The effect of official designation of a minority language, whether within a country or internationally, can be of substantial benefit, expanding a minority's claim to educational and governmental support. Consequently, there is constant pressure to expand the list, drawing the line further

down the continuum from language to dialect or giving legal identity to different types of languages. For instance, the deaf community seeks recognition of sign language as a separate minority language. Efforts are also underway to declare some variant language such as Black English as minority languages, and thus subject to special protection. Recently, there has been a movement to imbed the concept of language rights in a larger framework, the promotion of multilingualism for the general population (Skutnabb-Kangas 1995).

Policies toward linguistic minorities differ according to their relative size, their degree of geographic concentration, their historical roots, their extra-country linkages, the strength of their ethnic identification, and the political activism of their leadership. The features of official language policy that vary according to these characteristics are: (a) a language's role in the education system, in particular, the class and school levels in which it is represented and whether it is taught as a subject or used as a medium of instruction; (b) its role in governmental affairs – the legislature, judiciary, administrative services, the military; (c) its role in the media, particularly that portion controlled by government; and (d) its use in the workplace.

In academic analyses of minority language policy a number of constructs have been proposed to arrange language minorities along continua of relative vitality. A widely used scale is Joshua Fishman's (Fishman 2001) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale based upon a language's presence in governmental affairs, education, adult use and intergenerational transfer. The scale also purports both to advise linguistic minorities on how to advance their status and how to promote the use of the language.

Territorial linguistic minorities also differ in the extent to which their speakers seek full political autonomy, as do the Tamils of Sri Lanka, and some of the Basques in Spain. For most groups, however, the goal is limited to the use of the minority language in governmental affairs and at various levels of the education system. For instance, in Spain in three constitutionally-mandated regions Basque, Catalan, and Galician languages are not only taught in schools, but public use of the language is actively promoted, and, since their speakers occupy their own political units within Spain, they can determine their own official language policy within their territory. By way of contrast, in France, the Basque-speaking sections bordering on those in Spain are not officially recognised as separate language groups, they do not comprise a separate political unit, and they cannot determine linguistic policies. In France, the promotion of

the Basque language is left to voluntary initiatives. In similar vein, the various Celtic languages represent different kinds of territorially-specific language minorities with varying claims on governmental power.

There are many other territorially-concentrated linguistic minorities elsewhere in Europe such as the Frisians in the Netherlands receiving special treatment. Special accommodation is also made for territorial linguistic enclaves whose residents are speakers of languages of neighbouring countries. For instance the Swedes in the southwestern corner of Finland, and the Germans in the contiguous border regions of Belgium, Italy, and France are examples of trans-border linguistic minorities.

There are a few long-established linguistic minorities that are not geographically concentrated – e.g., Romani – that typically receive less policy attention.

3.1.2 Aboriginals

Like other territorially concentrated linguistic minorities within homogeneous states, culturally distinct autochthonous groups receive a great deal of attention both in language policy and in academic analyses. Often the languages of such groups are in various stages of development. Hence, a primary focus of policy is on alphabetisation and the promotion of literacy and oracy. In most cases, the drive for language rights among aboriginal groups is tied to cultural revival and reinforcement. Linguistic groups whose members are still active speakers of their languages and who are territorially concentrated like the Samis in the Nordic countries and Russia, the Quichua in the Andean highlands of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador have greater success in achieving special treatment in language policy. More dispersed aboriginal groups like the American Indians – although the Navajo have had some success – and the aboriginal tribes in Australia who are dispersed through a hundred different regions, have an even greater difficulty in language maintenance, although in the latter case national government policy supports it. An exception are the Maoris in New Zealand who have had great success in cultural and linguistic revival through concentrated political agitation and through the use of Maori in Te Kohanda Re, the pre-school "language nest" programs.

3.1.3 Immigrants

Language policies tend to be less accommodating to the needs of immigrant groups. Technically, many of the international covenants supporting the rights of linguistic minorities apply only to citizens. However,

recently this distinction has been blurred. In the early years immediately after World War II during the first major flow of "guest workers" into Europe, work migrants were expected to go back to their home countries after a brief sojourn. Moreover, at that time the service of their linguistic needs in education were supposed to be provided by their home countries. In addition, immigrant groups tended to be widely dispersed in cities and did not constitute a separate territorial unit. Over the past decades their numbers have grown immensely, particularly Eastern Europeans migrating into Western Europe and citizens of former colonies moving to the colonial homeland. As their numbers have grown, they have not tended to form separate territorial groups, although their concentration in urban areas, their numbers, and their growing political influence have come to require special educational and governmental accommodation. These have typically included the provision of instruction in the home language in primary schools, the translation of government documents and court proceedings into the home language, and, in some countries, support for instruction of new immigrants in the national language of the country.

The United States provides a clear example of this transformation. Over the centuries massive waves of immigrants have been absorbed. Historically, they tended to be widely dispersed into a number of cities, where little islands would be created. Each group, however, was expected in time to merge into the general population, including the learning of English. In recent decades, after a period of very limited immigration, the number of immigrants has increased rapidly. As a result there are now 3 million children in the United States who speak at home a language other than English. They are what are legally referred to as Limited English Proficiency (LEP) children. Three-fourths of the LEP students are Hispanic and instead of dispersing throughout the country they have become a major territorial language minority in Florida and the American southwest, particularly California. The result has been the institution of language rights accorded territorial linguistic minorities elsewhere, including a highly institutionalised system of bilingual education in primary schools, and representation of Spanish in public life and the media. This development has given rise in some states to pressure to enact legislation making English the only official language.

3.2   Dyadic or Triadic Societies

Countries that have two or three primary languages such as Canada, Belgium, Switzerland, Sri Lanka and Cyprus, each with its own territorial

homeland, have problems of language policy very different from those facing ideologically homogeneous countries. In such countries language policy tends to pervade large sectors of the educational system and public life. As in linguistically homogeneous countries provision may be made for lesser language minorities, but the fabric of the state itself tends to be linguistically consociational involving only the primary languages. Governmental and educational institutions are organised separately in the different language areas, and political power is carefully balanced between the linguistic units. An extreme example is Belgium where, after four governmental crises based on language issues between 1979 and 1990, the country was partitioned into different language regions: (a) areas that are exclusively monolingual in Dutch, French or German (b) areas like Brussels that are officially bi-lingual, and (c) areas that are monolingual but provide some minority language rights. Switzerland has a longer-established form of consociational linguistic territoriality, but restricts its implementation primarily to educational and governmental affairs. Canada is formally bilingual, but French-speaking Quebec periodically attempts to gain independence from the other, primarily Anglophone-speaking, provinces of Canada. A series of referenda for Quebec's independence have not gained a majority of votes in Quebec, defeated by negative votes from a combination of Anglophones, aborigines, and immigrant communities. However, in Quebec province itself, the use of French in all governmental affairs, education, and public displays is mandated. In Anglophone Canada an innovative policy was introduced whose intent was to disarm the Quebec separatist drive. All schools outside of Quebec require their students to enrol in immersion classes to make them proficient in French. This widely-watched program has been only modestly successful.

In some countries, the relationship between the ethno-linguistic groups is so contentious that the country breaks apart, as in the former Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. In post-independence Pakistan two linguistically different parts were separated by a thousand miles – a Bengali-speaking Eastern half and an Urdu, Punjabi and Sindhi speaking western half. After a bitter war Bangladesh became a separate country. A two millennia-old conflict between Tamils and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka is in danger of partitioning the island into two countries, as is the conflict between the Greece- and Turkey -oriented halves of Cyprus. Sometimes in binary societies, one language group dominates the other as in the Sudan where the Arabic-speaking north dominates the lower multi-lingual, tribal-based south.

3.3   Mosaic Societies

Most countries are neither homogeneous or dyadic or triadic in composition. Indeed, the majority of countries in the world are made up of five or more important ethno-linguistic territorially-discrete segments. The problems of language policy, both corpus and status, in mosaic countries such as India, Indonesia, the Philippines, and most of the countries of Africa are immense and complex. In many of these countries, the overwhelming concern is corpus policy, in particular the development of written forms of the languages, the promotion of literacy among the public, the staging and duration of language instruction at the various levels of the educational system, and the preparation of teaching materials and teachers. Moreover, the solutions to status policy issues that are available in ideologically monolingual, dyadic or triadic countries do not apply where there are many languages. In many mosaic societies, even the number of languages spoken in a country is often uncertain. Various counts have enumerated between 1000 and 2000 languages in Africa. In Nigeria alone a variety of linguistic censuses have found 200 to 400 languages. At last count there are 535 languages in India. In the late 19th century Grierson counted a thousand. In all of these countries, the number of languages varies immensely in part because the dividing line between languages and dialects is indistinct.

Clearly, language policy in such countries faces a number of special challenges. In many of them, a single over-arching language was introduced by the former colonial power and is spoken by the members of a small elite. Post-colonial political pressure is to unthrone the colonial language and nativise the choices of national languages. However, the inevitable pressure for abolishing the colonial tradition has had to be balanced against the tendency among indigenous elites in many former colonial countries to distinguish themselves by their command of the colonial language, and increasing proportions of the population see the command of that language as the path to upward mobility. Moreover, the exclusive choice of native languages sacrifices links to modernity and international communication. As a result, the use of ex-colonial languages lingers. For instance, the Indian constitution prescribes that English is to be abandoned as a national language, but it still remains one of the official languages. Moreover, Indians of all social classes see the mastery of English as the avenue for upward mobility. Similarly, in many of the countries in Francophone Africa, French remained the official language after independence, and in some countries still does.

The process of nativisation, with its shift to indigenous languages, is handicapped by the number of those languages and their regional or tribal identification, with all of the status implications that selection of one or a few languages brings. Solutions adopted in a variety of countries include the creation of a fresh lingua franca, usually adopting a local dialect, often one close to the capital city, or adopting a regional language. The use of the new lingua franca is then promoted for use in the education system, in government, and in the media. Examples of this process are Bahasa Malaysia, and a slight variant Bahasa Melayu, developed in Malaysia and Brunei respectively, Tok Pidgin, in Papua/New Guinea, Filipino, a variant of Tagalog, in the Philippines, and the adoption of Swahili in Tanzania and East Africa.

Many mosaic countries have chosen a language policy model which reflects one or another stage in the history of language policy in the former Soviet Union. In the early Soviet period, the languages of the 15 principal language regions were declared to be of equal status. Each was declared the official language and taught in the schools in its own region. Every child had the right to be educated in his or her own language. Russian was to be *primus inter pares* (Lenin 1983). Under Stalin, however, the spread of Russian was promoted and the status of the regional languages downgraded. India initially adopted the Soviet model. At Independence the boundaries of the states were redrawn from polylingual units as they had been under British rule to monolingual units, as the political parties in the independence movement had urged. In the years immediately after independence there was a great deal of concern in India about the balkanising effect of this decision. To combat what were called "fissiparous tendencies", Hindi – a sanskritised form of Hindustani – was chosen to be the bridging national language. However, the states in southern India, whose languages belong to an entirely different family, strongly objected. As happens in many mosaic societies, the compromise that was made piled on languages in the educational system. The medium of instruction in the primary school is the local language, and various other languages are added in secondary and higher education, serving as either media of instruction or as subjects of study. India's compromise was what it called the Three Language Formula – in primary school the local language would be used, in secondary school Hindi, English, and the regional language would be taught. In the Hindi area in the north another regional or European language is to be substituted. As yet this policy has not been rigorously applied and, de facto, the local languages still seem dominant with English serving as the bridge language. While such compromises mitigate

political difficulties in mosaic countries, the problem of governmental communication remains, particularly which languages can be used in governmental affairs. This usually requires the adoption of one or a few working languages, or allowing the use of many languages but providing a mechanism for interpretation and translation.

Interestingly, this same problem is not limited to single countries, but faces international organisations with sovereign states as members who must communicate in multilingual contexts. The Council of Europe, for instance, now has 45 member states. It has adopted French and English as its official languages of communication. The United Nations publishes its daily journal in English and French, but has six "working languages" in which official statements may be made: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. If a delegation wants to communicate in another language, it must provide translators and interpreters. The European Union currently provides for translation and interpretation among the languages of its fifteen members (to be 25 from 1 May 2004), requiring as many as 30 translators for a single session. With ten new members joining, continuing the current practice will require some 100 translators.

The issue of language policy in international organisations with their presumption of equality among the languages of member states, illustrates the more general problem of the tension between status considerations in language choice and the need to make communication in multilingual contexts effective (Van Els 2001). The de facto primacy of English as the language of communication is not without its critics (Phillipson 2003). Elsewhere when the need for international communication is paramount, the trend is to use English as the common language. For instance, 85% of the citations in the world's scientific literature are published in English (Garfield & Welljams-Dorof 1990). In many countries the language of communication between airline pilots and ground controllers is a limited form of English. The growing predominance of English in international communication, of course, is a major handicap to speakers of other languages, and there are numerous attempts such as ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) or World English to modify the language to make it more accessible to non-native speakers. The perennial attempts to foster the use of Esperanto serve the same purpose.

4   Foreign Language Policy

There is some overlap between domestic and foreign languages. For instance, French is both a domestic and foreign language in Canada, as are French and English in many ex-colonies countries. However, in the

main, foreign language policies are usually quite distinct from and less developed than policies with respect to national language(s) and those of intra-country minorities. They also tend to be given less attention in scholarly analyses of language policy. In addition, such policies tend to be piecemeal rather than coordinated. Only a few overall national foreign language policies have been adopted. The national plan for the Netherlands (Van Els 1990) is one of the few that were based upon surveys of adult use and national need. Australia's national policy statement (Lo Bianco 1987) includes both policies with respect to indigenous peoples and immigrants as well as foreign languages. Comprehensive national policy in England is either expressed as part of official curricula for all instruction, or is addressed by non-governmental organisations (Moys 1998). Foreign language policy normally relates only to the educational system, although France and Egypt try to limit the use of English outside the educational system. Within the education system there are a number of common issues that foreign language policy must face (Bergentoft 1994).

One basic decision concerns the proportionate role of foreign language instruction in the curriculum. In most mosaic countries, the promotion of multilingualism in intra-country languages and perhaps the colonial language, leaves little time for foreign languages. The study of foreign languages is most fully developed in Western Europe, where statutory mandates usually require the study of one, and in most countries, two foreign languages. Language study may take up a substantial proportion of curricular time. In Sweden, for instance, language study may absorb 15% of total curricular time. In Luxembourg where French, German, English, in addition to Luxembourgish are required, the proportion of time taken up in language study is much higher.

Time spent on foreign language study is generally less in the English-speaking countries (Moys 1998, Robson 1996). In the United States, while in some states the teaching of foreign languages may be mandated by the state governments, the decision of how much foreign language should be offered is usually left to individual districts and schools. All 50 states include the study of foreign languages in their secondary schools curricula, although no state requires the study of foreign language in secondary school as a graduation requirement for all students, and only ten states require language study of college-bound students. Unlike in most other countries, in the United States students may start their language study in higher educational institutions. In 2002 there were 1.4

million students enrolled in foreign language classes in 780 colleges and universities. However, unlike other countries where students enrol in foreign language study in primary school and continue throughout secondary school, enrolments in the United States foreign language classes tend to start in secondary school or college, and drop on the average by half from one language course level to the next. In many countries there is an increasing tendency to start language study earlier and earlier in primary schools, but the practice is still uncommon in the United States. In England, where a decision has recently been made to drop the requirement of foreign language study after the age of fourteen in comprehensive schools, and in the United States where budgetary pressures have become intense, foreign language courses have dropped precipitously.

Foreign language policy must also specify which languages are to be studied and in what order of priority. This choice is determined by government fiat in some countries. In many countries, however, school and student choices are primary. In England, and formerly in the United States, the traditional order of language selection was French and then German. Recently in the United States, Spanish has become the overall favourite, with French and German in steep decline. French remains the favourite choice in England. In the other countries of Western Europe, the second language chosen is more likely to be German, then French and Spanish. In almost all of non-English speaking countries that require foreign language study the first language to be studied is English, selected by eighty percent or more of the students, often starting in primary school (Bergentoft 1994). In the United States, national governmental support is provided to promote the study of the languages of Asia, East Europe and the Middle East at the higher education level. Except for special instruction specifically aimed at immigrants, the non-Asian languages are taught much less frequently in other countries outside of their home regions.

While some countries specify the method of teaching in language classrooms, in the main, the choice of style of classroom instruction is left to teachers, school districts, and textbook publishers. Indeed, the general trend is away from centralised control of language education to more localised and individual teacher decisions. There are, however, some general trends in the style of language teaching that are taking place in most countries. Particularly in Europe there has been a tendency toward the adoption of what is called communicative competence-oriented

language instruction and the primacy of oracy over reading and writing skills. Moreover, the Council of Europe has been instrumental in bringing about a modernisation and uniformity in language teaching in many countries. In the early 1990s what was referred to as the Threshold Level (Van Ek & Trim 1990) was introduced by the Council of Europe. It provided very specific communicative competence goals that students were expected to achieve. The Threshold Level has been adopted throughout Europe for the teaching of twenty languages. The Council of Europe has also provided to its members a widely-adopted series of guidelines for everything from teacher training, elementary school language instruction, and language education for vocational students. The European Union supported research throughout Europe on improvement of foreign language teaching and provided advice on general language instructional strategies to all of its member states (European Commission 1997).

Much of the control of the nature of foreign language instruction lies with the adoption of uniform strategies for assessment. In this regard, once again the international organisations in Europe have been helpful. The Council of Europe, in cooperation with the European Community, developed a set of language assessment standards intended to promote a degree of uniformity among its members, with a goal of facilitating the growing practice of student exchanges (Sharer & North 1992). These standards have been widely adopted throughout Europe. In the United States the most important, indeed the only, national attempt to make uniform policy for foreign language instruction is the development of a set of standards for a substantial number of languages. Developed by a teachers' organisation, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, it has had a major effect on the modernising of foreign language instruction throughout the United States.

In summary, both the development and analysis of language policy have grown immensely in the past several decades. Earlier interest in corpus policy has now been overshadowed by a surge of interest in status policy, particularly as it relates to the rights of territorial, regional and aboriginal minorities. Recently, here has also been an increase of interest in foreign language policy, but it still receives less attention and is almost entirely unrelated to the rest of language policy. It seems safe to predict that language policy in general will develop even more rapidly in the future.

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Beyond Babel: Language Policies For the 21st Century[1]

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1   Introduction

Our text for this morning is Genesis 11 verses 1 to 9:
"And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech ... And they said, let us build a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven ... And the Lord said, Behold the people is one, and they all have one language ... Let us go down and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech ... Therefore is the name of it called Babel."

From 1989 to 2000, I was responsible for UNESCO's education policies and programs throughout the world, including its efforts to promote international cooperation in the teaching of languages. For the United Nations (UN), the effective teaching of foreign languages is a necessary condition for promoting a culture of peace and the preservation of the world's rich cultural heritage. Every day I faced the babble of nations trying to resolve conflicts without really understanding the language of the other. Nowhere was this confusion more evident than in the region around Babylon.

Given that part of my job was to supervise the implementation of the education component of the food-for-oil program in Iraq, I drove the ten hours across the desert from Jordan in 1999 to meet with the Iraqi government, UN officials and my program staff. While there, I was taken to see the ruins of Babylon and the Tower of Babel. The blazing sun

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dipping below the marshlands and date palms, I stumbled on a small piece of a sky blue tile amid the rubble that was once a mighty tower reaching to the heavens. It speaks to me of the folly of the ancient Assyrians who challenged the Almighty; the folly of dictators who seek to extend their power by force; the folly of nations that seek to combat violence with more violence; the folly of leaders who use "confounding language" to conceal their real agendas.

To this day, the Tower of Babel is symbolic of the confusion and conflict that emerges as the world shrinks and nations become every more diverse, but do nothing to develop the capacity of their citizens, their children and workers to communicate with each other and their neighbours.

This tiny piece of ancient history symbolises the linguistic diversity of the world, and the challenges facing those responsible for language teaching policy and practice. In this paper, I will try to deal with some of those challenges.

Clearly, the development, security and economic survival of individuals, corporations and nations increasingly will be dependent on the extent to which they understand and respect other languages, cultures and nations. Thus I will argue that the lowering of the priority given to languages in Australian education and recent policy decisions relating to the teaching of Asian languages are severely hampering the life prospects of a large number of Australian students, and damaging to our national image within the region. If Australia is not to become another Babel, national language teaching policy will need to address the current downward spiral, and to recognise that intercultural and multilingual policies and programs are a matter of national necessity. I will then move beyond Babel to address some of the issues to be faced in fighting for language policy reform, and ensuring that language studies help our students to become better world and Australian citizens.

2   Globalisation and the Changing Context for Language Teaching

Let me begin by making a few points about globalisation and the challenges facing education as a prelude to examining issues in language teaching policy and practice in Australia:

- *globalisation is a multi-faceted set of processes* which include not only the changes that have flowed from the opening up of markets and the new information technologies but also "new concepts which mean

that shrinking space, shrinking time and disappearing borders are linking people's lives more deeply, more intensely and more immediately than ever before" (UNDP 1999:1)

- *globalisation is neither new* (cf Roman Empire and its lingua franca) *nor is its path pre-ordained*: global changes bring with them a mix of opportunities and threats for every nation, culture, language and education system
- *developed nations are becoming increasingly multicultural and plurilingual* as populations move seeking a better life and new technologies generate exponential increases in intercultural interactions and exchanges. The breaking down of frontiers challenges historical notions of national identity and culture and creates new problems in learning to live together
- *knowledge and innovation are now the core of economic development* accounting for over 50% of growth, and education has become the engine of development in the global knowledge economy, creating constant pressure to raise standards and to provide opportunities for learning throughout life
- *education is becoming internationalised*: our educational policy is increasingly shaped by global market ideologies and, demands, universities, ESL colleges and schools compete for overseas students, the quality of education judged by international standards. Education is now big business, our third largest export.
- *global economic forces are increasing the gaps between the rich and the poor* within and between countries; Australia is now one of the most inequitable of the OECD countries; and the education gap between developed countries like Australia and LDCs has grown even more rapidly than the income gap (from 37:1 in 1980 to 137:1 in 1997)
- *global cultural and economic forces are tending to polarise society*: the powerful become richer and more powerful, and marginalised ethnic and religious groups more excluded and frustrated, laying the seeds of violence, terrorism, corruption, greed and environmental degradation
- *global forces create greater uncertainty in daily life*: they can precipitate sudden economic crises, changes in the job market, and political instability, unleashing latent ethnic and racial tensions. Global forces can undermine what Gunter Grass calls the "Kultur-nation", the core values of its cultural, social and educational system necessary for social cohesion and national identity. Paradoxically, the quest for certainty in an uncertain globalised world is leading to a revival of fundamentalism and tribalism. Australia was once a melting pot, but it is now more like a tossed salad.

3 Language Education Policy in Australia

Whether openly or not, decisions are constantly made about languages and their use at all levels in the community. Language policies are being played out not only by governments, but corporations, the media, councils, clubs, schools and universities. And they are changing as global forces reshape the character of our schools and nation.

Australia has one official language, as do three out of four of the world's nations. Until recently, language policy in practice has meant that English dominates our economic, cultural, social and educational landscape. Gradually, our policy makers have recognised that we are a multicultural nation and that this is an asset, not a liability. They also began to see that our future lies more in Asia and the Pacific than in Europe.

Like most other OECD nations, our language teaching policies are being framed within a "multicultural" perspective, and our schools are being asked to help build unity within diversity. Unity requires that all our students, regardless of their social or cultural background, leave school with the communication skills necessary to be active, responsible and informed citizens, while at the same time developing an appreciation of the richness and diversity of languages and cultures within our nation and region.

The Adelaide Declaration on National Goals for Schooling in the 21st Century adopted by State and Commonwealth Ministers of Education in 1999 includes, therefore, English and Languages other than English as two of the eight key learning areas. The Declaration insists that all children in the compulsory years be helped to attain high standards of knowledge, skills and understanding in these areas, and that outcomes of schooling be free from "the effects of negative forms of discrimination based on sex, language, culture and ethnicity, religion or disability". Our schools are also expected to contribute to understanding of "the value of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures" and of "cultural and linguistic diversity" so that our students "possess the knowledge, skills and understanding to contribute to, and benefit from, such diversity in the Australian community and internationally".

4 Promoting and Strengthening the Learning of Other Languages

One of the key functions of the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations (AFMLTA) must surely be the promotion and strengthening of the teaching of other languages. The Chair of the

National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (Professor Colin McKerras) put the case clearly when he insisted:

"the study of languages other than English is of the highest national importance for two reasons: first is because Australia's geographic and strategic position in the world makes it obligatory that our people develop knowledge and understanding of Asia and its languages, and the second is related to national cohesion in a society which is proudly multicultural and increasingly plurilingual".

As a former science teacher, you will understand that I am not well qualified to help you with this task. But I am a true believer, so let me try!

Lesson 1: Build on global imperatives and international consensus

When I joined UNESCO in 1989, the heads of state and education Ministers of several nations sought our advice on how their education should respond to the challenges posed by globalisation. We responded by establishing an International Commission on Education for the 21st Century (UNESCO 1996). Most of you are aware of the Delors Report and its emphasis on a broad, humanistic approach to education based on four pillars (learning to know, to do, to live together and to be), an education which promotes "the full development of the human personality ... understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups".

The Commission sees the study of languages, including one's mother tongue, national languages and those of others, as central to the full development of the human personality. "Learning is the treasure within" each individual and culture, a treasure that is accessible only through the study of several languages. The Report warns that in the 21st century, the possibilities for progress are severely limited for individuals or nations that are monolingual.

For the Commission, the most important task facing our schools for the future is that of "learning to live together". In tackling that task, the teaching of languages plays a pivotal role. A language is more than a vital means of communication: it powerfully determines human thought. Language represents an essential part of social reality, structuring and organising perceptions. Thus, mastering a language provides access to core values and beliefs embedded in a given culture. Research in various setting confirms that "language learning can promote positive attitudes towards the target culture", and the "acquisition of a different language

code seems to be a possible means of reducing cultural bondage and paving the way for mutual understanding" (UNESCO 1993).

Much the same point was stressed by Jacques Delors in his role as President of the European Union. Europeans have learned through bitter experience how important it is for all young people to learn about their common heritage – to see themselves as European and world citizens and not just as English, French or German. The European Union has invested heavily in the effort to reform the teaching of literature, history and languages, and to promote exchange programs to facilitate intercultural learning.

Much of the economic and cultural vitality of countries like Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland can be attributed to their competence in at least three or four languages. But even the English-speaking world is beginning to change. The need to learn to live together in Canada has made multicultural and multilingual policies and programs a matter of national necessity. Recently Richard Riley, the former US Secretary for Education proclaimed: "It is high time we began to treat language skills as the asset they are, particularly in this global economy ... Our nation can only grow stronger if all our children grow up learning two languages ... Our global economy demands it, our children deserve it".

As in Europe, Australian education policy in the future will need to be framed within an "intercultural learning framework" in order to underline the importance of dialogue, cooperation and exchanges between cultures and nations. The quality of these exchanges; and the extent to which they promote mutual respect, tolerance, inter-cultural learning and understanding is very much dependent on the scope and effectiveness of English as a Second Language (ESL) and languages programs in our schools, Tertiary and Further Education (TAFE) colleges and higher education institutions.

Lesson 2: Forge alliances and involve the community

On joining UNESCO, I was informed that I would be responsible for International Literacy Year (1990) and the Education for All (EFA) campaign. There were then well over 930 million illiterates, growing recognition of the magnitude of the problem of functional literacy, and 135 million children out of school. With a tiny staff and almost no money, UNESCO forged an EFA alliance embracing all major UN agencies, the World Bank, 20 bilateral development agencies and 120 Non-

Governmental Organisations (NGOs). We did succeed in getting EFA on the international and national political agendas, and, for the first time in history, reducing the absolute number of illiterates and children-out-of-school.

So then who are your allies? How can you best enlist them to your cause? Clearly, there are many ethnic community groups who are keen to ensure that their linguistic rights and cultures are recognised. Some schools have been very effective in capitalising on the richness in their community. For example, in the 1980s Marion High in Adelaide provided courses in almost 30 languages in cooperation with local community groups. The ethnic associations in your State and town are your natural allies. They need to be kept informed about the Commonwealth Review and developments at the State and Territory level, and to join the campaign.

In a globalised world, the very survival of corporations, nations and individuals is dependent on the extent to which they understand and reach out to other cultures and nations. Participation in the multicultural knowledge society of the future will demand even higher levels of language competence and cultural sensitivity at the world shrinks. This led me to support the effort to strengthen UNESCO's language teaching program and to convince Member States that cooperation in this field with the Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes (FIPLV) needs to be strengthened. Sadly, since my retirement, that effort seems to be floundering, and needs to be revitalised.

AFMLTA and FIPLV need to forge an alliance with business, the media and other groups willing to lobby in support of languages and ESL programs because it matches their priorities. As Deputy Director General of UNESCO, I insisted that competence in at least two if not three languages and the capacity to work effectively in multicultural teams should be minimum criteria for employment. In my experience as an international employer, I can affirm that the low priority which up until recently has been placed on languages in Australian education has severely hampered the life and employment prospects of a large number of Australian graduates.

There can be no doubt today that language studies are the passport to employment. Markets are diversifying. Increasingly, corporations and institutions have become global players. Over 80% of companies in Germany now require a knowledge of two foreign languages for employment, and at least 45% of them demand three languages. Many

Australian public and private organisations also have found that they must work in several languages and are giving preference to employees competent in languages. They need to be enlisted in the cause.

I was particularly moved by what General Peter Cosgrove had to say about the importance of languages in peace keeping in the light of his East Timor experience:

"Good neighbours learn to speak each other's languages ... Good neighbours learn to respect each other's religions and cultural beliefs. Good neighbours learn to allow for differences and to be inclusive. Good neighbours spend time with each other. Good neighbours understand that contentious issues should be resolved through negotiation".

It is not a bad idea in any country to have the military – and the police – on your side.

Student, Graduate and Alumuni Associations can also be important. They are beginning to recognise that in a rapidly changing world, we cannot predict how our lives will change or what competencies we will need in daily life. As a science student and graduate, I must admit that I saw little need to maintain my competence in French and Latin. I never dreamed that one day I would end up working in France for 12 years or that my modest competencies in Asian languages would become so important in building bridges between nations in conflict. Nor did I anticipate that my research program at Flinders University would take me to tribal lands in the Australian desert where English is very much a second language, and that to be effective as a researcher or teacher one had to be bilingual and bicultural.

For all of us, the study of other languages is a key part of that inner voyage of learning to be, of discovering who you are, where you belong and what you might become. You need to forge an alliance, which conveys that message to government, employers and the community.

Lesson 3: Our practice needs to be consistent with espoused policy

There can be no doubt that the teaching of English is a priority in educational policy and practice, despite the at-times ambivalent support given to ESL and adult literacy programs by governments, education systems and institutions. It is less clear that the teaching of languages other than English is a "key learning area" in our schools and universities. If it were, languages programs would be really part of the core

curriculum of compulsory education and most students would study at least two languages and continue their study of other languages throughout life. A promising start has been made over the past decade in the implementation of languages and ESL programs in primary school, with around 40% of students in Years 5 to 7 and 30% in Years 4 to 8 being exposed to a National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS) priority language. This trend has made "concerns about continuity and quality of language learning experiences more emphatic" (AFMLTA 2003).

Lesson 4: Australia has a responsibility to provide leadership within our region

Australia has a responsibility to provide leadership within our region by promoting intercultural dialogue and tolerance, and providing concrete help to countries and groups adversely affected by globalisation. We need a 21st century reincarnation of the Colombo Plan to counter the image that Australia is obsessed with profiting from the demand for ESL programs in the region. The NALSAS program and the support given by the government to it gave the impression that Australia was serious about its efforts to strengthen its links and dialogue with Asia. Axing funding for the program sent an even clearer negative message, damaging our standing within the region and weakening our capacity to communicate with others in countries where there is an urgent need for dialogue on issues dividing us. The Asian Studies policy should again become a national priority and its funding restored immediately. It is an investment in our children's and nation's future.

Lesson 5: Involve all stakeholders in reaching a consensus about which LOTE are to be taught

In choosing which languages are to be taught, extensive discussion of all stakeholders is needed and global concerns, nationally and internation- ally, as well as the special concerns of all stakeholders in respect of language rights and safeguarding that diversity need to be taken into account. The National Seminar "Working Together on Languages Educa- tion" held last year provided a useful snapshot of the status of languages programs across Australia and we can look forward to the outcomes of the Ministerial Council of Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) Task Force responsible for mapping and evaluating the current implementation of languages in Australian schools and the outcomes of its effort to develop an agreed national approach.

Lesson 6: Language teaching must help combat racism and marginalisation

In setting language policy, we need to be careful not to propagate a type of linguicism in education which discriminates against languages which are less-well known and less used. Denial of linguistic rights and linguistic chauvinism causes conflict and marginalisation, as we have seen all too clearly in Kosovo and in the history of our aboriginal peoples.

Languages and ESL have an important role to play in stemming the resurgence of racism and religious prejudice within Australia kindled by our ignorance of Islam, the Islamic world, Arabic and Asian-Pacific languages and cultures.

Studies of both Aboriginal and Muslim children in Australia indicated that many are educationally disadvantaged because poor English led to under-achievement and because of cultural dissonance between parents and the school (Clyne 1998). The failure of the school to support or affirm Aboriginal and Muslim values, cultures and languages increases their sense of alienation from the mainstream education system and society. While Australian language teachers have been quite innovative in their policies and practices in relation to a culturally diverse population, we need to do more to integrate the Aboriginal and the Muslim experience into curricula and to recognise their needs in the selection of teachers, languages and the organisation of the school. We need to provide decent ESL programs for marginalised groups and the children of asylum seekers.

It is important to set high standards for ESL teaching at home and off-shore. Witness the following examples of translations from English into Chinese from graduates of an ESL college:

- KFC's "finger-lickin good" – "eats your finger off"
- Pepsi "Come alive with the Pepsi generation" – "Pepsi brings your ancestors back from the grave"
- Coors beer "Turn it loose" – "Suffer from diarrhoea"

UNESCO's Associate Schools Project (ASP) is an example of what can be done. The Project links more than 6,300 schools from about 160 countries, providing concrete opportunities to widen their language skills and understanding of other cultures through camps, joint ventures and direct action in support of minority groups. Just one instance, when visiting an ASP school in Sorst, Germany, I was deeply moved by the level of understanding and involvement of children as they performed a play

they had written with a sister school about the history of relations between Germany and Poland, and supported Bosnian refugee families in their community.

Lesson 7: Learning languages is a lifelong process

It is important that children become sensitised at a very early age to the languages and cultures around them and in the world beyond, given ample opportunities throughout their education to become competent in at least two languages, to participate in exchange programs and to work successfully in multilingual settings, and ultimately develop a more critical view of myths, powerful stereotypes and collective beliefs in our national language and dominant culture.

As teachers, all need to remember the difficulties we encountered in mastering our own and other languages, and to reflect on the types of activities that helped us to develop basic communication skills. Indeed I ran into difficulty on my very first day at school. On arrival, I was ushered into a hall and told by my new teacher to just sit here for the present. Well I sat for ages, and became very upset. I never did get a present.

When I was a Visiting Professor in Sweden, my son Paul went to the local Swedish school, Matheus. The school had an international class in which English was the major medium of instruction, but all children learned to communicate in Swedish and about Swedish life and culture with the help of a Swedish child acting as mentor. At the same time, they helped their mentor to learn English. I can assure you that Paul ended up far more competent in Swedish than I ever did, formed more friendships and more quickly became almost Swedish.

Lesson 8: Success in learning a language fosters positive attitudes

Success in learning a language fosters positive attitudes both towards one's personal effectiveness, other languages and cultures. On the other hand, recurring setbacks encountered in competitive situations, tedious learning material, monotonous approaches and poorly trained teachers run the risk of contributing to, rather than counteracting, ethnocentrism.

The research (Judd, Tan & Walberg 1999) suggests that to be successful languages classroom activities need to provide learners with exposure to lots of meaningful and understandable language; to use the language

with their classmates and to communication with native speakers; to learn how to learn languages using Information and Communication Technology (ICT), their classmates and others for help; to provide practice in understanding naturally spoken languages, and in speaking in language comprehensible to others, in comprehending natural texts, in creating writing communications that convey their intended message, and in pronunciation instructions and practice to ensure oral messages are understandable.

Again, a couple of examples! My French teacher graduated in Science and was not qualified. Lessons were tedious, and the focus on teaching grammar by rote. Most of us ended up unable to communicate other than in writing and with negative attitudes towards French. My Latin teacher on the other hand was a gem. Well-qualified and enthusiastic she not only taught us the language, but breathed life into it. And Berlitz Think and Talk Language packages and Assimil Method Books saved my life on many a UNESCO mission – but because I had no teacher, they also landed me in hot water from time to time.

Lesson 9: Use of variety of media and activities to enliven and enrich teaching and promote intercultural learning and understanding

Our students deserve and need qualified and well-trained language teachers and rich language learning environments. There are some really great multimedia packages around for teaching languages and providing insights into the lives and cultures of others. Indeed some of the best software for ESL comes from Australia. There are also some really smart programs such as one developed in Belgium which enables TAFE teachers to tailor language programs so that learning activities are relevant to the particular trade being taught. As teachers, we need to learn how best to take advantage of our new tools, freeing us to attend to those tasks and students for whom the technology is less than effective. It is also important for the school to provide the type of real and vicarious experience that help students to identify with the language and its people – real exchanges and successful cooperative ventures, real and vicarious, are important. Neither ESL nor languages programs may, in themselves, be sufficient to ensure mutual respect and understanding: the effectiveness of a school in managing its linguistic and cultural diversity depends not on any one program or policy initiative but on their cumulative effect (Inglis 1996).

5 Conclusion

As nations and cultures become ever more intertwined, it becomes ever more imperative that education systems develop language policies and programs to counter the resurgence of discrimination, racism, ethnic violence and xenophobia which has erupted at the dawn of the 21st century. For both the dominant and minority cultures in a multicultural nation, learning to live together must become a two way intercultural process – for it demands that each learn about, understand and respect the languages and culture of the other, accommodate differences and resolve conflicts peacefully and democratically. Language studies serve as a "passport to the world" to tomorrow – not only for individual students, but also for corporations and nations. Our common future will depend on the degree to which we all become better world citizens, creating the unit within diversity. High quality language teaching helps us to communicate and work effectively with others, to build strong cultural roots, to understand and respect the cultures and languages of others, and to appreciate the richness and diversity of our cultural heritage.

Let me close by wishing you every success in your struggle to create a better future for all Australians by promoting the learning of other languages and improving the quality of language teaching in our schools, TAFE colleges and higher education institutions!

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Linguistic Aspects of Diversity[1]

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## 1	Remarks on the Birth of Linguistic Diversity

Language diversity is a universal phenomenon in the world; it is rooted in the biological basis of language competence. There is a *faculté de langage* which refers to (a) acquiring and (b) using any language, (c) within a universal anthropological framework. In this framework, it is evident that no "diverse" linguistic situation has ever been an obstacle to human communication or cooperation unless it was embedded into a constellation where language served as a socio-political symbol. Power relations are usually present in such cases: language may become an instrument of political oppression.

Language diversity can be problematical – sometimes even dramatically – when overlapping language groups live within the same area, in an ecological cohabitation and where peaceful co-existence is disturbed by changes in the nature, population density or power structure. An additional factor may arise when idioms become instruments of competition and conflict in the hands of ethnic and/or political groups. It is very likely that modern States in Europe (and elsewhere) organised around one ethnic group preferring one idiom will somehow foster linguistic controversies. The more bureaucratic a nation state is, with ever growing paper consumption (or even electronic irradiation), the more likely will it instigate conflicts between the language of the central offices of a government (labelled as "official language") and the language(s) of the people(s). Bilingualism has emerged recently as a major issue. Popular

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[1]	The text is based on of a lecture given in Locarno (Switzerland) at a meeting organized by OSCE. Since so many things were written on this subject, I have decided to gather a few remarks from the viewpoint of (a) language studies; and (b) Central & Eastern Europe. The list of references also notes these. The situation depicted is slowly changing with the current spectacular growth of the European Union.

bilingualism offers a solution to local/regional language problems. In a "popular bilingualism", language is acquired through live communication as a part of human interaction.

"Bilingualism" is not only a neutral (scholarly) term, but it can be used in different and politically sensitive contexts. For example, it is not the same (a) to change a minority school (where the minority language is dominant into a bilingual school where the majority language will take over this role); or (b) to change a majority school into a bilingual school (where the idiom of the minority can appear as a medium of instruction). The latter will fulfil the requirements of the "vernacular principle" and it would be in accordance with linguistic human rights *in statu nascendi*. Linguistic human rights refer mainly to the use of mother tongue (a) in schools, (b) outside schools in multilingual areas.

2   Further Remarks on Linguistic Diversity

All European States have ethnic/linguistic minorities. A linguistic minority should also be regarded as a cultural minority; nevertheless, a cultural minority group has numerous aspects, which should be appreciated in themselves, i.e., not necessarily bound to language. There are even some minorities where one part of them is a linguistic minority, but the entire group is rather an ethnic/cultural minority, e.g., in the case of the Roma and Sinti people.

Since the three Central & Eastern European federations (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union) were dissolved, the trend of a legal equilibrium among linguistic and ethnic groups has weakened in the new States. States – even the left-over federations in this region – became more centralised.

Globalisation appears in different forms in this region: its technical and economic aspects are more perceptible than the political ones, e.g., the increasing role of international financial investment into the small national economies of the region, is usually neutral to domestic issues of such kind. Its cultural implications – if any – may reduce the scope of most groups (except for the residing international elite) in a given State. I consider the "joining European institutions" – the favourite slogan in 2004 in Europe – as the next step toward globalisation in the region.

The rapprochement of States in Central & Eastern Europe to the West European supra-state organisations is usually considered as a slightly more favourable framework for the minorities than for the majorities.

A paradox of decentralisation lies in the fact that in the Central & Eastern European zone decentralisation is generated from the top, i.e., the central government cedes some of its competence. This is, however, rarely accompanied by decentralising the administrative structure and the necessary financial means. The principle of subsidiarity usually requires (more) decentralisation; this is especially valid for local minorities. Minorities, in their turn, should be able to build up their nationwide organisations from the bottom, which may coincide with their ethnic and linguistic extension.

3 Some Operative Remarks on Linguistic Diversity in the Central and Eastern European Region

Being a Hungarian, I am going to draw on some examples concerning this group. Since Hungarians live in all the neighboring countries – Austria, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia – and they form in many instances a geographical continuum with Hungarian speaking groups in Hungary, this is the main reason many Hungarians are interested in minority issues, even those who do not share nationalistic views. The general belief is that there should be a reciprocity between treating minorities in Hungary and treating Hungarians in the neighboring countries. Reciprocity alone, however, seems to be insufficient in this case: minorities should not be considered as quasi-hostages between two adjacent countries.

Until 1919, the multilingual kingdom of Hungary considered itself as a "political nation". Ever since, Hungarians are advocates for Hungarians living abroad in the name of the "Hungarian cultural nation".

"Socialist internationalism" *de facto* (a) promoted Russian values (including the Russian language); and (b) in most cases practised a non-interference policy with national majorities (thus leaving minorities to their mercy).

The political vacuum appearing after the changes in Central & Eastern Europe, has been filled by liberal-democratic and by conservative-nationalistic governments and parties. Not all of them were tolerant towards linguistic or non-linguistic diversity within their own confines; nevertheless, they were all enthusiastic about any assistance – including human rights – in supporting their kinfolk on the far side of the border. This also explains the double standards of some regimes toward human rights.

4   Remarks on the Role of the State in the Public and Civil Spheres

In the post-soviet regimes, the State (i.e., the central government) stayed relatively strong in comparison with the civil sphere. The civil sphere as such was more or less destroyed during the forty years of the cult of the omnipotent and omnipresent one-party State. After the changes around 1990 the redistribution function of the State became even stronger than before. Very few important actions can be done now without the support of the new governments.

In this region, churches belong to the public rather than to the civil sphere; therefore, they claim public State support in various ways. On the other hand, sects (i.e., minor religious communities) are considered to belong to the civil sphere and sometimes they are excluded from State support.

In a centralised government, integrating anything, say of cultural, linguistic, etc, diversity may turn to assimilation in a covert way. The relative autonomy of subsystems (including minority organisations) is rarely respected by young governments.

Semi-private foundations alleviate this state of affairs. There is, for example, a Roma secondary school in the city of Pécs, maintained by the private Gandhi Foundation (which also accepts government support). This is a Hungarian medium school where the two major idioms spoken by the Roma, the Lovari (an Indian language) and Boyash (a Romanian dialect) are also taught. By the way, in the city of Pécs there are (in the municipal framework) primary and secondary schools for the German and for the Croatian minorities, where pupils belonging to other national groups may also be admitted into these schools. Then there is an English, Italian plus Spanish bilingual secondary school, but most secondary schools are made up by Hungarian medium schools. In addition to the Roma secondary school there is an additional afternoon education system for the tutoring of Roma children, who study in different Hungarian medium schools. This is one of the best ways of helping the Roma children since (a) Roma form an ethnic minority; (b) traditional Roma display the attributes of a different cultural and ethical system; (c) one third of them are also *de facto* a linguistic minority; and (d) the Hungarian speech of Roma is stigmatised by a peculiar substandard accent.

National and ethnic minorities have the right to create their own local self-governing bodies.

There are various international aspects of the aforesaid issues; these may only be noted here. From the viewpoint of an individual, international

aspects should be placed into a system where personal relations extend in the form of concentric circles. Relations within a family make up the nucleus. Then comes neighbourhood (especially when people living there are "different" in their language, religion or ethnic/national solidarity). Minority groups within the same country who are the citizens of the same State by the same right as the individual form the next circle. Strangers or aliens in the same country present the next round; they can be immigrants, refugees, visitors, tourists, residents, etc, and they usually need more care because they are away from their own homeland. People from the neighbouring country come next, but are usually seen through stereotypes. People from the same geographical-historical – in my case, Central & Eastern Europe – follow them. Only after this may come – a real or expected – citizenship in Europe including in some cases also the two countries of North America. The rest – i.e., 80 percent of the world – cannot be left out either. When dealing with alterity ("otherness") global width should overlap with considerations valid for all humankind. To conclude: the perception of alterity is indispensable at each concentric circle. To promote mutual understanding, intercultural communication, and international education some novel elements should be introduced into the education systems of Central & Eastern Europe. Just a few examples: sociology, social psychology, communication studies, cultural anthropology and also bits of law and political studies would be welcome. (These, however, should be complemented by the personal international experience of pupils).

It is impossible to disregard language in this orientation. Language varieties and idioms may be naturally attached to each concentric circle. There is no reason a language of worldwide diffusion should be taught only and exclusively in the education systems in the region and "less widely taught languages of Europe" be disregarded. This could be handled in the framework of European language policy.

5 Remarks on the Oslo Recommendations

The Foundation on Inter-Ethnic Relations has elaborated – on behalf of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities – two series of recommendations: The Hague Recommendations and the Oslo Recommendations. As I am a linguist, not a lawyer, I shall concentrate on the Oslo Recommendations regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities

The first group of recommendations concerns names: names of persons, institutions and geographical objects. As for the names of persons, we have to recognise that their name in their own language (in their mother tongue) is a part of their personal – and group – identity. It is a general

belief that people can be made happy to be able to use the original forms of their names in all possible situations (not excluding that States could also register the same persons for well-defined official goals in other forms.) One should avoid transforming names from a linguistic category into a political one. The same is valid for the names of organisations maintained by minorities. The State, however, can require that these names also have a version translated into the majority language. As for geographical names, one should not forget their function: geographical orientation should be harmonised with their symbolic role for any group having had any historical relation with the given place, street, etc. These names can be parallel or independent, or simply translations (and they should also be put into registers where they can be easily identified).

The second group of recommendations refers to religions. Here I want to stress only that an ethnic/linguistic minority can also be either a religious minority, or it can be part of a majority religion. In each case, it is an asset to take into consideration the language people consider as a necessary instrument in their worship or any other religious activities.

The next group of recommendations refers to community life and NGOs, i.e., civil initiatives. My principal remark here is very simple: the civil sphere should be conducted in the language (or languages) of the people involved, but since they are all the citizens of the same State, they should be entitled to the same public support as any other organisation com-posed of the majority.

As for the recommendations on the media, my main point is the public support (i.e., financial and infra-structural support) of the State, which should assist radio and television programs of linguistic and ethnic minorities. The support cannot be made proportional to the number of the minority speakers, because media programs are bound to be successful and this is first of all a professional issue; there are professional standards, e.g., for the time and the number of personnel necessary for producing a television program at an acceptable level. This would, of course, not exclude having private programs of all kinds; but I want to stress the public obligation in supporting the media of the national/ ethnic/linguistic minorities. This should be emphasised because such minority programs are usually produced in the language(s) of the minorities.

It is almost trivial that in a country where the civil sphere has reached a certain level of development, States or authorities should not interfere with the language of business and economic life. Let a businessman use as many languages as he or she considers profitable for business!

The set of recommendations referring to administrative authorities and public services could be summed up in the following way: States and cities, etc, should make up their minds as to what is more important, a smooth monolingual administration which makes the administrators happy, or a somewhat more complicated plurilingual administration which makes everybody happier (and is more efficient for the entire community). This is also valid for the judiciary branch (comprising both local, provincial and central courts). No doubt, valid considerations of feasibility are needed in this regard.

Both of these branches, however, should be complemented by some kind of independent national institutions, which assure equality in language communication and generally speaking in the exercise of the human rights of minorities.

My final remarks here refer to the technique, which is necessary to address human rights. Human rights are, namely, not an ideology, but a social practice for friendly and decent cooperation among human beings (based, of course, on international conventions just for the sake of assuring peace and cooperation among people having opposed interests).

6   Concluding Remarks

Minorities need money, tolerance and opportunities to educate their people – at all levels – to become competitive in the modern world, as minorities should not be left out of modernisation.

Majorities need a better education concerning the social role, human rights and cultural values of minorities.

These goals require different types of action at local and regional levels, as well as the levels of government and regional cooperation (including friendly relations with the neighbouring countries).

It is clear that a European language policy is needed where at least two foreign languages should be offered to each pupil besides (a) a language of world-wide diffusion; (b) another European language of European importance or the language of the neighbouring country.

If European institutions continue working for the benefit of both governments and NGOs or, formulated more explicitly, both for the States and the peoples, then the international solidarity of persons belonging to minorities will – probably – develop a loyalty toward the State within which they live and also toward European institutions.

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Is Language-in-education Policy Possible[1]?

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1   Introduction

The more one examines the language-in-education situations that one is familiar with or that one reads about in the literature, the more obvious it becomes that the policy aspect of such planning (as opposed to the cultivation or implementation aspect) is only secondarily an applied linguistic or language planning activity. It is primarily a political activity. It is about power distribution and political expediency; it is about economic questions, and it is about the distribution of time and effort of administrators, scholars, teachers and students. Although "theory" suggests such policy decisions should be based on data about learner and community language needs (see, e.g., Kaplan & Baldauf 1997; van Els, 2005), it is rarely about the needs of any given community, nor is it about the needs of the learners. It is about the perceptions of language(s) held in the Ministry of Education[2] and to some extent – in the generally perceptions of the society at large; it rarely takes into account learners' age, aptitude, attitude, or motivation. It is top-down in structure, reflecting the opinions and attitudes valued at the highest levels in the planning process; it is rarely about the linguistic needs or desires of any given society or community. Indeed, the least important factor in such planning may well be the needs and desires of the target population.

Language planning as an academic process came into existence in the 1950s, out of the political needs of nations newly emerging out of the collapse of European colonial empires. The idea originated in the thought of the mid-twentieth century – an outgrowth of the positivist economic and social science paradigms dominant in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. The late 1950s and the 1960s constitute a period of great

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[1]   I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Richard B Baldauf, Jr. for his most helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

[2]   I shall use the label "Ministry of Education" to designate any governmental agency charged with oversight of the educational system of a polity.

ferment in language planning – only two key events in the field predate the mid-1950s: (1) *Language Learning: A journal of Applied Linguistics* began publication in 1948, having its base in (2) the English Language Institute (ELI) at the University of Michigan which had begun its work under Charles C. Fries in 1941.

1.1   An Historical Framework

A great flurry of events occurred from the mid-1950s through the 1960s. Following is a partial list of projects, a number of them largely supported by the Ford Foundation, and designed to advance:

- basic and applied research, including surveys of language use and studies of ways in which language facilitates or retards personal or group development
- institution building
- training of research scholars, language educators, and advanced specialists in language teaching ...
- preparation and production of instructional materials, and provision of teaching equipment (see, e.g., Kaplan 1971)
- in-service and pre-service training of classroom teachers ... and
- strengthening essential elements of infrastructure such as associations, journals, and specialised conferences and workshops (Fox 1975:1-2)

This six-item list may, in fact, be taken as a definition of language-in-education planning as understood at the middle of the 20th century. The following is a list of some eight more significant activities, but the entire twenty-year program (1952-1974) of the Ford Foundation[3] included the expenditure of many millions of US dollars, on hundreds of projects and programs, and consuming many thousands of person-years of effort[4]:

- in 1956 the School of Applied Linguistics was inaugurated at the University of Edinburgh (J.C. Catford, Director)
- in 1957 The Bourguiba Institute in Tunis was created (Rafik Said, Director)
- in 1958 The Central Institute of English (CIEFL) in Hyderabad, India, was established (Ramesh Mohan, Director), and
- in 1959 the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) opened its doors in Washington, D.C. (Charles Ferguson, Director)

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[3]   The story of the involvement of the Ford Foundation is recounted in Fox (1975).

[4]   While many of the newly created entities use the term, *applied linguistics* in their titles, the projects were significantly about language-in-education planning.

The momentum carried over well into the 1960s:

- the Philippine Normal College Language Study Center was opened in 1962 (Bonifacio Sibayan, Director)
- the Centro de Investigación en Linguística Aplicada at the University of San Marcos in Peru was established in 1964 (Alberto Escobar, Director),
- the English Language Institute of the American University in Cairo opened in 1965 (Clifford Prator (of UCLA), Director), and
- the Caribbean Language Research Program at the University of the West Indies opened in 1969

The Ford Foundation also funded the massive Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa (1965-1973). That survey produced five volumes, published by Oxford University Press, covering Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.

"The expansion of education as a political commitment ... stirred massive efforts by both binational and international agencies to improve educational systems by staffing schools, ... training local personnel, ... placing specialist teachers in teacher training colleges, ... providing specialists for government planning units, ... and supplying physical facilities and equipment ... The American approach to technical assistance tended to be directed at changing whole sectors in the educational system. Partial success occurred among universities ... There were few instances, however, where external aid resources were able successfully to change education systems" (Fox 1975:83).

This brief historical framework makes four points evident:

- First, many of the scholars involved worked in the United States or were trained there[5]
- Second, the Ford Foundation (a charitable foundation) supported the development of the centres, among others[6], in Cairo, Hyderabad,

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[5]   The preponderance of North American involvement in part reflects the location of the Ford Foundation in New York, and in part reflects the preferences of the Foundation in selecting key participants.

[6]   Of course, there were earlier attempts, but they cannot really be designated as "language-in-education" policy development; rather, they tended to be "pronouncements" from the mother country, frequently made without any serious research in the target area. See, for example, Macauley's pro-English policy, adopted in 1835, and other British efforts. (See, e.g., Clive 1973; Lewis 1954; Powell 2002).

Manila, Peru, Tunis, the West Indies, and Washington, D.C., as well as the East African Survey. Thus, not only were many of the scholars involved from the United States[7], but a massive infusion of funds also came from the United States

- Third, a substantial part of the effort was directed toward the global support of English language learning and teaching
- Fourth, right from the beginning, language-in-education policy planning was top-down and political (in the general sense of that term)

2   Terminological Problems

Language-in-education planning--sometimes called *language education planning* (Spolsky 1978), *acquisition planning* (Cooper 1989) or *educational linguistics* (Spolsky 1999) – together with *corpus planning*, *status planning*, and *prestige planning*, constitutes the key activities in *language planning*. As Baldauf and Kaplan (2005) note:

"While *language-in-education* planning is most visible and most closely associated with goals for language and literacy learning in formal educational settings (i.e., schools; see Ingram 1989, Paulston & McLaughlin 1994 for earlier reviews), it also implicates the less systematic teaching of heritage/community languages (Hornberger 2004) and activities related to literature and cultural learning, religion, communicative media and work-related goals" (Hornberger 1994).

Language policy consists of at least three interrelated activities (in addition to language-in-education planning): Corpus planning, status planning and prestige planning. While these activities are rarely undertaken directly in the context of language-in-education planning (largely because Ministries of Education have neither the trained staff nor the resources to do such work), Ministries of Education draw on such work done elsewhere to implement language-in-education policies. These terms, therefore, need to be explained in some detail.

Corpus planning has to do with adjustments to the language itself. The long effort to reform English spelling constitutes an example. (See, e.g.,

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[7]   This review is admittedly biased toward North America. The British Council played an important part in language-in-education planning, but the records of the British Council are not available to me. There were also efforts on the part of France and Germany. More recently, AID agencies in a variety of countries have also participated in influencing language-in-education planning. (See, e.g., Kaplan 2000, 2001).

Alexander John Ellis (1814-1890), *A Plea for Phonetic Spelling* (1848); Isaac Pitman (1813-1897), especially his work on spelling and his "phonetic system" which he tried unsuccessfully to bring into general use[8]). Ministries of Education do not often engage directly in corpus planning, though they do adopt and promulgate corpus planning originating elsewhere. In general, Ministries of Education are not likely to employ specialists in corpus work, though they do on occasion attend to the voices of self-appointed guardians of language purity. However, when moving from policy to language cultivation, they may become involved in implementational aspects of corpus planning, such as syllabus, text book and teaching materials development (see, Liddicoat, 2005).

Status planning concerns the status and use of language in society. Determining the viability of dialects and varieties of a given language is an activity often undertaken by Ministries of Education following from research and action undertaken elsewhere (e.g., in courts of law, in various governmental agencies (the military, the economic, the communication-oriented) or (occasionally) in national language policy). The lengthy debates over the validity of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in the United States illustrate status planning. (See, e.g., The "Ann Arbor Case"- i.e., *Martin Luther King Jr Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board 473 F. Supp. 1371* (1979); Hancock 1999).

Prestige planning, sometimes equated with "modernization" or with "intellectualization", involves the designation and promulgation of preferred items and the elimination of stigmatised items. (See, e.g., Gonzalez 2002; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003: Ch 3). Ministries of Education are sometimes charged with promulgating prestige planning work conducted elsewhere in government, in terminological work conducted in science, technology, business and industry and in independent terminological agencies. Ministries of Education do not conventionally do prestige planning[9].

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[8] For the earliest known attempt to standardise English spelling, see Orm's *Ormulum*, a poem of some 10,000 lines written in the first half of the 13th century. Orm had devised his own system of spelling, and his work is important for the light it throws on the evolution of English spelling and the periodic attempts to "regularize" it.

[9] See the history of events in North Korea in the 1960s, when lexicon was adjusted to standardise and codify words that had been introduced over a decade of socialist state development (e.g., *workers' party*, *people's army*, *people's front*, *people's economy*, *people's liberation war*, and *soviet*) and to alter the meanings of other words (e.g., *capitalist*, which was saddled with all of the negative semantic connotations common in socialist literature), all these lexical adjustments based on Marxist/Leninist principles. (See, e.g., Kim 1977). For additional discussion, see Kaplan & Baldauf 2003, Ch. 3; Baldauf & Kaplan, 2005.

While Ministries of Education are often involved in promulgating research conducted elsewhere, Ministries of Education normally do not have the expertise to conduct independent research and development in corpus planning, status planning, or prestige planning. Such research is typically beyond the responsibilities of most Ministries of Education. On the contrary, Ministries of Education work from the status quo; that is, in polities operating from the one-nation/one-language assumption, Ministries of Education are responsible for inculcating literacy and language proficiency in the national language. To some extent, Ministries of Education may also be deemed responsible for foreign language and literacy instruction, but the foreign languages to be taught are normally chosen on the basis of historical and social criteria determined elsewhere (see, e.g., van Els, 2005). For example, in Western nations, French and/or German are often selected on the assumption that some facility in those languages is an integral part of prestige education[10]. van Els' chapter (2005) highlights two additional findings:

"First, there is very little empirical research into needs or into the nature, scope and interaction of the "other factors". Second, the theoretical framework outlined in the Chapter has hardly ever been used to plan second language activities anywhere in the world. A poignant example of this is the fact that again and again when a particular sector of a national educational system plans a new second language teaching curriculum, the planners do this with complete disregard to the relevant curricula of other sectors.

Thus, while the theoretical framework (for status planning for FL learning and teaching) is available and we have the means and the instruments to assemble all the materials needed for well-founded policy statements for

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[10] In Western medieval universities, the classical languages (i.e., Classical Hebrew, Classical Greek, Classical Latin, Sanskrit,) constituted part of the curriculum. These languages were not taught with the objective of achieving communicative competence, but rather were taught as vehicles for access to the thought and art of dead civilizations. Because communicative competence was not an objective, grammar-translation methodology provided a reasonable approach. Further, since the objective was essentially intellectual, foreign language learning was made available only to the best and brightest students, as part of prestige education. When modern foreign languages were introduced into the curriculum, essentially beginning in the 19th century, the teaching methodology and the focus on intellectual achievement remained central. It was not until late in the 20th century that communicative competence and availability of instruction to the masses were identified as objectives. Despite the shift toward communicative competence, vestigial notions of elitism have persisted.

second language learning and teaching, very little along those lines has been attempted in the past and the prospects for the future are hardly encouraging. Of course, some progress has been made in the past few decades; there are signs of a growing awareness of the need for a rational approach to curricular changes. But the normal practice in second language learning and teaching planning – as in all educational planning, for all we know – still is for the uninformed layman to develop policies without any recourse to empirical findings or expert advice. Even in The Netherlands, one of the pioneers in the field when it developed its *National Action Programme* for second language teaching, the latest adaptations in the national curricula for primary and secondary education have been introduced in the old, well-established amateurish way that many thought had been left behind for good. How long will it take before people in responsible status planning positions realise that having had personal experience with education does not as such qualify one to take properly founded policy decisions?"(Chapter summary).

Additionally, stand-alone language-in-education planning is constrained by:

- slow dissemination: language dissemination through the education system is a long-term affair, requiring several generations to reach a significant segment of the population
- a limited audience: activity of national educational authorities is restricted to that agency and its dependent schools, teachers, and functions, and has little or no effect on language planning activities occurring simultaneously in other agencies, either governmental or private, and
- a lack of resources: the education sector is often under-resourced for the tasks it fulfils, let alone for the more complex tasks implicit in corpus, status, and prestige planning

In short, any argument opposed to stand-alone language planning in Ministries of Education may be supported by the evidence that Ministries of Education do not normally engage in corpus, status or prestige planning. Rather, they sometimes promulgate the fruits of such research conducted elsewhere in government, in higher education and in the private sector. Ministries of education have primary responsibility for majority first language (i.e., national language) learning and literacy and – to a much lesser extent – for foreign language learning and literacy. Ministries of Education protect and promulgate education that is perceived as the culture carrier.

Language-in-education planning has been going on, in some sense, since the notion of Ministries of Education was gradually introduced and implemented (largely in the late 19th century). Historically, more recent language-in-education planning demonstrates a pattern somewhat similar to that developed for language planning generally. In many countries, the Ministry of Education was assigned the responsibility for language-in-education policy. As a result, several problems became evident. First, the language-in-education policy development commonly occurred in the absence of a national language policy. As a consequence, language-in-education policy was not anchored in any sort of national rationale; rather, it reflected targets of opportunity in the sense that such policy developed out of historical preferences, the availability of teachers, and the means to support the policy in economic terms. Since Ministries of Education do not often have great influence among competing governmental agencies, nor are they allocated substantial economic resources, language-in-education policy has been commonly intended to preserve the status quo. (See, e.g., Baldauf & Kaplan 2003). For example, if language "A" had historically been offered as a foreign language, then language "A" continued to receive funding, allocation of teacher resources and of curricular space. Furthermore, the requirement to learn language "A" may be universal – in Japan, for example, all students had to study English as a foreign language from middle school onward (and, after 2002, from upper elementary school). It was not until the last decades of the 20th century that governments began to recognise that foreign language facility, distributed to some extent through the population, constituted an economic asset. In addition, as globalisation increased, governments also began to recognise that linguistic diversity was preferable to a single universal language requirement.

2.1   Foreign Languages

The gradual development of a more rational definition of the academic foreign language requirement was constrained in a curious reversal of the assumptions underlying elite education.

In many polities, foreign language instruction was limited to a few hours per week of the academic year. Great quantities of research evidence illustrated that the attainment of reasonable communicative proficiency required substantial time on task (i.e., thousands of hours of instructional time spread over a total duration of several years). Nevertheless, students often received only about 100 hours per academic year of instruction spread over a common maximum of only one or two academic years.

Additionally, the scant time allocation has been negatively impacted by the absence of language support outside the classroom. In part, the time limitation was a reflection of economic reality – successful inculcation of communicative competence is expensive. The time limitation was also an outcome of the inflexibility of the curriculum, legally defined as consuming only so many hours per school day, and so many days per school term. Any addition of time and resources for any given subject meant, in effect, a comparable reduction of time and resources for all other subjects. That distribution of time per subject reflected priorities in the general population and among the decision-makers in the Ministry of Education. During the cold war period in the West, for example, nothing was deemed more important than science education; foreign language education fell much lower in the official set of priorities. "*The government commits money to language education only in a time of international crisis, and then interest lags*" (Comment by Richard Brecht, Director of the US National Foreign Language Center, cited in CNN's web site on 9 November 2002; see, also, Kaplan 2003).

Not only has time on task been severely limited, but the methodology for delivery of instruction has also unfortunately been ill-informed. In some cases, instruction was assigned to teachers who had only a perfunctory knowledge of the foreign language they were expected to teach. In part because teacher's proficiency was limited, in part for the historical reasons already mentioned, *grammar-translation methodology* remained widespread; it was, after all, relatively easy for teachers having limited proficiency to teach grammar out of approved grammar textbooks. The predictable outcome was that learners had, at best, some knowledge of grammar, but little or no communicative competence. As Enkvist (1997:199) notes, "it seems curious that grammarians and teachers of composition have, through the centuries, spent so much time and effort on syntactic phenomena within individual sentences, while overlooking the fundamental questions of text strategy and information flow".

2.2   Two or More Languages

There are a number of additional terminological issues. For example, many individuals in sub-Saharan Africa can conventionally use four or five languages. The language facility of these people is not balanced; clearly, one of the languages in their repertoire is likely to be dominant. In most cases, proficiency in only one of the languages in the individual's repertoire actually counts – usually the previous (and prestigious)

colonial language[11]. Such people would be described as *multilingual*, not *bilingual*. When one wishes to describe an entire community (or a polity) composed of such multilingual people, one may say that the polity is *multilingual*. On the other hand, all people in Canada are assumed to speak precisely two languages – they are assumed to be fully bilingual in French and English. One can, then, describe Canada as a *bilingual* polity[12]. Thus, because the great majority of the population is purported to be bilingual in French and English, the polity can be described as *bilingual*. However, that does not mean that all speakers have balanced proficiency in the two languages; in virtually all cases, either French or English is dominant in the repertoire of particular speakers.

The terms *bilingual* and *multilingual* are generally applied to polities, but they really describe individual language proficiency. Individuals in Canada may not, in fact be bilingual in French and English but rather may be bilingual in French and Tamil (or any other pair of the languages available in the community). They are still bilingual and still members of a bilingual polity, but their bilingualism is distinct from the bilingualism of the polity. Again, the bilingualism including a language other than the approved languages does not count. By the same token, some individuals may have more than two languages in their repertoire (e.g., French, English and Sioux); such individuals could be described as *multilingual*.

2.3   Two or More Dialects

The matter of control of two or more dialects of the same language also needs to be mentioned. Individuals who speak two dialects may be designated *bidialectal*, while those who speak more than two dialects may be designated *multidialectal*. In most cases, people tend to be multidialectal; that is, they can control more than two dialects of the "standard" language (though the control of some dialects may be passive).

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[11]   In the United States and Australia (for example), governmental assessments of literacy count only literacy in English; literacy in other languages appears to be irrelevant.

[12]   Of course, the assertion is not entirely true, since the Canadian population contains a large number of people who speak three of four languages - e.g., English and French PLUS Arabic, Hindi, Tamil, Swedish, and/or, of course, *Native American languages* (called *First Nation languages* in Canada) like Sioux. It is also likely that some individuals who are bilingual or multilingual lack one of the approved languages; that is, French or English may be missing from the bilingual repertoire of some individuals.

Of course, the term *standard language* is also not easy to define; it has been suggested that a *standard language* is a dialect with an army and a navy. While that definition is intended to be facetious, there is some truth in it, since the *standard language* is often the dialect of the most powerful group in a polity. In many polities, the dialect of the capital city becomes the standard language because the greatest power exists in the capital city. Historically, the educated dialect spoken in London became *standard British English*. In Japan, the dialect of Tokyo has, de facto, become standard Japanese. (See, e.g., Kaplan & Baldauf in preparation.) But the identification of a standard language certainly does not mean that everyone speaks that dialect. All people in Britain do not speak standard British English, and all Japanese do not speak standard Japanese.

2.4   A Standard Language

Which dialect becomes the "standard" language is not a linguistic matter; it is a social matter.

A "standard" language results, generally, from a complex set of historical processes intended precisely to produce standardisation; indeed, a "standard" language may be defined as a set of discursive, cultural, and historical practices – a set of widely accepted communal solutions to discourse problems. Additionally, a "standard" language is a potent symbol of national unity. If this definition of a "standard" language may be assumed to be viable, then the "standard" language is really no one's "first" language. On the contrary, the "standard" language must be acquired through individual participation in the norms of usage, and these norms are commonly inculcated through the education sector (with the powerful assistance of canonical literatures and the media – conventional and electronic). But the reality of most linguistic communities is marked by the normative use of a wide range of varieties in day-to-day communication – i.e., the use of slang, of jargon, of non-standard forms, of special codes, even of different languages (as in code-switching). Consequently, a "standard" language constitutes a purely ideological construct. The existence of such a construct creates an impression that linguistic unity exists, when reality reflects linguistic diversity (Kaplan 2001:13).

The speakers of the "standard" variety strive to elevate that variety to prominence because:

• they have wealth and political power
• they may control the operations of government and education

- they may control the operations of the courts of law
- they may control the operations of religion, and
- they may control the operations of the variety required in transportation (i.e., trains and busses) and communication (i.e., radio and television)

The speakers of the "standard" variety may disparage varieties that are different from the "standard"; in some cases, they may enforce the use of the standard variety through military force. In Japan, over more than a century (from the last part of the 19th century through most of the twentieth century) the people came to believe that the standard language should not be called *Nihongo* (the unmarked name of the language) but rather should be called *Kokugo*. The latter term carries strong elements of nationalism as well as of the militarism that characterised the nation in the early and middle parts of the 20th century[13].

Despite the popular notion that there is one and only one "standard" language in Japan, there are a number of dialects[14]. Hayao Kawai, currently the Director of the Agency for Cultural Affairs in the Ministry of Education, is a speaker of *Kansai-ben*, (Kansai dialect). In a recent article in *Bungei Shunju* , he urged the use of *Kansai-ben* as the "new" standard Japanese (personal communication, Namba Tatsuo, 27 October 2003). That he promotes his dominant dialect is not at all surprising. He occupies a powerful position; from the power of that position, there are a number of things he can do to advance his idea. However, a change in the standard normally occurs in two ways – someone (in power) advances the idea, AND everyone accepts that idea as desirable. This is not a linguistic matter; it is a social and political matter. Given that, in contemporary Japan, most of the decision-makers in the Ministry of Education speak *Kanto-ben* (Tokyo dialect) and espouse the general use of *kyootuu-go* (spoken "standard" Japanese) and *hyoozyun-go* (written "standard" Japanese), Kawai's recommendation is not likely to succeed; holders of power do not easily relinquish power. Speakers of the dominant variety have distinct social and economic advantages that they are not likely to relinquish. Kawai is proposing language planning –

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[13] The term *Kokugo* is tied to a powerful notion of moral education and also to the notion of *kokutai* (national essence). The term *Kokugo* also gave rise to a notion that the Japanese language had a kind of *Volksgeist* (*kotodama*). For additional discussion of the meaning of these terms, see Coulmas 2002:214-217.

[14] The major dialects of Japan are *Tohoku* (Northern Japan), *Kanto* (Tokyo area), *Kansai* (Kyoto-Osaka area), *Shimane/Tottori* (Shikoku, Hiroshima area), *Kyushu* (Northern Kyushu), *Kagoshima* (Southern Kyushu) and *Okinawan*.

perhaps on the basis of the mistaken notion that *Kansai-ben* is somehow "better" because (being his primary dialect) it allows HIM to express his inner feelings more accurately; he assumes that what is true for him is true for everybody. In fact, every speaker of every other dialect (including *Okinawan*) can make the same claim; the claim is true for every dialect speaker, but that does NOT mean it is true for every Japanese. Nor does it demonstrate that there is a need to promulgate a "new" standard.

2.5   Language and Politics

While language-in-education policy has not invariably been conceived as a free-standing activity, it has consistently been designed to serve a political function first. In some polities – polities in which there was a super-ordinate national language policy – the language-in-education activity was clearly secondary to the national political objectives. Several examples will be provided[15].

3   Polity Level Language-in-education Illustrations

3.1   North Korea

In North Korea, immediately before and after the Korean War (1950-1952), Kim Il Sung (certainly not a trained linguist) perceived that language was a political weapon through which to develop the socialist state. Kim personally controlled national language planning – in the sense of refashioning the Korean language and its writing system (*Hangul*) to suit its political functions – and the Ministry of Education simply fell into line. Literacy in *Hangul* was made universal (a stunning achievement completed in less than five years), Chinese characters were purged from the written form, and lexicon was purified and "Koreanized". As early as December 1946, the Preliminary Peoples' Committee mandated Russian language schools in major cities; by 1948, the study of Russian language had been made compulsory at middle school level. All upper level officials of the Party were required to be fluent in Russian. English, of course, was banned at the time of the Korean War. Kim later changed his mind as he came to see that the time for one worldwide socialist state had not yet come. He was disillusioned by the Sino-Soviet disputes based on national interest rather than on socialist principle. In 1964, the North Korean Workers' Party issued an edict promoting foreign language

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[15]   I have intentionally chosen examples from Asia. Examples in Europe abound, and they are readily available in the literature. The recent language planning activities of some European states are well attested and easily accessible. (See, e.g., the Czech Republic (Neustupny and Nekvapi, 2003), Finland (Latomaa & Nuolijarvi 2002), Hungary (Medgyes & Miklósy 2000), Sweden (Winsa 1999)).

education, and English was introduced into the secondary school curriculum on an equal basis with Russian, students being given no choice of which language to study. By 1980, English had become the undisputed foreign language with 80% of students studying it. In 1992, following the collapse of the USSR, Russian was completely eliminated from the curriculum, and English remained as the only mandated foreign language taught. But all foreign language teaching was structured to foster the revolution; pragmatics and cultural understanding were jettisoned in the interests of the official State view of the world. (See, e.g., Kaplan & Baldauf 2003: Ch 3).

In this illustration, language-in-education policy was made subservient to national language policy, and national language policy was designed to build the socialist state. The needs of the people were subservient to the needs of that state.

The languages available for study were defined by the state, and the definitions were entirely based in political (Marxist/Leninist principles – see, e.g., Kim, 1977) policy; indeed, all language policy was designed to serve the needs of soviet state building. Jae (2002:50) cited the following interesting example from a secondary English textbook in wide use in North Korea:

Teacher: Now close your books everybody. Han Il Nam, how do you spell the word *revolution*?
Student: r-e-v-o-l-u-t-i-o-n.
Teacher: Very good, thank you. Sit down. Ri Choi Su, what is the Korean [word] for *revolution*?
Student: *Hyekmyeng*.
Teacher: Fine, Thank you. Have you any questions?
(No questions arise.)
Teacher: Well, Kim In Su, what do you learn English for?
Student: For our revolution.
Teacher: That's right. It's true that we learn English for our revolution.

3.2   Japan

The Japanese language has no legal status in Japan. The current national Constitution makes no mention of language matters. Indeed, there has been only limited governmental language planning to speak of in all of Japan's previous history – except for the pre-World War II imperial period. It has simply been taken for granted that all Japanese speak Japanese and that there is no language problem in need of attention

(Kaplan & Baldauf 2003). In sum, Japanese was de facto the universal national language.

In the period from the Meiji Restoration (1867) to end of World War II (1945), the Japanese language took centre stage. There was some attention to the writing system, but little attention to corpus or status planning. The period immediately preceding World War II had been characterised by colonial expansion, militarism and strong nationalist feeling. There had been a concern about the language on only two counts:

- in the written language, there was considerable style diversity, with the more academic registers employing great numbers of Chinese characters, thus making the educated written language inaccessible to the majority of the population (see, e.g., Twine 1991)
- in the spoken language, there was considerable dialect variation, and there was a significant gap between spoken and written language

Through the final decades of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th, several alternatives were widely debated – reducing the number of Chinese characters, eliminating Chinese characters entirely, or adopting the Roman alphabet (Coulmas 2002). This debate occurred almost exclusively among intellectuals. It was only in 1903 that the Ministry of Education endorsed the first "Modern Standard Japanese" textbooks, thereby officially endorsing the development of a standard variety.

As Japan conquered and occupied areas of the Asian-Pacific region, evolving language policy did not stop with the Japanese mainland, but was gradually extended to Taiwan (Formosa 1895), Korea (1905), the South Sea Islands (1914), and Manchuria (1932). Language policy subsequently became a feature of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (Coulmas 2002). The government became centrally concerned with promulgating Japanese language, Japanese values (*kokutai*), and "Japaneseness" (*kotodama*) throughout those polities – i.e., stressing moral education and the importance of the Japanese national language (*kokugo* – not *nihongo*) using an assimilationist policy (Kaplan & Baldauf 2003). The idea that Japanese should be the common language of East Asia and, indeed, should be recognised as a leading world language was promulgated. Since the end of World War II, Japanese language spread policy (Hirakata 1992) has had to rely on persuasion rather than force.

In the years of the US occupation following WWII (1945-1952), language policy became a matter of political contention (Unger 1996). Language policy was perceived as an exclusively governmental prerogative, and the absolute control of primary and secondary education and substantial

control of tertiary education, rested entirely with *Monbusho* – the Ministry of Education (Shimaoka 1999). A simplified writing system was seen as essential (though the debate was still inhibited by differences between conservative traditionalists and liberal proponents of simplification), but in addition the new idea of democracy had entered the debate. It appeared that a transparent writing system accessible to all was essential as a precondition for total literacy, broad political participation and democratic citizenship. Consequently, reducing the number of Chinese characters became an imperative of social change. In 1948, the vestigial Council on the National Language produced the Toyo list (consisting of 1,850 Chinese characters). Following the end of the occupation in 1952 and the election of the Liberal Democratic Party to power, the simplification debate continued, and between 1966 and 1981 the Toyo list was often amended, finally resulting in a new list-promulgated in 1981 – which added some 95 characters to the 1948 list. By the 1990s, economic factors had become overwhelmingly important. Although it was generally conceded that the state had control over written language, character lists drawn up by the Japan Industrial Standards Organisation and the International Standards Organisation included more characters than the government's official list. Software developers also seemed to pay little attention to the concerns of the government. In sum, there had been rather limited language planning except for the contentious concern with the written language.

3.3   The Philippines

The Philippines was claimed for Spain in 1521 when Magellan's fleet of global circumnavigators landed in Cebu harbor. In 1543, Admiral Roy Lopes de Villalobos named the islands for the Prince who was to become Philip II of Spain. In 1565, General Miguel Lopes de Legaspi established the first permanent Spanish settlement in Cebu , and in 1571 he founded the city of Manila (Hayden 1947). From this small beginning, Spain and the Spanish language ruled the Philippines until the last years of the 19th century. The Spanish built many churches, and essentially converted the population to Roman Catholicism, but they built few schools; according to the Philippine census of 1870, out of a total population of 4,653,263, only 114,463 individuals (mostly male) spoke Spanish (Gonzalez 1980).

Unhappiness with Spanish rule began in the 1830s, under the leadership of the *ilustrados* – wealthy Filipinos educated in Spain whose language was Spanish. They had been exposed to the ideas that resulted in Simon Bolivar's elimination of Spanish power in Latin America between 1813 and 1824 as well as to the ideas underlying the European revolutions of 1848.

"The search for national identity began (in earnest) in the last quarter of the nineteenth century under Spain in the movement of nationalism among the *ilustrados*, the Propaganda Movement, and eventually climaxed in the ill-fated Philippine Revolution (of 1897). The search for national identity, however, did not focus on language as an issue. Nor did it associate the search for national identity with a specific Philippine language. In fact, the language of the *ilustrados* of the Propaganda Movement was Spanish and one of their causes (was) the dissemination of Spanish among the masses of Filipinos" (Gonzalez 1980:1).

The first three decades of the 20th century (essentially from the end of the hostilities between Filipino forces and the US military in 1901 until the establishment of the First Republic at the convening of the 1934-35 Constitutional Convention) are sometimes designated as "the American Period"[16]. This period witnessed the Anglicization of the Philippine population. One of the first acts of the US-controlled government was the development of a primary education system throughout the archipelago. Although US President William McKinley had directed that the first language of instruction was to be the language of the people[17], in fact English and Spanish were universally taught and were the official languages of government (Gonzalez 1999, 1982; Gonzalez & Fortunato 1995). US teachers (the Thomasites) arrived in large numbers from 1908 onward. By 1920, the census reported that, out of a literate population of 3,138,634 (10 years of age and older):

- 30.4% of males and 16.9 % of females could speak English
- 33.5% of males and 22,1% of females could read English
- 32.1% of males and 21.5% of females could both read and write English

By 1939, out of a total population of 16,000,300, some 4,264,550 persons (26.6%) claimed the ability to function in English (Gonzalez & Bautista 1981; Kaplan & Baldauf 2003).

The 1934-35 Constitutional Convention is important because the first proposal essentially mandating the search for a common national language was presented at that time. From that time to the present, through several republics, through several constitutions and through the Japanese occupation (1941-1945), the government has been deeply concerned with the identification of a national language. The Philippines

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[16] US involvement in the Philippines was authorised by the Treaty of Paris (December 1898), ending the Spanish American War (April to August 1898).

[17] In his instructions to William Howard Taft, first Governor of the archipelago, in 1901.

is a multilingual polity; some 120 languages[18] are spoken. Of this complex linguistic heterogeneity, only ten languages[19] are considered to be "major" languages. From the time of the Propaganda Movement, the preferred indigenous language has been Tagalog, largely because the *ilustrados* were primarily from Manila. Despite extensive internal discussion and debate, Tagalog has consistently been the preferred language. However, the name of the language has undergone revision over the years – initially *Tagalog*, later *Pilipino*, and finally *Filipino* (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). In the most recent period, the debate has shifted from basic recognition of that language (however it was designated) to the "modernisation or intellectualisation" of the language (Gonzalez 2002).

4   Implications

The illustrations suggest that there are certain commonalities across these quite disparate polities.

- From the beginning, speakers of some indigenous varieties have challenged the special status attributed to the national language.
- Despite the best efforts of language institutes, committees and other official bodies, the national language did not achieved a level of cultivation appropriate to all the registers in which it was expected to function.
- In all three cases, at least some part of language policy and planning activity has been allocated to the Ministry of Education. Kaplan & Baldauf have observed (1997:122-142) that the educational sector may be the least appropriate place to undertake such activities (See, cf, Hornberger 1994).
- Teacher training has lagged far behind need, both in terms of substantive knowledge, in particular in science and mathematics, and in terms of both the national language and foreign languages.
- The physical distance between the capital city and outlying rural areas, not only in geographic terms but in perceptual terms as well, may be so great that policies articulated centrally do not reach the periphery for long periods of time, sometimes never.
- The Ministry of Education never really had the manpower and fiscal resources to achieve the objectives, and lacked the resolve, especially in the area of the cultivation.

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[18]   Perhaps somewhere between 70 and 200, depending on who is counting and how *language* and *dialect* are defined.

[19]   According to Gonzalez (1999): Bicol (5.69%), Cebuano Bisayan (21.17%), Hiligaynon Bisayan (9.11%), Ilokano (9.31%), Kapampagan (2.98%), Maguindano (1.24%), Maranao (1.27%), Pangasinense (1.81%), Tagalog (29.29%) and Waray/Eastern Bisayan (3.81%).

- The educational system in general has been under-resourced, under-manned, and under-funded, so that the Ministry of Education has been running as fast as it could just to maintain the status quo.
- Although the national language has, at least in recent years, received substantial attention, other languages (especially foreign languages) have received rather limited attention.
- Some scholars have been misguided about the scope of the problem; they have recommended translating all science into the national language. Such massive translation constitutes an overwhelming undertaking, in part because the bulk of existing science is vast, in part because that bulk is constantly increasing at a geometric rate, and in part because translation is not possible into a variety that is not appropriately cultivated to accept such translation.
- One cannot ignore relative political stability/instability over time. Instability, where it has occurred, has led to the initiation of any number of plans, those plans often not fully thought out, not adequately funded, and not in place long enough for outcomes to be understood and interpreted. While it may be said that there has been consistent movement to develop a national language, that movement has been erratic, sometimes taking two steps back for every step forward.

Table 1 shows some of the diversity across the three polities chosen to serve as examples.

Name of Country	Type of Government	Stable?	Ministry of Planning	Ministry of Education	Funding	Language-in-education planning	Powerful Leader
Japan	Constitutional Monarchy	Yes – since 1947	No	Powerful	Inadequate	Extensive but not anchored in national policy	No
North Korea	Communist Dictatorship	Yes – since 1948	Yes	Compliant	Extensive	Dependent on national policy	Yes
Philippines	Republic	Unstable – 1935, [1941-1945], 1946, 1972-1986, 1987, 1992, 1998	Yes	Independent	Inadequate	Frequently changing	Not since Marcos

Table 1. Characteristics of Countries Cited as Examples

These polities were quite deliberately chosen. One is a communist dicta-torship whose political leader literally invented the national language and

the plan to disseminate it. By definition, manpower and resources were allocated to the task.

One is a constitutional monarchy in which, to a great extent, the central government has taken a hands-off policy, leaving the solution of problems to the Ministry of Education.

The third is a democracy in which the government has frequently meddled in the language issues, writing into the various versions of the constitution sometimes highly unrealistic requirements[20].

As Table 1 suggests, a large number of variables were in place. The personality of the leader played a strong role in North Korea, but not in the other polities. The amount of responsibility assigned to the Ministry of Education varied extensively. In North Korea, all authority derived from the national policy, and the Ministry of Education was merely expected to augment national policy. In Japan, on the other hand, great authority was vested in the Ministry of Education. In the Philippines, the central government played a major role, but the instability of the central government resulted in a variety of plans being instantiated; however, frequent changes in direction made the task of the Ministry of Education difficult. Obviously, the level of funding varied. In Korea, the Ministry of Education received the resources necessary to accomplish its task, while in Japan and the Philippines the Ministry of Education was under-resourced. The focus of planning varied. In North Korea, the national language (*Hangul*) was essentially re-invented (employing the entire scope of language planning – *corpus planning*, *status planning*, and *prestige planning*). In Japan the national language was taken as a given and the focus was on modifying the writing system (*corpus planning*) to achieve wide access and uniformity. In the Philippines, the focus was on identifying an indigenous language to serve the political needs of the nation (*status planning*) and, subsequently, on *prestige planning* in the chosen variety to serve the needs of modernisation.

5   Conclusions

The title of this paper poses a question – "Is language-in-education policy possible?" The evidence suggests that language-in-education policy development may not be possible, at least not in the ways in which it has been

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[20]   One of the several versions of the Philippine constitution actually mandated a fiction as the national language. A language called *Filipino* was designated as the official national language, on the assumption that a single national variety (perhaps a Creole) would naturally emerge out of the multiple languages of the polity.

developed during the 20th century. The difficulty in language-in-education policy stems from the fact that such planning has little to do with research in education, linguistics or applied linguistics (i.e., it is not evidence based) but rather constitutes a substantially political process based on political assumptions.

As Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) have suggested, the Ministry of Education may be the least productive site for language-in-education planning, especially in the absence of a national language policy in which the language-in-education policy may be anchored. The outreach of the Ministry of Education may be too limited, its skills may be too limited, its resources may be too limited, and its vision may be too limited. In those instances in which all of those constraints are present the outcome becomes most uncertain. Hornberger and King (1996) maintain that the education sector can revitalise a moribund language (i.e., in terms of cultivation planning). To some extent, that is true. Revitalisation has also been reported in the context of Mäori in New Zealand (Bauer 1993), of Gumbaynggirr in New South Wales, Australia (Walsh 2001), of Xironga in Mozambique (Lopes, 2001), of Kadazandusan in Sabah, Malaysia (Lasimbang & Kinajil, 2000), and of other languages (e.g., in North America). In many cases, the stimulus for revitalisation arises among the population of speakers (or of the descendants of a population of speakers). It rarely arises in the Ministry of Education; rather, the Ministry of Education responds, to varying degrees, to grass-roots pressure from the community (i.e., policy development is not actually a policy matter; rather it is a matter of assisting implementation).

What must be understood in many of the cases reported is that the language in question is not being "revitalised", but rather in being *reinvented*. The variety that derives from so-called "revitalisation" efforts is really a new variety, often significantly different:

- in its notions of cosmology[21]
- in its notions of governmental structure (since government in the present time is likely to be the product of the society in which the present language community is embedded), and
- in the subjects available for ordinary conversation (since the subjects of ordinary conversation are likely to be different from those that had been available in the historical past of the language under discussion)

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[21] That is, tribal views of religion are replaced by some version of Christianity or of some other contemporary religion.

Alternatively, some "revitalisations" have as their object the re-creation of a "museum" variety of the language – a variety that simply does not exist in the social and cultural structure of the contemporary community of speakers.

It is likely that Ministries of Education are helpful in creating varieties marked not by the social and cultural constraints of the original speakers of the language, but by a mixture of features of the modern and the historical forms of the language. In short, what Ministries of Education do is to create a community of "second-language" speakers of the "revitalized" language, since the members of the language community already have (and to some extent must use in order to survive) the language of the matrix community in which they are embedded. That is to say, contemporary speakers of Mäori, for example, live in English-speaking New Zealand and necessarily control English to some degree; they may use the revitalised Mäori largely for ritualistic purposes within their English-speaking environment.

This discussion is not intended to remove language-in-education activity completely from Ministries of Education. Rather, the intent is to sound a note of caution. Ministries of Education should not undertake corpus, status and prestige planning unless and until they have in place both the staff and the resources to engage in such planning. That limitation applies not only to the national "standard" language, but also to any extant varieties of the national language and to any foreign languages contained in the curriculum. When communities of speakers bring forward grass-roots efforts to "revitalise" their language/variety, the Ministry of Education should support such efforts by providing the research necessary to accomplish corpus, status and prestige planning. Ideally, however, Ministries of Education should look to (and encourage the development of) national language plans within which language-in-education planning can support the objectives of the national language plan. In sum, Ministries of Education should acknowledge their limitations.

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Immigrant Minority Languages
in Urban Europe

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Introduction

The focus of this report is on the increase of urban multilingualism in Europe as a consequence of processes of migration and minorisation. Both multidisciplinary and cross-national perspectives are presented on two major domains in which language transmission occurs, i.e., the home and the school.

The first section offers phenomenological perspectives on the semantics of our field of concern and some central notions in this field. We discuss the linkage between the concepts of language and identity, the concepts of regional vs immigrant minority (henceforward RM vs IM) languages, the concept of IM groups in terms of "foreigners", and the concept of "integration".

The second section goes into the utilisation, value, and effects of different demographic criteria for the definition and identification of (school) population groups in a multicultural society. Given the decreasing significance of nationality and birth country criteria in the European context, it is argued that the combined criteria of ethnicity and home language use are promising alternatives for obtaining basic information on the increasingly multicultural composition of European nation-states, cities, and schools.

The third section offers sociolinguistic perspectives on the distribution and vitality of IM languages across Europe. In this context the rationale, methodology, and outcomes of the Multilingual Cities Project, realised in six major multicultural cities in different European Union (henceforward EU) member states, are presented. The project has been carried out under

the auspices of the European Cultural Foundation, established in Amsterdam, and it has been coordinated by a research team at Tilburg University in the Netherlands.

The fourth section offers comparative perspectives on educational policies and practices in Europe in the domain of IM languages. Here we present major outcomes of a comparative study on the status quo of education in this domain in the six EU countries under consideration. The report concludes with an outlook on how multilingualism can be promoted for all children in an increasingly multicultural European context.

1 Phenomenological Perspectives

This initial section deals with the semantics of our field of concern and with some central notions in this field. First of all, we discuss the linkage between the concepts of language and identity. It should be mentioned *a priori* that the literature on this theme is more characterised by value-loaded normative rhetorics than by non-passionate considerations. Edwards (1985) made an emphatic plea for the latter rather than the former approach. The construction and/or consolidation of nation-states has enforced the belief that a national language should correspond to each nation-state, and that this language should be regarded as a core value of national identity. The equalisation of language and national identity, however, is based on a denial of the co-existence of majority and minority languages within the borders of any nation-state and has its roots in the German Romanticism at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century (see Fishman 1973:39-85, 1989:105-175, 270-287; and Edwards 1985:23-27 for historical overviews). The equalisation of German and Germany was a reaction to the rationalism of the Enlightenment and was also based on anti-French sentiments. The concept of nationalism emerged at the end of the 18th century; the concept of nationality only a century later. Romantic philosophers like Johan Gottfried Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt laid the foundation for the emergence of a linguistic nationalism in Germany on the basis of which the German language and nation were conceived of as superior to the French ones. The French, however, were no less reluctant to express their conviction that the reverse was true. Although every nation-state is characterised by heterogeneity, including linguistic heterogeneity, natio-nalistic movements have always invoked this classical European discourse in their equalisation of language and nation. For a comparative study of

recent attitudes towards language and national identity in France and Sweden we refer to Oakes (2001).

The USA has not remained immune to this nationalism either. The English-only movement, *US English*, was founded in 1983 out of a fear of the growing number of Hispanics on American soil (Fishman 1988; May 2001:202-224). This organisation resisted bilingual Spanish-English education from the beginning because such an approach would lead to "identity confusion". Similarly, attempts have been made to give the assignment of English as the official language of the USA a constitutional basis. This was done on the presupposition that the recognition of other languages (in particular Spanish) would undermine the foundations of the nation-state. This nationalism has its roots in a white, protestant, English-speaking elite (Edwards 1994:177-178).

The relationship between language and identity is not a static but a dynamic phenomenon. During the last decades of the 20th century, this relationship underwent strong transnational changes. Within the European context, these changes occurred in three different arenas (Oakes 2001):

- in the national arenas of the EU member states: the traditional identity of these nation-states has been challenged by major demographic changes (in particular in urban areas) as a consequence of migration and minorisation
- in the European arena: the concept of a European identity has emerged as a consequence of increasing cooperation and integration at the European level
- in the global arena: our world has become smaller and more interactive as a consequence of the increasing availability of information and communication technology (ICT)

Major changes in each of these three arenas have led to the development of concepts such as a transnational citizenship and transnational multiple identities. Inhabitants of Europe no longer identify exclusively with singular nation-states, but give increasing evidence of multiple affiliations. At the EU level, the notion of a European identity was formally expressed for the first time in the *Declaration on European Identity* of December 1973 in Copenhagen. Numerous institutions and documents have propagated and promoted this idea ever since. In discussing the concept of a European identity, Oakes (2001:127-131) emphasised that the recognition of

the concept of multiple transnational identities is a prerequisite rather than an obstacle for the acceptance of a European identity. The recognition of multiple transnational identities not only occurs among the traditional inhabitants of European nation-states but also among newcomers to Europe. Multiple transnational identities and affiliations will require new competences of European citizens in the 21st century. These include the ability to deal with increasing cultural diversity and heterogeneity (Van Londen & De Ruijter 1999). Multilingualism can be considered a core competence for such ability.

Europe has a rich diversity of languages. This fact is usually illustrated by reference to the national languages of the EU. However, many more languages are spoken by the inhabitants of Europe. Examples of such languages are Welsh and Basque, or Arabic and Turkish. These languages are usually referred to as "minority languages", even when in Europe as a whole there is no one majority language because all languages are spoken by a numerical minority. The languages referred to are representatives of RM and IM languages, respectively.

As yet, we lack a common referential framework for the languages under discussion. As all of these RM and IM languages are spoken by different language communities and not at state-wide level, it may seem logical to refer to them as community languages, thus contrasting them with the official languages of nation-states. However, the designation "community languages" would lead to confusion at the surface level because this concept is already in use to refer to the national languages of the EU. In that sense the designation "community languages" is occupied territory. From an inventory of the different terms in use, we learn that there are no standardised designations for these languages across nation-states. Table 1 gives a non-exhaustive overview of the nomenclature of our field of concern in terms of reference to the people, their languages, and the teaching of these languages. Table 1 shows that the utilised terminology varies not only across different nation-states, but also across different types of education. The concept of "lesser used languages" has been adopted at the EU level; the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL), established in Brussels and Dublin, speaks and acts on behalf of "the autochthonous regional and minority languages of the EU".

In the European public discourse on IM groups, two major characteristics emerge (Extra & Verhoeven 1998): IM groups are often referred to as *foreigners* (*étrangers*, *Ausländer*) and as being in need of integration. First of all, it is common practice to refer to IM groups in terms of *non-national*

residents and to their languages in terms of *non-territorial*, *non-regional*, *non-indigenous*, or *non-European* languages (see Table 1). The call for integration is in sharp contrast with the language of exclusion. This conceptual exclusion rather than inclusion in the European public discourse derives from a restrictive interpretation of the notions of citizenship and nationality. From a historical point of view, such notions are commonly shaped by a constitutional *ius sanguinis* (law of the blood), in terms of which nationality derives from parental origins, in contrast to *ius soli* (law of the ground), in terms of which nationality derives from the country of birth. When European emigrants left their continent in the past and colonised countries abroad, they legitimised their claim to citizenship by spelling out *ius soli* in the constitutions of these countries of settlement. Good examples of this strategy can be found in English-dominant immigration countries like the USA, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. In establishing the constitutions of these (sub-)continents, no consultation took place with native inhabitants, such as Indians, Inuit, Aboriginals, and Zulus, respectively. At home, however, Europeans predominantly upheld *ius sanguinis* in their constitutions and/or perceptions of nationality and citizenship, in spite of the growing numbers of newcomers who strive for equal status as citizens.

A second major characteristic of the European public discourse on IM groups is the focus on *integration*. This notion is both popular and vague, and it may actually refer to a whole spectrum of underlying concepts that vary over space and time. Miles & Thränhardt (1995), Bauböck et al (1996), and Kruyt & Niessen (1997) are good examples of comparative case studies on the notion of integration in a variety of European (Union) countries that have been faced with increasing immigration since the early 1970s. The extremes of the conceptual spectrum range from assimilation to multiculturalism. The concept of assimilation is based on the premise that cultural differences between IM groups and established majority groups should and will disappear over time in a society which is proclaimed to be culturally homogeneous. On the other side of the spectrum, the concept of multiculturalism is based on the premise that such differences are an asset to a pluralist society, which actually promotes cultural diversity in terms of new resources and opportunities. While the concept of assimilation focuses on unilateral tasks of *newcomers*, the concept of multiculturalism focuses on multilateral tasks for all inhabitants in changing societies. In practice, established majority groups often make strong demands on IM groups to assimilate and are commonly very reluctant to promote or even accept the notion of cultural diversity as a determining characteristic of an increasingly multicultural environment.

Reference to the people
• non-national residents
• foreigners, étrangers, Ausländer
• (im)migrants
• new-comers, new Xmen (e.g., new Dutchmen)
• co-citizens (instead of citizens)
• ethnic/cultural/ethnocultural minorities
• linguistic minorities
• allochthones (e.g., in the Netherlands), allophones (e.g., in Canada)
• non-English-speaking (NES) residents (in particular in the USA)
• *anderstaligen* (Dutch: those who speak other languages)
• coloured/black people, visible minorities (the latter in particular in Canada)
Reference to their languages
• community languages (in Europe *versus* Australia)
• ancestral/heritage languages (common concept in Canada)
national/historical/regional/indigenous minority languages *versus* non-territorial/non-regional/non-indigenous/non-European minority languages
• autochthonous *versus* allochthonous minority languages
• lesser used/less widely used/less widely taught languages (in EBLUL context)
• stateless/diaspora languages (in particular used for Romani)
• languages other than English (LOTE: common concept in Australia)
Reference to the teaching of these languages
• instruction in own language (and culture)
• mother tongue teaching (MTT)
• home language instruction (HLI)
• community language teaching (CLT)
• regional minority language instruction (RMLI) *versus* immigrant minority language instruction (IMLI)
• Enseignement des langues et cultures d'origine (ELCO: in French/Spanish primary schools)
• enseignement des langues vivantes (ELV: in French/Spanish secondary schools)
• Muttersprachlicher Unterricht (MSU: in German primary schools)
• Muttersprachlicher Ergänzungsunterricht (in German primary/secondary schools)
• Herkunftssprachlicher Unterricht (in German primary/secondary schools)

Table 1. Nomenclature of the Field

It is interesting to compare the underlying assumptions of "integration" in the European public discourse on IM groups at the national level with assumptions at the level of cross-national cooperation and legislation. In the latter context, European politicians are eager to stress the importance of a proper balance between the loss and the maintenance of "national" norms and values. A prime concern in the public debate on such norms and values is cultural and linguistic diversity, mainly in terms of the national languages of the EU. National languages are often referred to as core values of cultural identity. Paradoxically, in the same public discourse, IM languages and cultures are commonly conceived of as sources of problems and deficits and as obstacles to integration, while national languages and cultures in an expanding EU are regarded as sources of enrichment and as prerequisites for integration.

The public discourse on the integration of IM groups in terms of assimilation versus multiculturalism can also be noticed in the domain of education. Due to a growing influx of IM pupils, schools are faced with the challenge of adapting their curricula to this trend. The pattern of modification may be inspired by a strong and unilateral emphasis on learning (in) the language of the majority of society, given the significance of this language for success in school and on the labour market, or by the awareness that the response to emerging multicultural school populations can not be reduced to monolingual education programming (Gogolin 1994). In the former case, the focus is on learning (in) the national language as a second language only, in the latter case, on offering more than one language in the school curriculum.

2   Demographic Perspectives

Reliable demographic information on IM groups in EU countries is difficult to obtain. For some groups or countries, no updated information is available or no such data have ever been collected. Moreover, official statistics only reflect IM groups with legal resident status. Another source of disparity is the different data collection systems being used, ranging from nationwide census data to more or less representative surveys. Most importantly, the most widely used criteria for IM status nationality and/or country of birth have become less valid over time because of an increasing trend toward naturalisation and births within the countries of residence. In addition, most residents from former colonies already have the nationality of their country of immigration.

In most EU countries, only population data on nationality and/or birth country (of person and parents) are available. To illustrate this, Table 2 gives recent statistics of population groups in the Netherlands, based on the birth-country criterion (of person and/or mother and/or father) *versus* the nationality criterion, as derived from the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics.

Table 2 shows strong criterion effects of birth country *versus* nationality. All IM groups are underrepresented in nationality-based statistics. However, the combined birth-country criterion of person/mother/father does not solve the identification problem either. The use of this criterion leads to non-identification in at least the following cases:

- an increasing group of third and later generations (cf Moluccan and Chinese communities in the Netherlands)
- different ethnolinguistic groups from the same country of origin (cf Turks and Kurds from Turkey or Berbers and Arabs from Morocco)
- the same ethnocultural group from different countries of origin (cf Chinese from China and from other Asian countries)
- ethnocultural groups without territorial status (cf Roma)

From the data presented in Table 2, it is clear that collecting reliable information about the actual number and spread of IM population groups in EU countries is not easy. As early as 1982, the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs recognised the above-mentioned identification problems for inhabitants of Australia and proposed including questions on birth country (of person and parents), ethnic origin (based on self-categorisation in terms of to which ethnic group a person considers him/herself to belong), and home language use in their censuses. As yet, little experience has been gained in EU countries with periodical censuses, or, if such censuses have been held, with questions on ethnicity and (home) language use. In Table 3, the four criteria mentioned are discussed with regard to their major (dis)advantages (Extra & Gorter 2001:9).

Groups	BC-PMF	Nationality	Absolute difference
Dutch	13,061,000	15,097,000	2,036,000
Turks	300,000	102,000	198,000
Moroccans	252,000	128,600	123,400
Surinamese	297,000	10,500	286,500
Antilleans	99,000	–	99,000
Italians	33,000	17,600	15,400
(former) Yugoslavs	63,000	22,300	40,700
Spaniards	30,000	16,800	13,200

Groups	BC-PMF	Nationality	Absolute difference
Somalians	27,000	8,900	18,100
Chinese	28,000	7,500	20,500
Indonesians	407,000	8,400	398,600
Other groups	1,163,000	339,800	823,200
Total	15,760,000	15,760,000	–

Table 2. Population of the Netherlands Based on the Combined Birth-country Criterion (BC-PMF) versus the Nationality Criterion on January 1, 1999 (CBS 2000)

As Table 3 makes clear, there is no single royal road to solve the identification problem. Different criteria may complement and strengthen each other. Various countries outside Europe have long immigration histories, and, for this reason, long histories of collecting census data on multicultural populations (Kertzer & Arel 2002). This is particularly true of non-European immigration countries in which English is the dominant language like Australia, Canada, South Africa, and the USA. In order to identify the multicultural composition of their populations, these four countries employ a variety of questions in their periodical censuses on nationality/citizenship, birth country, ethnicity, ancestry, race, languages spoken at home and/or at work, and religion. In Table 4, an overview of this array of questions is provided. For each country, the given census is taken as the norm.

Criterion	Advantages	Disadvantages
Nationality (NAT) (P/F/M)	• objective • relatively easy to establish	• (intergenerational) erosion through naturalisation or double NAT • NAT not always indicative of ethnicity/identity • some (e.g., ex-colonial) groups have NAT of immigration country
Birth country (BC) (P/F/M)	• objective • relatively easy to establish	• intergenerational erosion through births in immigration country • BC not always indicative of ethnicity/identity • invariable/deterministic: does not take account of dynamics in society (in contrast with all other criteria)
Self-categorisation (SC)	• touches the heart of the matter • emancipatory: SC takes account of person's own conception of ethnicity/identity	• subjective by definition: also determined by the language/ethnicity of interviewer and by the spirit of times • multiple SC possible • historically charged, especially by World War II experiences

Criterion	Advantages	Disadvantages
Home language (HL)	• HL is most significant • criterion of ethnicity in communication processes • HL data are prerequisite for government policy in areas such as public information or education	• complex criterion: who speaks what language to whom and when? • language is not always core value of ethnicity/identity • useless in one-person households

Table 3. Criteria for the Definition and Identification of Population Groups in a Multicultural Society (P/F/M = person/father/mother)

Both the types and numbers of questions are different for each country. Canada has a prime position with the greatest number of questions. Only three questions have been asked in all countries, whereas two questions have been asked in only one country. Four different questions have been asked about language. The operationalisation of questions also shows interesting differences, both between and within countries over time (see Clyne 1991 for a discussion of methodological problems in comparing the answers to differently phrased questions in Australian censuses from a longitudinal perspective).

Questions about ethnicity, ancestry and/or race have proven to be problematic in all of the countries under consideration. In some countries, ancestry and ethnicity have been conceived of as equivalent. In as far as ethnicity and ancestry have been distinguished in census questions, the former concept related most commonly to present self-categorisation of the respondent and the latter to former generations. The ways in which respondents themselves interpret both concepts, however, remain a problem that cannot be solved easily. While, according to Table 4, "ethnicity" has been mentioned in recent censuses of only two countries, four language-related questions have been asked in one to four countries. Only in Canada has the concept of "mother tongue" been asked about (census question 7). It was defined for respondents as *the language first learnt at home in childhood and still understood*, while questions 8 and 9 were related to the language most often used at home/work. Table 4 shows the added value of language-related census questions for the definition and identification of multicultural populations, in particular the added value of the question on home language use compared with the value of questions on the more opaque concepts of mother tongue and ethnicity.

Although the language-related census questions in the four countries under consideration differed in their precise formulation and commentary, the outcomes of these questions are generally regarded as cornerstones for educational policies with respect to the teaching of English as a first or second language and the teaching of languages other than English.

Questions in the census	Australia 2001	Canada 2001	SA 2001	USA 2000	Coverage
Nationality of respondent	+	+	+	+	4
Birth country of respondent	+	+	+	+	4
Birth country of parents	+	+	–	–	2
Ethnicity	–	+	–	+	2
Ancestry	+	+	–	+	3
Race	–	+	+	+	3
Mother tongue	–	+	–	–	1
Language used at home	+	+	+	+	4
Language used at work	–	+	–	–	1
Proficiency in English	+	+	–	+	3
Religion	+	+	+	–	3
Total of dimensions	7	11	5	7	30

Table 4. Overview of Census Questions in Four Multicultural Countries

From this overview, it can be concluded that large-scale home language surveys (henceforward HLS) are both feasible and meaningful, and that the interpretation of the resulting database is made easier by transparent and multiple questions on home language use. These conclusions are even more pertinent in the context of gathering data on multicultural school populations. European experiences in this domain have been gathered in particular in Great Britain and Sweden. In both countries, extensive municipal home language statistics have been collected through local educational authorities by asking school children questions about their oral and written skills in languages other than the mainstream language, and about their participation in and need for education in these languages.

An important similarity in the questions about home language use in these surveys is that the outcomes are based on reported rather than observed facts. Answers to questions on home language use may be coloured by the language of the questions themselves (which may or may not be the primary language of the respondent), by the ethnicity of the interviewer (which may or may not be the same as the ethnicity of the respondent), by the aimed at or perceived goals of the sampling (which

may or may not be defined by national or local authorities), and by the spirit of the times (which may or may not be in favour of multi-culturalism). These problems become even more evident in a school-related context in which pupils are respondents. Apart from the problems mentioned, the answers may be coloured by peer-group pressure and the answers may lead to interpretation problems in attempts to identify and classify languages on the basis of the answers given. For a discussion of these and other possible effects, we refer to Nicholas (1988) and Alladina (1993). The problems referred to are inherent characteristics of large-scale data gathering through questionnaires about language-related behaviour and can only be compensated by small-scale data gathering through observing actual language behaviour. Such small-scale ethnographic research is not an alternative to large-scale language surveys, but a potentially valuable complement. For a discussion of (cor)relations between the reported and measured bilingualism of IM children in the Netherlands, we refer to Broeder & Extra (1998).

Throughout the EU, it is common practice to present data on RM groups on the basis of (home) language and/or ethnicity, and to present data on IM groups on the basis of nationality and/or country of birth. However, convergence between these criteria for the two groups appears over time, due to the increasing period of migration and minorisation of IM groups in EU countries. Due to their prolonged/permanent stay, there is strong erosion in the utilisation of nationality or birth-country statistics. Given the decreasing significance of nationality and birth-country criteria in the European context, the combined criteria of self-categorisation (ethnicity) and home language use are potentially promising alternatives for obtaining basic information on the increasingly multicultural composition of European nation-states. The added value of home language statistics is that they offer valuable insights into the distribution and vitality of home languages across different population groups and thus raise the awareness of multilingualism.

Empirically collected data on home language use also play a crucial role in education. Such data will not only raise the awareness of multilingual-ism in multicultural schools; they are also indispensable tools for educa-tional policies on the teaching of both the national majority language as a first or second language and the teaching of minority languages. A cross-national home language database would offer interesting comparative opportunities from each of these perspectives.

3   Sociolinguistic Perspectives

Most studies of IM languages in Europe have focused on a spectrum of IM languages at the level of one particular multilingual city (Baker & Eversley 2000), one particular nation-state (LMP 1985; Alladina & Edwards 1991; Extra & Verhoeven 1993a; Extra & De Ruiter 2001; Caubet et al 2002; Extra et al 2002) or on one particular IM language at the national or European level (Tilmatine 1997; Obdeijn & De Ruiter 1998 on Arabic in Europe, or Jørgensen 2003 on Turkish in Europe). Few studies have taken both a crossnational and a crosslinguistic perspective on the status and use of IM languages in Europe (Jaspaert & Kroon 1991; Extra & Verhoeven 1993b, 1998; Fase et al 1995; Ammerlaan et al 2001).

Here, we present the rationale, methodology, and major outcomes of the Multilingual Cities Project (MCP), carried out as a multiple case study in six major multicultural cities in different EU member states. For a full report of the project we refer to Extra & Yagmur (2004). The project was carried out under the auspices of the European Cultural Foundation, established in Amsterdam, and it was coordinated by a research team at the Babylon Centre for Studies of the Multicultural Society, at Tilburg University in the Netherlands, in cooperation with local universities and educational authorities in all participating cities. In the participating cities, ranging from Northern to Southern Europe, Germanic and/or Romance languages have a dominant status in public life. Figure 1 gives an outline of the project.
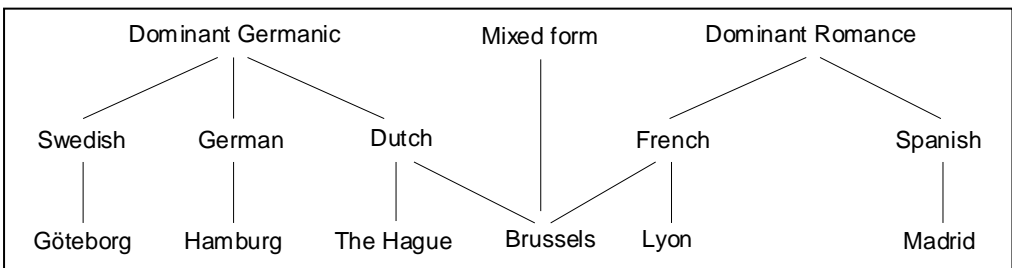

Figure 1. Outline of the Multilingual Cities Project (MCP)

The goals for collecting, analysing, and comparing multiple home language data on multicultural school populations derived from three different perspectives:

• taken from a *demographic* perspective, home language data play a crucial role in the definition and identification of multicultural school populations

- taken from a *sociolinguistic* perspective, home language data offer relevant insights into both the distribution and the vitality of home languages across groups, and thus raise the public awareness of multilingualism
- taken from an *educational* perspective, home language data are indispensable tools for educational planning and policies

Table 5 gives an overview of the resulting database (only in The Hague were data also collected at secondary schools). The total cross-national sample consists of more than 160,000 pupils.

Brussels	117 *	110 *	11,500	10,300	6-12
Hamburg	231 public 17 catholic	218 public 14 catholic	54,900	46,000	6-11
Lyon	173 **	42 **	60,000	11,650	6-11
Madrid	708 public 411 catholic	133 public 21 catholic	202,000 99,000	30,000	5-12
The Hague	142 primary 30 secondary	109 primary 26 secondary	41,170 19,000	27,900 13,700	4-12 12-17
Göteborg	170	122	36,100	21,300	6-12

Table 5. Overview of the MCP Database (*Dutch-medium schools only; **_Réseau d'Education Prioritaire_ only)

On the basis of the home language profiles of all major language groups, a crosslinguistic and pseudolongitudinal comparison was made of the reported multiple dimensions of language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference. For comparative analyses, these four dimensions have been operationalised as follows:

- language proficiency: the extent to which the home language under consideration is *understood*
- language choice: the extent to which this language is commonly spoken at home *with the mother*
- language dominance: the extent to which this home language is spoken *best*
- language preference: the extent to which this home language is *preferably* spoken

The operationalisation of the first and second dimensions (language proficiency and language choice) was aimed at a maximal scope for

tracing language vitality. Language understanding is generally the least demanding of the four language skills involved, and the mother acts generally as the major gatekeeper for intergenerational language transmission (Clyne 2003). The final aim was the construction of a language vitality index (henceforward LVI), based on the outcomes of the four dimensions presented above. These four dimensions are compared as proportional scores in terms of the mean proportion of pupils per language group that indicated a positive response to the relevant questions. The LVI is, in turn, the mean value of these four proportional scores. This LVI is by definition an arbitrary index, in the sense that the *chosen* dimensions with the *chosen* operationalisations are *equally* weighted.

The outcomes of the local surveys were aggregated in one cross-national home language survey (HLS) database. Two criteria were used to select twenty languages for cross-national analyses: each language should be represented by at least three cities, and each city should be represented in the cross-national HLS database by at least thirty pupils in the age range of 6-11 years. Our focus on this age range was motivated by comparability considerations: this range is represented in the local HLS databases of all participating cities (see Table 5). Romani/Sinte was included in the cross-national analyses because of its special status in our list of twenty languages as a language without territorium status. A number of languages are common in some cities, and rare in other cities. This holds in particular for Turkish, which is common in Hamburg and The Hague but rare in Madrid; Chinese, common in Göteborg and The Hague but rare in Hamburg; Kurdish, common in Göteborg but rare in Madrid; Polish and Russian, common in Hamburg but rare in Lyon; and Berber, common in The Hague but rare in Hamburg. Such contrasts originate from different migration flows across Europe. In this sense, Madrid emerges as the least "prototypical" city in terms of reported language diversity, due to the fact that Spain has only recently turned from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. Two languages have an exceptional status: English "invaded" the local HLS's as a language of international prestige, and Romani/Sinte is solidly represented in Hamburg and Göteborg only.

In the cross-national and cross-linguistic analyses, three age groups and three generations are distinguished. The age groups consist of children aged 6/7, 8/9, and 10/11 years old. The three generations have been operationalised as follows:

- G1: pupil + father + mother born abroad
- G2: pupil born in country of residence, father *and/or* mother born abroad
- G3: pupil + father + mother born in country of residence

On the basis of this categorisation, intergenerational shift can be globally estimated. Given the possible non-responses of children to any of the questions in the survey, all tables are presented and interpreted in proportional values. The total population of age groups is always larger than the total population of generations. This discrepancy is the result of a predictably larger number of missing values (i.e., non-responses) for generation than for age. In the former case, references have to be made to the countries of birth of the pupil, the father, and the mother; in the latter case, reference has to be made only to the age of the pupil. Table 6 gives a cross-linguistic and pseudolongitudinal overview of the LVI per language group and age group.

Language group	Total pupils	6/7 years	8/9 years	10/11 years	Average
Romani/Sinte	270	76	71	64	70
Urdu/Pakistani	564	65	70	69	68
Turkish	8,942	70	67	67	68
Armenian	170	64	59	65	63
Russian	1,791	66	58	57	60
Serbian/Croat./Bosn.	1,285	60	58	59	59
Albanian	765	63	56	58	59
Vietnamese	299	57	60	58	58
Chinese	561	56	58	60	58
Arabic	7,682	59	58	58	58
Polish	1,925	57	59	53	56
Somali	499	58	54	53	55
Portuguese	1,074	54	54	54	54
Berber	1,730	51	54	51	52
Kurdish	974	54	47	51	51
Spanish	1,789	47	49	47	48
French	7,787	47	40	44	44
Italian	994	39	40	39	39
English	4,527	37	33	39	36
German	559	35	31	32	33

Table 6. Language Vitality per Language Group and Age Group (in %, LVI in cumulative %)

Romani/Sinte was found to have the highest language vitality across age groups, and English and German had the lowest. The bottom position of English was explained by the fact that this language has a higher status as

lingua franca than as language at home. The top position for language vitality of Romani/Sinte was also observed in earlier and similar research amongst children in the Netherlands, and confirmed by various other studies of this particular language community. One reason language vitality is a core value for the Roma across Europe is the absence of source country references as alternative markers of identity – in contrast to almost all other language groups under consideration. When the average scores of the youngest (6/7) and oldest (9/10) age groups are compared, eleven language groups show the highest score for the former and five language groups show the highest score for the latter. Strong maintenance of language vitality across the youngest and oldest age groups emerges for eight out of the twenty language groups.

A different cross-linguistic and pseudolongitudinal perspective is offered in Table 7, in terms of generations (G1/G2/G3). LVI calculations have only been made if at least five children were represented in a particular generation.

Table 7 makes clear that there are strong differences between language groups in the distribution of pupils across different generations. In most language groups, second-generation pupils are best represented and third-generation pupils least. In conformity with expectations, the obtained data finally show a stronger decrease of language vitality across generations than across age groups. The strongest intergenerational shift between first- and third-generation pupils emerges for Polish, whereas the strongest intergenerational maintenance of language vitality occurs for Romani/Sinte and Turkish.

Language group	Total pupils	Intergenerational distribution			Intergenerational language vitality		
		G1	G2	G3	G1	G2	G3
Albanian	675	39	56	5	72	51	34
Arabic	7,002	21	73	6	64	57	35
Armenian	153	49	42	9	69	55	–
Berber	1,656	20	78	2	59	50	45
Chinese	523	22	74	4	72	59	–
English	4,045	16	42	41	43	41	28
French	7,090	7	45	48	55	43	30
German	506	18	45	38	43	35	22
Italian	916	12	60	28	49	43	29
Kurdish	900	50	49	2	61	43	33

Language group	Total pupils	Intergenerational distribution			Intergenerational language vitality		
		G1	G2	G3	G1	G2	G3
Polish	1,837	14	82	4	73	59	31
Portuguese	1,004	27	66	8	63	52	33
Romani/Sinte	231	35	41	23	76	66	65
Russian	1,616	81	16	3	64	–	–
Serbian/Croat./Bosn.	1,191	38	58	4	71	50	–
Somali	464	38	58	5	70	50	–
Spanish	1,570	18	61	21	63	47	30
Turkish	8,248	17	79	4	71	68	58
Urdu/Pakistani	534	25	72	3	70	67	–
Vietnamese	270	12	85	3	60	57	–

Table 7. Intergenerational Distribution (in %) and Intergenerational Language Vitality (LVI in cumulative %) per Language Group

The local language surveys amongst primary school children have delivered a wealth of hidden evidence on the distribution and vitality of IM languages at home across European nation-states. Apart from Madrid, late-comer amongst our focal cities in respect of immigration, the proportion of primary school children in whose homes other languages were used next to or instead of the mainstream language ranged per city between one third and more than a half. The total number of traced other languages ranged per city between 50 and 90; the common pattern was that few languages were referred to often by the children and that many languages were referred to only a few times. The findings show that making use of more than one language is a way of life for an increasing number of children across Europe. The presented data make clear that mainstream and non-mainstream languages should not be conceived of in terms of competition. Rather, the data show that these languages are used as alternatives, dependent on such factors as type of context or interlocutor. The data also make clear that the use of other languages at home does not occur at the cost of competence in the mainstream language. Many children who addressed their parents in another language reported to be dominant in the mainstream language.

Amongst the major twenty languages in the participating cities, ten languages are of European origin and ten languages stem from abroad. These findings clearly show that the traditional concept of language

diversity in Europe should be reconsidered and extended. The outcomes of the local language surveys also demonstrate the high status of English amongst primary school children across Europe. Its intrusion in the children's homes is apparent from the position of English in the top-5 of non-national languages referred to by the children in all participating cities. This outcome can not be explained as an effect of migration and minorisation only. The children's reference to English also derives from the status of English as the international language of power and prestige. English has become the dominant *lingua franca* for intercultural communication across Europe, and has invaded the terminology of all of the national languages under consideration. Children have access to English through a variety of media. Moreover, English is commonly taught in particular grades at primary schools.

Owing to the monolingual *habitus* of primary schooling across Europe, there is an increasing mismatch between language practices at home and at school. The findings on multilingualism at home and those on language needs and language instruction reported by the children in this study should be taken into account by both national and local educational authorities in all types of language policy.

4   Educational Perspectives

In this final section, we present the major outcomes of a comparative study on the teaching of the languages of IM groups in the six EU cities and countries of the MCP. Being aware of cross-national differences in denotation, we use the concept of *community language teaching* (henceforward CLT) when referring to this type of education (see also Table 1). Our rationale for using the concept of CLT rather than the concepts of *mother tongue teaching* or *home language instruction* is the inclusion of a broad spectrum of potential target groups. From a historical point of view, most of the countries in the MCP show a similar chronological development in their argumentation in favour of CLT. CLT was generally introduced into primary education with a view to family remigration. This objective was also clearly expressed in *Directive 77/486* of the European Community, on 25 July 1977. The Directive focused on the education of the children of "migrant workers" with the aim "principally to facilitate their possible reintegration into the Member State of origin". As is clear from this formulation, the Directive excluded all IM

children originating from non-EU countries, although these children formed the large part of IM children in European primary schools. At that time, Sweden was not a EU member state, and CLT policies for IM children in Sweden were not directed towards remigration but modelled according to bilingual education policies for the large minority of Finnish-speaking children in Sweden.

During the 1970s, the above argumentation for CLT was increasingly abandoned. Demographic developments showed no substantial signs of families remigrating to their source countries. Instead, a process of family reunion and minorisation came about in the target countries. This development resulted in a conceptual shift, and CLT became primarily aimed at combatting disadvantages. CLT had to bridge the gap between the home and the school environment, and to encourage school achievement in "regular" subjects. Because such an approach tended to underestimate the importance of other dimensions, a number of countries began to emphasise the intrinsic importance of CLT from a cultural, legal, or economic perspective:

- from a cultural perspective, CLT can contribute to maintaining and advancing a pluriform society
- from a legal perspective, CLT can meet the internationally recognised right to language development and language maintenance, in correspondence with the fact that many IM groups consider their own language as a core value of their cultural identity
- from an economic perspective, CLT can lead to an important pool of profitable knowledge in societies which are increasingly internationally oriented

In Table 8 we give a crossnational summary of the outcomes of our comparative study of nine parameters of CLT in primary and secondary education. Table 8 shows that there are remarkable crossnational differences in the status of CLT. A comparison of all nine parameters also makes clear that CLT has gained a higher status in secondary schools than in primary schools. In primary education, CLT is generally not part of the "regular" or "national" curriculum, and, therefore, becomes a negotiable entity in a complex and often opaque interplay between a variety of actors.

CLT parameters	Primary education	Secondary education
Target groups	IM children in a broad *vs.* narrow definition in terms of ▪ the spectrum of languages taught (Sp < N B F < G Sw) ▪ language use and language proficiency (G N B Sp < Sw F)	▪ *de iure*: mostly IM pupils, sometimes all pupils (in particular N) ▪ *de facto*: IM pupils in a broad *vs.* narrow sense (see left) (limited participation, in particular B Sp)
Arguments	mostly in terms of a struggle against deficits, rarely in terms of multicultural policy (N B *vs.* other countries)	mostly in terms of multicultural policy, rarely in terms of deficits (all countries)
Objectives	rarely specified in terms of (meta-) linguistic and (inter)cultural skills (Sw G Sp *vs.* N B F)	specified in terms of oral and written skills to be reached at interim and final stages (all countries)
Evaluation	mostly informal/subjective through teacher, rarely formal/objective through measurement and school report figures (Sw G F *vs.* B N Sp)	formal/objective assessment plus school report figures (Sw G N *vs.* B F Sp)
Minimal enrolment	specified at the level of classes, schools, or municipalities (Sw *vs.* G B F *vs.* N Sp)	specified at the level of classes, schools, or municipalities (Sw N *vs.* other countries)
Curricular status	▪ voluntary and optional ▪ within *vs.* outside regular school hours (G N Sp *vs.* S B F) ▪ 1-5 hours per week	▪ voluntary and optional ▪ within regular school hours ▪ one/more lessons per week (all countries)
Funding	▪ by national, regional or local educatioanl authorities ▪ by consulates/embassies of countries of origin (Sw N *vs.* B Sp, mixed G F)	▪ by national, regional or local educational authorities ▪ by consulates/embassies of countries of origin (Sw N F *vs.* B Sp, mixed G)
Teaching materials	▪ from countries of residence ▪ from countries of origin (Sw G N *vs.* B F Sp)	▪ from countries of residence ▪ from countries of origin (Sw N F *vs.* B Sp)
Teacher qualifications	▪ from countries of residence ▪ from countries of origin (Sw G N *vs.* B F Sp)	▪ from countries of residence ▪ from countries of origin (Sw N F *vs.* B Sp)

Table 8. Status of CLT in European Primary and Secondary Education, According to Nine Parameters in Six Countries (Sw / G / N / B / F / Sp = Sweden / Germany / Netherlands until 2004 / Belgium / France / Spain)

Another remarkable difference is that, in some countries (in particular France, Belgium, Spain, and some German federal states), CLT is funded

by the consulates or embassies of the countries of origin. In these cases, the national government does not interfere in the organisation of CLT, or in the requirements for, and the selection and employment of teachers. A paradoxical consequence of this phenomenon is that the earmarking of CLT budgets is often safeguarded by the above-mentioned consulates or embassies. National, regional, or local governments often fail to earmark budgets, so that funds meant for CLT may be appropriated for other educational purposes. It should be mentioned that CLT for primary school children in the Netherlands has been completely abolished in the school year 2004/2005, resulting in Dutch-only education in multicultural and multilingual primary schools.

The higher status of CLT in secondary education is largely due to the fact that instruction in one or more languages other than the national standard language is a traditional and regular component of the (optional) school curriculum, whereas primary education is mainly determined by a monolingual *habitus* (Gogolin 1994). *Within* secondary education, however, CLT must compete with "foreign" languages that have a higher status or a longer tradition.

CLT may be part of a largely centralised or decentralised educational policy. In the Netherlands, national responsibilities and educational funds are gradually being transferred to the municipal level, and even to individual schools. In France, government policy is strongly centrally controlled. Germany has devolved most governmental responsibilities to the federal states, with all their differences. Sweden grants far-reaching autonomy to municipal councils in dealing with educational tasks and funding. In general, comparative cross-national references to experiences with CLT in the various EU member states are rare, or they focus on particular language groups. With a view to the demographic development of European nation-states into multicultural societies, and the similarities in CLT issues, more comparative cross-national research would be highly desirable.

There is a great need for educational policies in Europe that take new realities of multilingualism into account. Processes of internationalisation and globalisation have brought European nation-states to the world, but they have also brought the world to European nation-states. This bipolar pattern of change has led to both convergence and divergence of multilingualism across Europe. On the one hand, English is on the rise as the *lingua franca* for international communication across the borders of European nation-states at the cost of all other national languages of Europe, including French. In spite of many objections against the hegemony of English (Phillipson 2003), this process of convergence will

be enhanced by the extension of the EU in an eastward direction. Within the borders of European nation-states, however, there is an increasing divergence of home languages due to large-scale processes of migration and intergenerational minorisation.

The call for differentiation of the monolingual *habitus* of primary schools across Europe originates not only *bottom-up* from IM parents or organisations, but also *top-down* from supra-national institutions which emphasise the increasing need for European citizens with a transnational and multicultural affinity and identity. The European Commission (1995) opted in a so-called *Whitebook* for tri-lingualism as a policy goal for all European citizens. Apart from the "mother tongue", each citizen should learn at least two "community languages". In fact, the concept of "mother tongue" referred to the national languages of particular nation-states and ignored the fact that mother tongue and national language do not coincide for many inhabitants of Europe. At the same time, the concept of "community languages" referred to the national languages of two other EU member states. In later European Commission documents, reference was made to one foreign language with high international prestige (English was deliberately not referred to) and one so-called "neighbouring language". The latter concept related always to neighbouring countries, never to next-door neighbours.

In a follow-up to the European Year of Languages, proclaimed in 2001, the heads of state and government of all EU member states gathered in March 2002 in Barcelona and called upon the European Commission to take further action to promote multilingualism across Europe, in particular by the learning and teaching of at least two foreign languages from a very young age (Nikolov & Curtain 2000). The final Action Plan 2004-2006, published by the European Commission (2003) may ultimately lead to an inclusive approach in which IM languages are no longer denied access to Europe's celebration of language diversity. In particular, the plea for the learning of three languages by all EU citizens, the plea for an early start to such learning experiences, and the plea for offering a wide range of languages to choose from, open the door to such an inclusive approach. Although this may sound paradoxical, such an approach can also be advanced by accepting the role of English as *lingua franca* for intercultural communication across Europe.

Against this background, the following principles are suggested for the enhancement of multilingualism at the primary school level:

1   In the primary school curriculum, three languages are introduced for all children:

- the standard language of the particular nation-state as a major school subject and the major language of communication for the teaching of other school subjects;
- English as *lingua franca* for international communication;
- an additional third language chosen from a variable and varied set of priority languages at the national, regional, and/or local levels of the multicultural society.

2   The teaching of these languages is part of the regular school curriculum and subject to educational inspection.

3   Regular primary school reports provide, formally or informally, information on the children's proficiency in each of these languages.

4   National working programmes are established for the priority languages referred to under (1) in order to develop curricula, teaching methods, and teacher training programmes.

5   Part of these priority languages may be taught at specialised language schools.

This set of principles is aimed at reconciling *bottom-up* and *top-down* pleas in Europe for multilingualism, and is inspired by large-scale and enduring experiences with the learning and teaching of English (as L1 or L2) and one Language Other Than English (LOTE) for all children in the State of Victoria, Australia. When each of the above mentioned languages should be introduced in the curriculum and whether or when they should be subject or medium of instruction, has to be spelled out according to particular national, regional, or local demands. Derived from an overarching conceptual and longitudinal framework, priority languages could be specified in terms of both RM and IM languages for the development of curricula, teaching methods, and teacher training programs. Moreover, the increasing internationalisation of pupil populations in European schools requires that a language policy be introduced for all school children in which the traditional dichotomy between foreign language instruction for indigenous majority pupils and home language instruction for IM pupils is put aside. Given the experiences abroad (e.g., the Victorian School of Languages in Victoria, Australia), language schools can become centres of expertise where a variety of languages is taught, if the number of children requesting instruction in these languages is low and/or spread over many schools. In line with the proposed principles for primary schooling, similar ideas could be worked out for secondary schools where learning more than one language is already an established curricular practice. The above-mentioned principles would recognise

multilingualism in an increasingly multicultural environment as an asset for all children and for society at large. The EU, the Council of Europe, and UNESCO could function as leading trans-national agencies in promoting such concepts. The UNESCO Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity is highly in line with the views expressed here, in particular in its plea to encourage linguistic diversity, to respect the mother tongue at all levels of education, and to foster the learning of several languages from the youngest age.

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English-Only Policies and Language Erosion in the United States

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1   Introduction

In the United States, immigrant languages are vanishing at an alarming rate[1]. Immigrants replace their native languages with English within two or three generations or faster (Crawford 1995; Fishman 1966, 1991; Veltman 1983, 2000; Wong-Fillmore 1991). Children grow up fluent in English with little proficiency in the native language. Most do not have a common language with their grandparents and many are unable to speak to their parents in the native language (Beykont 1997c; Souza 2000; Wong-Fillmore 1991). This paper examines one of the contributing factors to the rapid loss of immigrant languages, namely school language policies. I argue that public schools have played a critical role in promoting English monolingualism in the USA and have contributed to rapid language erosion since World War I. I discuss English imposition in public schools by presenting language policy debates and programmatic decisions concerning the education of language minority students in reference to three historical periods--between World War I and World War II, World War II to 1980, and 1980 until today.

2   U.S. School Language Policies

2.1   U.S. School Language Policies between World War I and World War II

Between World War I and World War II, U.S. school language policies can be characterised as explicitly assimilationist. Partly due to a nationalistic response to a large wave of immigration in the early 20th century, the United States adopted an explicit assimilationist language orientation toward diverse language groups (Anderson 1990; Gonzalez 1975;

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[1]   The discussion focuses on immigrant languages only. For an extensive review of the literature on Native American communities, see Crawford 1995; House 2002; Reyhner et al 1999.

Paulston 1978; Walsh 1991). Language orientation refers to "*a complex set of disposition ... toward languages and their role in society ... they constitute the framework in which attitudes are formed: they help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes toward languages and to make certain attitudes legitimate*" (Ruiz 1984:16). According to the explicit assimilationist language orientation, increasing language diversity constitutes a threat to social unity and must be treated as an urgent social 'problem' to be resolved as quickly as possible (Ruiz 1984). It is argued that many languages may divide a country because immigrant groups' loyalties to native languages and home cultures can be a serious obstacle to their linguistic and cultural assimilation (Beykont 1994, 1997a, 1997c; Crawford 1992a, 1995; Gonzalez 1975).

From a central government's standpoint, a common language forges a similarity of attitude and values, which can have important unifying aspects, while different languages tend to divide and make direction from the center more difficult

(Leibowitz 1971:1).

As part of a larger nation-building agenda, "forging a similarity of attitudes and values", meant repressing diversity in languages, values, and beliefs and forcing language minorities to adopt English and assimilate into the mainstream. Despite the fact that the U.S. was founded and continued to grow as an immigrant country characterised by linguistic and ethnic diversity, English was increasingly imposed as the "common" language and Anglo-Saxon values were espoused as the "core" values of the country (Crawford 1995; Keller & Van Hooft 1982).

English imposition in the early twentieth century is in sharp contrast with the liberal treatment of immigrant languages in earlier times. In fact, the 18th and 19th centuries in the U.S. were characterised by the absence of a uniform school language policy and decisions about language(s) of instruction were made locally. No official language was designated and generally, the federal government did not intervene with language choices of individuals because free choice of languages was viewed as an extension of the democratic ideal (Crawford 1995; Heath 1976; Keller & Van Hooft 1982; Padilla 1982). Immigrant groups, including Germans and French, settled in different parts of the country. In these ethnic enclaves, church services were conducted in the native language of the community and privately owned and/or church-affiliated local schools used children's native languages as a main instructional medium. Some of these community-based schools taught English as a foreign language for a

few hours each week. Others used English and the native language of the community equally as instructional media. In order to attract minority communities, some public schools also started bilingual programs.

The liberal approach to languages in schools continued until after World War I when public funds for private and church-affiliated schools were cut and bilingual programs in public schools were abolished. The explicit assimilationist orientation to immigrant languages was institutionalised by adopting submersion programs that used English as the exclusive instructional language and set as the primary goal the development of children's literacy and academic skills in English (Beykont 1994, 1997b, 1997c; Crawford 1995; Gonzalez 1975; Navarro 1985). Language minority students were not given any special educational assistance and were instructed in mainstream classrooms alongside native speakers of English where they were left to sink or swim. Bilingual textbooks were burned and teachers were fired, brought to court, and convicted for explaining concepts in children's native languages (Cortes 1986; Crawford 1995). Children were discouraged and even punished for speaking their native languages in classrooms, school corridors, or playgrounds (Cortes 1986).

The English-only school language policies did serve their linguistic assimilationist purpose and many language groups did quickly replace their native languages with English (Fishman 1966). For various Northern European groups such as Dutch and Germans learning English allowed access to the economic and social life of the U.S. Specifically, linguistic assimilation of those who were White and Protestant resulted in cultural assimilation. Other groups, however, due to their racial, cultural, and religious backgrounds, were often denied equal access to economic and social mobility even after they learned English (Gonzalez 1975; Navarro 1985; Ogbu 1978; Paulston 1978). Their linguistic assimilation did not result in cultural assimilation: many left their native language and cultural connections behind but the 'mainstream' did not take them in.

In addition to rapidly losing their native languages, language minority students tended to exhibit low achievement in English-only classrooms. When compared with the national norms, they were behind in all content areas (Coleman 1966; Padilla 1982). Furthermore, children's difficulties in learning English were confused with cognitive and linguistic delays; many were placed in special education classrooms, taken out of academic tracks, and permanently relegated to low-ability groups (Cummins 1981; Oakes 1985; Wheelock 1990). A disproportionately high percentage of

language minority students were retained in grade and left school with no diploma (Padilla 1982; Walsh 1991).

In the public discourse and some academic circles, school failure of language minority students was attributed to children's supposed inadequate intellectual, cognitive, and linguistic abilities (see for reviews, Gonzalez 1975; Ogbu 1978; Padilla 1982). It was widely believed that bilingualism caused mental confusion, inhibited cognitive and academic development, and resulted in low achievement of language minority students (see for reviews, Hakuta 1986; Kessler & Quinn 1982). Another commonly held belief was that some ethnic groups were genetically inferior and that the low school performance was a result of their lower intelligence (Dunn 1987). The negative school experiences of language minority students were also attributed to their "undeveloped languages" due to code-switching behavior and use of nonstandard varieties of native languages in their communities (see for reviews, Baratz & Baratz 1970; Secada 1990). In essence, language minority students and their communities--not schools and the sink-or-swim approach in schools-- were blamed for failing in an educational system that was designed for a homogeneous group of White, middle class, native English-speaking students (Beykont 1997c, 2002).

The exclusive reliance on English as the instructional medium prevailed throughout the 1940s. The English-only language policies in schools were further reinforced by the Nationality Act, which identified English fluency (1940) and then English literacy skills (1950) as a naturalisation requirement. With the exception of elderly immigrants in residence for over twenty years, all applicants had to prove that they were fluent *and* literate in English in order to become American citizens[2]. Increasingly, English proficiency was equated with political loyalty to the U.S. (Crawford 1995; Heath 1976). Minority groups were denied access to their democratic right to vote until they gained English fluency and English literacy.

Against the prevalent trend of explicit assimilationist school language policies, a series of U.S. Supreme Court rulings found it unconstitutional to impose English in schools through coercive methods. For example, in the case of Meyer v. Nebraska (1923), the Supreme Court overturned a lower court ruling that found a teacher guilty of violating the English-

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[2]   The English literacy requirement was also utilised, for example, in the systematic exclusion of African Americans from exercising their democratic rights to vote.

only law of Nebraska (1920). Nebraska's restrictive English-only law (a) prohibited regular or systematic use of languages other than English in government services including schools; (b) required that all instruction be provided in English; and (c) delayed foreign language education until high school. Despite the fact that Nebraska's law prohibited use of languages other than English until high school, the teacher had used German to tell a Biblical story to a student. The court found such severe restrictions on the use of languages other than English in schools to be unconstitutional:

The protection of the Constitution extends to all, to those who speak other languages as well as those born with English on the tongue. Perhaps it would be advantageous if all had ready understanding of our ordinary speech, but this cannot be coerced by methods, which conflict with the Constitution (Meyer v. Nebraska 1923).

Meyer v. Nebraska established a precedent for later Supreme Court rulings on language rights violations and was an important step in the legal recognition of language-based discrimination in the U.S., but it was not a resounding victory for language minority communities. The Supreme Court found the extreme methods (such as suing teachers) employed to restrict the use of languages other than English in schools to be inconsistent with the ideal of individual liberty. The Supreme Court stated, "The obvious purpose [of Nebraska's English-only law] was that the English language should be and become the mother tongue of all children reared in this state. The enactment of such a statute comes reasonably within the police power of the state". The persistent view of English as the sole language of "ordinary speech" in the U.S. and definition of linguistic diversity as a "problem" did not change.

In short, the period between World War I and World War II was characterised by generally negative attitudes toward immigrant languages, hostile treatment of language minority groups, lack of interest in foreign language study, and explicit assimilationist English-only school language policies. The summative effect of U.S. school language policies in this period was rapid language erosion. With schools as English-only environments, language minority children grew up feeling ashamed of their native language, quickly replaced it with English, and found themselves unable to speak to their grandparents, relatives, and sometimes even their parents.

2.2   U.S. School Language Policies from World War II to 1980

After World War II, attitudes toward immigrant languages started to soften and sentiments began to shift away from an exclusive English-only school language policy. Many factors contributed to this shift including recognition of the importance of foreign language education for national defence purposes[3] (Keller & Van Hooft 1982). The federal government began to appropriate funds to support foreign language study for native English speakers enrolled in K-12 public schools. Some educational measures were also taken to address the needs of language minority students. For example, in the Little Schools of the 400, Chicano preschoolers were taught common English words to prepare them for placement in English-only mainstream elementary classrooms. The Coral Way bilingual program, which was developed in 1961 and became a model for other bilingual programs, aimed to foster bilingualism and biliteracy of all students by integrating native Spanish-speaking Cuban students and native English-speaking students and teaching them bilingually through English and Spanish. These sporadic attempts to address the unique needs of language minority students in schools were then strengthened by legislative action when language minority communities joined the civil rights movement and fought to obtain expanded language rights and bilingual services in schools.

Civil rights legislation heightened public attention to many policies and practices that were discriminatory to minorities in the U.S. The English literacy requirement for voting was abolished (1965), thereby recognising all citizens' right to vote regardless of their level of English proficiency. Exclusionary quotas that limited immigration from certain parts of the world, such as the Mediterranean, Asian, and African countries, were relaxed (1965). The performance of public schools in ensuring equal access to social and economic life in the U.S. was questioned on the grounds that a disproportionate number of language minority students were failing in mainstream English-only classrooms and were dropping out of school (Navarro 1985; Paulston 1978). Title VI of the Civil Rights Act (1964) declared that "no person in the U.S. shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." Under Title VI

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[3]   See, for example, the National Defense Education Act of 1958 that promoted foreign language study from K-12 and in college.

of the Civil Rights Act, school districts with large numbers of students from non-English speaking homes were mandated to take educational measures to address language minority students' lack of English proficiency so that they could be transferred to English only mainstream classrooms rapidly. A number of common educational practices in schools were problematised, including a tracking system that relegated language minority students to low ability groups early in their academic career and disproportionate placement of language minority children in special education classes based on their performance in English tests before they have a chance to learn English (Cummins 1986; Kessler & Quinn 1982; Lyons 1990).

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 stated a preference for using bilingual programs in the education of language minority students. Bilingual programs in general are based on the pedagogical premises that (a) students' acquisition of basic literacy skills and comprehension of academic content is easier if the instruction is provided in a language that is comprehensible to them, i.e., in their native language (Krashen 1982; UNESCO 1953); and (b) native language literacy and academic skills support acquisition of second language skills (Cummins 1981). While all school age children meet the difficult tasks of school (including learning to read, write, and understand complexities of maths and science) language minority students are doubly burdened to learn the curriculum and the language in which it is taught simultaneously (Wong-Fillmore 1981). Bilingual programs were endorsed as a promising instructional model to address language minority students' academic and linguistic needs--both their need to learn English as a second language and their need to learn content until gaining proficiency in English--and thereby equalise the shortcomings of educational opportunity in U.S. public schools. The ultimate goal of federally supported bilingual programs was defined narrowly as teaching language minority students English and preparing them for placement into English-only mainstream classrooms as quickly as possible. Native languages were used for instructional purposes temporarily. Once students were deemed ready to receive all instruction in English, native language instruction was discontinued. Though the explicit assimilationist orientation to language minority education observed between World War I and World War II was changing, maintenance and continued development of students' literacy and academic skills in the native language was not considered the school's responsibility.

The landmark Supreme Court decision in Lau v. Nichols (1974)[4] acknowledged that language minority students were failing in school because they could not follow instruction in English. In response to Chinese parents' complaint that in public schools their children were denied educational opportunities because of limited English proficiency, the court legally recognised that "there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education" in English-only mainstream classrooms. The court ruled that public schools must offer instructional assistance to language minority students for at least some period of time. The Supreme Court did not specify a program model that was optimal for language minority students. Schools had the option either to develop a program specifically designed for language minority students or supplement the mainstream program with English language support:

No specific remedy is urged upon us. Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak the language is one choice. Giving instructions to this group in Chinese is another. There may be others (Lau v Nichols 1974).

In the absence of a federally prescribed instructional model, many schools did not develop a special program tailored to the needs of language minority students but continued to instruct them in mainstream classrooms with the addition of some English as a Second Language (ESL) support, which involved pulling out language minority students from mainstream classes and providing special English instruction including drill and practice in grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation. A federal study conducted in 1978 revealed that one decade after the federal bilingual law was first passed two thirds of language minority students were not receiving any special service, less than a quarter were receiving some ESL support and less than 10% of language minority students were receiving some native language instruction (Lyons 1990).

Throughout the 1970s, the federal government increased funding for bilingual programs from preschool through 12th grade without prescribing the extent and nature of native language use in classrooms. Funding was also allocated for professional development of teachers, administrators, and school personnel, and development of assessment tools for language minority students. Bilingual programs were perceived

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[4] The Supreme Court decision in Lau v. Nichols was based upon Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

as part of a greater "War on Poverty" in which children in poverty were to be prioritised in terms of social services and educational measures (Lyons 1990). Despite the fact that the low-income requirement was dropped in revisions of the Bilingual Education Act, it remained "a popular notion that bilingual education is for the poor and disadvantaged" (Ruiz 1984:20).

Increased federal funds along with legislative and judicial support provided opportunities for bilingual program innovation and experimentation. Schools chose from among several bilingual program models, each different in design. One commonly used program model in the U.S., transitional bilingual programs, teaches language minority students in the native language for a few years while students are learning English. The program aims to transition language minority students into mainstream classes quickly. A second model, maintenance bilingual programs, is longer in duration. Aiming to develop academic skills in both native language and English, maintenance bilingual programs do not transition language minority students into mainstream classes until after the elementary school years. The third model, two-way bilingual programs, teaches native English-speaking and language minority students bilingually in integrated classes and aims for bilingualism for all students. Failure to clearly understand these varied program models and their differing methods of teaching English contributed to confusion among parents, school personnel, and the general public regarding the expected pace of language minority students' English development in bilingual programs.

Many difficulties impeded the successful implementation and the quality of bilingual programs. Some bilingual programs were housed in segregated, under-funded, and overcrowded inner-city public schools where school failure was the norm even for native English speakers[5] (Garcia & Stein 1997; National Center for Educational Statistics 1997). The academic and social integration of students in bilingual programs with the larger school community was a challenge, particularly when the school community viewed bilingual students as 'deficient', 'slow', and 'unwilling to learn English' and bilingual programs as a remedial service whose goals,

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[5] Based on a representative sample of schools throughout the U.S., a nationwide survey conducted in 1993-94 concluded that language minority students were most likely to attend large urban schools with a large percentage of minority students receiving free lunch, a marker of family income status (National Center of Educational Statistics 1997).

philosophy, and implementation were either unclear or objectionable (Berriz 2000; Lima 2000; Nieto 2000). Another problem was a shortage of well-trained bilingual teachers that resulted in placement of native or fluent speakers of a particular language into teaching positions even when they lacked sufficient professional preparation or bilingual teaching certification (Bartolomé 2000; Macias 1998; Maxwell-Jolly & Gándara 2002; Nieto 2000). A lack of bilingual curriculum materials and books was yet another challenge, especially for those languages that do not have a longstanding written literacy tradition (Farah 2000). In some cases, academic content and learning goals in mainstream and bilingual classrooms were different due to estranged relationships between mainstream and bilingual staff within schools and lack of coordination between mainstream administrators and bilingual education departments within school districts (Griego-Jones 1995; McLeod 1996). These challenges to the full and successful implementation of bilingual programs, variation in program quality, and the aforementioned confusion about the aims and methods of varied bilingual program models, contributed in time to the anti-bilingual language policies and the English-only movement that gained strength in the 1980s.

In summary, in the years following World War II, bilingual education was established as a legally protected right of language minority students in the U.S. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, and the landmark Supreme Court case of Lau v. Nichols in 1974 legally established that educating language minority students through a language that they do not comprehend is a violation of their civil rights. In essence, the federal bilingual law mandated that school districts take *some* type of affirmative educational measure to ensure equal educational opportunity for language minority students and stated a preference for bilingual instruction, but it did not define exactly what an optimal program should look like. No emphasis was placed on maintaining and developing students' native language skills throughout the school years. Rather, native language instruction was intended only as a temporary remedy so that language minority students did not fall behind in the learning of academic content while acquiring English proficiency. Despite some positive changes in public attitudes and the law, policy discussions fell short of defining bilingualism as enrichment for individual children and an asset for the larger society that should be nurtured in schools. In most cases, the "success" of a bilingual program was defined only by how fast language minority students developed English proficiency and exited the program. The many enrichment aspects and long-term benefits of bilingual programs, including full proficiency in more than one language,

enhanced cognitive development, stronger community and school connections, and positive cross-cultural attitudes were ignored (Beykont 1994; Berriz 2000; Brisk 2000; Collier 1992; Cummins 1981; Cunningham 1995; Diaz et al 1992; Garcia 1989; Hakuta 1986; Holm & Holm 1990; Ingram 1995; Moll et al 1992; Moll & Greenberg 1990; Willig 1985; Wong-Fillmore & Valadez 1985). In school contexts that defined bilingual programs as remedial and bilingualism as a sign of inferior linguistic, academic, and intellectual abilities, many language minority students continued to replace their native languages with English quickly.

Nevertheless, the period after World War II witnessed rich program innovation and experimentation. Teachers, schools, and communities in isolated pockets developed innovative and successful bilingual programs that supported native languages, English proficiency, and academic success of language minority students from varied backgrounds (see for case studies, Beykont 2000; Cummins 1989; Holm & Holm 1990; McLeod 1994, 1996). A growing knowledge base was beginning to shed light on the complex pedagogical and political question of language minority education in the U.S. There was hope that the lessons learned from successful program development efforts would lead to further expansion and program improvements in the education of language minority students; yet conservative political winds were beginning to blow across the American landscape.

2.3   U.S. School Language Policies between 1980 and Today

Public and policy support for bilingual education has declined precipitously in the U.S. since the 1980s, a period marked by massive immigration from Asian, Central American, South American, African, and Middle Eastern countries and a revival of strong patriotic and nationalistic attitudes and anti-immigrant sentiments (Crawford 1992a). Demographic changes are particularly apparent in public schools (Garcia & Steinberg 1997; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco 2001). Classrooms are filled with students representing varied cultural, ethnic, and national origins. United States Census 2000 results confirmed the increasing linguistic diversity, particularly among school age populations. About one in every five students throughout the nation comes from a home in which a language other than English is spoken (Crawford 2001a; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco 2001). Language minority students join schools at different points with varied educational and linguistic strengths and needs (Garcia & Stein, 1997). It is estimated that, by 2030, White native-English speakers will constitute less than half of the student population

(Macias 2000). Demographic projections that in the near future no ethnic group will be in numerical majority have prompted concerns about the status of English as the dominant U.S. language and monolingualism in English as the norm.

Conservative forces have coalesced in the English-only movement, which seeks to have English adopted as the official language of the U.S. and to curtail the use of other languages in government and public services, including schools (Beykont 2000; Crawford 1992a, 1992b, 1995, 2001b). Leaders of the movement argue that bilingual services and schooling are communicating the wrong message--that is, that people can survive without English language skills. In order to give immigrants the incentive to learn English quickly, the movement urges that the use of other languages in government and education be banned. Emphasising the politically divisive potential of a growing number of languages in U.S. society, the supposed cost-efficiency and practical advantages of teaching through one language in a multilingual country, and the so-called economic and political benefits of universal proficiency in English, the leaders of the movement argue that public funds should not be spent on bilingual programs.

Some people support the English-only movement because they are afraid of losing the power and privilege that White, middle class speakers of Standard English have enjoyed in the U.S. There is a fear of being outnumbered by immigrants--immigrants of varied colors, with varied languages, religions, and traditions that are different from those of European Americans (Beykont 1997c, 2000; Crawford 1992a, 1992b; Macedo 1994, 2000). There is a fear that the new immigrants may resist assimilating into the American 'mainstream.' Refusing to adopt Anglo-Saxon values, increasingly large and politically powerful immigrant communities may require that public schools provide equal recognition and reinforcement of their diverse languages and cultures. Furthermore, there is a fear that immigrants might take jobs away from native English speakers (Crawford 1992a, 1992b). Leaders of the English-only movement have seized upon all these fears and prompted attacks on immigrant rights, such as bilingual services in schools, health care, and the courts (Beykont 2000). In short, support for the English-only movement can be understood as a nationalistic response to rapid demographic changes brought about by another wave of immigration, this time largely from non-European countries. Anti-immigrant sentiments have been translated into attacks on bilingual programs and other immigrant services.

Viewed more broadly, the English-only movement found strong public support in the generally conservative political context of 1980s and 1990s when many gains of the civil rights movement were undermined (Macedo 2000; Orfield 1999). Attacks on bilingual education are closely linked to broader attacks on the civil rights gains of all people of colour in the U.S. (Macedo 1994, 2000). Indeed, many of the same people and organisations that are attacking bilingual programs and language services in courts, healthcare, government and business sectors are also attacking other civil rights gains such as affirmative action on college campuses and in the workplace.

Other Americans support English-only policies in schools because they are ignorant about the learning challenges faced by language minority students (Beykont 1994, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c; Crawford 2004; Cummins 1986, 1989; McLaughlin 1985; Snow 1990; Wong-Fillmore 1981; Wong-Fillmore & Valadez 1986). Due to geographic isolation from the rest of the world and the status of English as an international language of communication, the U.S. population has remained largely uninterested in learning a second language[6]. Most people either do not have any experience learning a second language or recall frustrating experiences due to the generally poor quality of foreign language education in public schools. Furthermore, there is a general lack of understanding of how bilingual programs work, why native language instruction promotes English skills, and what are the instructional methods and goals of varied program models. In the absence of personal reference and knowledge, the public readily buys into English-only slogans and scientifically discre-dited theories about child bilingualism that grossly underestimate the time it takes for language minority students to develop the level of English proficiency that they need in order to succeed in mainstream classes with no native language support (McLaughlin 1985; Snow 1990).

The English-only movement has been particularly successful at the state level. In the past two decades, 23 states have adopted English as the official language and/or curtailed use of other languages in government and public services, including schools. Most recently, California (1998), Arizona (2000), and Massachusetts (2002) voted in favor of the "English

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[6]   There are some exceptions to this pattern including a small group of elites who are motivated to cultivate their children's bilingualism in private schools so that they can find jobs in international business, diplomacy, and some language minority parents who are motivated to teach their heritage language to children in community-based programs.

for the Children Initiative" that bans most forms of bilingual education (with the exception of two-way bilingual programs) and requires that English be used as the only language of instruction in public schools. The new draconian anti-bilingual education law in Massachusetts, the first state to introduce a bilingual education law in 1971, severely limits school services for language minority students to a one-year structured immersion program that includes English as a Second Language (reading, writing, speaking and grammar) and content-based English instruction. The law stipulates that language minority students be placed in a separate English language classroom for a period of time not exceeding one year. All instructional materials and books are in English. Teachers are proficient in English but not necessarily in students' native languages. While mixing students of different ages, language groups, and grade levels for English instruction is allowed, using students' native languages to teach content matter is strictly prohibited. In fact, under this initiative, parents can sue teachers who use any language other than English in the classroom. The Massachusetts law permits few exceptions. Parents can submit written requests for a waiver if their child already knows English, has special physical and psychological needs, or is a teenager and therefore needs an alternative program. An alternative program maybe opened if twenty parents make the request, but the school administration can refuse to approve waivers without offering any explanation and will not face any legal ramifications. The restrictive English-only laws in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts have set a strong negative precedent for similar initiatives to be introduced in other states. The net impact of these English-only policies is that they exert pressure on schools and teachers to rush language minority students into mainstream classrooms before they have a chance to develop English proficiency or grade-level competencies.

At the federal level, the vision of bilingual education has become increasingly remedial in focus, shortsighted in goals, and transitional in nature since the 1980s. In policy discussions and much of the public debate, bilingual programs have been narrowly defined as a temporary special service for students who have a problem, defined as limited English skills, that needs to be fixed. Policy discussions have focused on whether bilingual programs were fixing the problem 'efficiently', i.e. quickly enough. Under Reagan and the first Bush administration, federal policy supported a shift of responsibility for determining appropriate programs for language minority students from the federal government to states and local school districts and broadened the definition of permissible services for language minority students. An increasing portion of

federal funds that previously had been allocated to bilingual program development efforts was released for special programs including English-only programs. While the Clinton administration was more supportive of bilingual programs and spoke of students' native language skills as an asset to be nurtured in bilingual programs[7], the negative public impressions of bilingual programs did not change. Finally, the current Bush administration replaced the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 with the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act of 2002. Aiming to prepare limited English students for rapid placement into mainstream classrooms, the new federal law claims to emphasise flexibility and accountability: States and local school districts will be able to use federal money to implement a program that they believe is effective for teaching English and will be accountable for demonstrating limited English proficient students' yearly progress on standardised tests[8] (Beykont 2002; Menken & Holmes 2000; Rice & Walsh 1996). Changes in the official names of government programs also illustrate the shift toward exclusive emphasis on English: The Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) was renamed as the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students (OELA) and the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE) was renamed as the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (NCELA).

In concert with the narrowing policy focus, large-scale evaluation studies beginning in the 1980s have judged the effectiveness of bilingual programs by how quickly students developed English skills and were placed into mainstream classrooms (see for reviews, Beykont 1994; Cziko 1992; Meyer & Feinberg 1992). In search of a magic formula--one "best" program model--many evaluation studies asked such shortsighted questions as "What is the most effective program to teach English to language minority students?" or "Are bilingual programs as effective as English-only programs in teaching English to language minority students?" Typically, children's English achievement was assessed once or twice within the first few years of bilingual programs--too early to

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[7]   See, for example, the last version of the Bilingual Law (1994), which calls for schools to develop native language skills in addition to English skills as much as possible.

[8]   Accountability for student progress is reinforced by sanctions and rewards. Students face sanctions in that low test scores result in grade retention and denial of a high school diploma. Schools face monetary sanctions and possible closure if student performance goals are not met and if low-achieving students fail to show measurable progress.

detect the benefits of bilingual instruction and without sufficient time for children to develop a strong foundation in the native language and learn English (Kessler & Quinn 1982). Children's later academic progress and performance throughout the academically and linguistically demanding upper elementary grades and in native language classes were not considered as measures of program effectiveness (Beykont 1994). Not surprisingly, large-scale evaluation studies were unable to identify "one best program" that would respond to the needs of widely diverse student groups and were inconclusive regarding "the most effective program" in teaching English because they compared the short-term success of language minority students in programs that have varying goals and different approaches to attaining those goals (Beykont 1994, 1997c, 2000).

Another problem with large-scale evaluation studies was that they compared language minority students' school performance across bilingual programs without examining how the programs were implemented (Beykont 1994; Ramirez et al 1991a, 1991b). Consequently, they failed to distinguish the academic performance of students in well-implemented programs from the performance of students in poorly implemented programs. Based on these studies, it was not clear that bilingual programs were fixing the so-called English problem of language minority students quickly enough. The inconclusive results of large-scale evaluation studies have fuelled English-only arguments and public concern about the efficacy of bilingual programs.

Lost in the attention given to flawed large-scale studies was the reality that many well-designed bilingual programs have been successful when they are implemented consistently across grade levels by well-trained teachers with the support of school administrators and the larger school community and a focus on providing an academically challenging curriculum (Beykont 1994, 1997a, 1997c, 2000; Brisk 2000; McLeod 1996; Ramirez, et al 1991a, 1991b). In these programs students receive the necessary academic, linguistic, and emotional support, stay in school, develop grade-level academic competencies and English skills, and graduate with a positive sense of themselves, their home culture, and their native language (Berriz 2000; Beykont 1994; Brisk 2000; Farah 2000; Kwong 2000). Poorly implemented bilingual programs are bilingual only in name, with little consistency across grade levels, a substandard curriculum, teachers who are not bilingual, and an administration and a school community not supportive of native language instruction (Porter 1990; Ramirez 1991a, 1991b). Language minority students and their

teachers are ostracised and segregated from the larger school community and students are rushed into mainstream classrooms before having an opportunity to develop a strong foundation in their native language and in English, and subsequently fall behind academically and fail to achieve the high levels of academic success of which they are capable (Porter 1990; Ramirez 1991a, 1991b). Undoubtedly, the variation in program quality and lack of researcher attention to program implementation contributed to the inconclusive results of evaluation studies and has left bilingual programs open to criticism.

Operating under a different research paradigm, case studies of successful bilingual programs, longitudinal studies of the first and second language academic and literacy development of language minority students in well-implemented programs, ethnographic studies of instructional practices in exemplary bilingual classrooms, and teacher research in bilingual classrooms have begun to shed light on the complex policy and political question of language minority education in the U.S. (Berriz 2000; Beykont 1994, 2000; Beykont & Johnson-Beykont, in prep; Brisk 2000; Diaz et al 1992; Farah 2000; Garcia et al., 1989; Kwong, 2000; Laosa, 2000; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; McLeod, 1996; Moll et al., 1992; Moll & Greenberg 1990; Walsh 1991). These studies have recognised that language minority students vary in the type of educational supports that they need depending on background factors (such as age of arrival, English skills, native language skills, academic and immigration history, family education) and have focused on what works with which student population under what conditions. This line of research has brought new insight on the best ways to address strengths and weaknesses of specific groups of students in specific contexts. Furthermore, it has offered research-based guidance on what more can be done to improve bilingual education in the U.S. In fact, a great opportunity exists to develop high quality bilingual programs throughout the country by building upon the many insights and useful lessons learned from program experimentation, case studies, and longitudinal research conducted in the past few decades.

3   Concluding Remarks

The United States has come full circle in its treatment of language minority students in schools. The types of extreme educational measures recently adopted in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts are reminiscent of the monolingual school language policies that followed World War I. Just as in the early part of the 20th century, the "mainstream" has started

to fear that new immigrants may not adopt English and Anglo-American values. Consequently, schools are being used as a vehicle to impose English on children and to strip away native languages and cultural identities. Children then and now attend English-only schools and quickly replace their native language with English. In fact, census data and qualitative studies reveal that language minorities today assimilate linguistically into U.S. society faster than ever before (Fishman 1991; Veltman 2000; Wong-Fillmore 1991). Test results from California have shown that since the state has adopted the English-only law in 1998, the achievement gap between native English-speaking students and language minority students has widened (Maxwell-Jolly & Gándara 2002).

Many questions remain. What will be the costs of rapid language erosion in the U.S.? What are the effects on an individual child who loses ties to his/her family, culture and cultural knowledge? What is lost when a child is cut off from the intellectual resources and emotional support of his/her community? What is the cost to a society that wastes valuable national language resources based on unfounded fears? What will become of increasing numbers of students who do not succeed academically and leave school without even a high school diploma?

Of course, the United States does not stand alone in addressing these questions at the intersection of an individual's right to quality education, a community's cultural and linguistic rights, and a nation's desire for unity. Current U.S. language policies place the interests of native English speakers and conservative nationalistic political movements above the interests of many other citizens--ethnic, linguistic, and racial minorities in particular. The ethic of equal opportunity through access to educational excellence is sacrificed in the mistaken belief that language minority groups' maintenance of native languages undermines national cohesion and threatens the existing cultural and linguistic hierarchy. The long-term effects of these policies including language loss, the disintegration of cultural identities and communities, and generations of language minority students who fail and drop out from schools will be tallied in the years to come. We may well see that the greatest threat to a nation's social cohesion in the 21st century is a population split between those privileged to receive a quality education and its benefits and those destined to remain on the margins of the society due to failed school language policies.

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Looking Back – Looking Forward[1]

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1   Introduction

It was a particular pleasure for me to be invited to give the Keith Horwood Memorial Lecture at this conference. Keith was the General Secretary of AFMLTA when, in the early 1970s, I attended my first of many AFMLTA meetings. Indeed, Keith, who had been involved in the AFMLTA from its outset, was the AFMLTA at that time.

In this paper, I wish to look back over some 43 years of involvement in language teaching to see where we have come as a profession, to consider our present situation with a Federal Government, which, at least until this year, has seemed antipathetic to LOTE education and State and Territory Governments which, for the most part, have been all too willing to use that lack of Federal leadership to excuse their own relative inaction. The result has been that language education has decayed almost to where it was two decades ago and we are faced with what a concerned high school principal recently described to me as a national crisis in language teaching. Community attitudes have been further aggravated by the feverish eagerness with which some politicians over the last six years have grasped at racism, whether towards Aboriginals, Asians or refugees, to win electoral favour. I also wish to consider what the future might hold for language education and how we, as the language teaching profession, might respond to the present challenges and re-direct the future.

I wish to do this in two ways: first, arrogating to myself the questionable privileges of one's retirement year, I wish to narrate a little about my own career which, I am presumptuous enough to suggest, reflects, in part, the career of the Australian language teaching profession and especially the

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MLTAQ and AFMLTA over some three to four decades. This narration will, I believe, mark the progress of language teaching from an esoteric and, frankly, amateurish or, at best, dilettante activity to a highly educated profession responding to a variety of cultural and practical needs in Australian society. That period reflects, I believe, the professionalisation of language teaching, not least as its own basic discipline of applied linguistics has emerged and evolved. Secondly, I wish to take up some of the critical issues that we must confront if language teaching is to be restored to its right place in the society and in education.

2 Looking Back

I grew up in the atmosphere of education in Queensland and have lived my life through its many changes. My father was a Primary School Head Teacher in the days when the Head Teacher lived in the "Schoolhouse" in a corner of the school grounds. Growing up in such an environment, it was inevitable that, like four of my five siblings, I became a teacher – one couldn't conceive of being anything else. Finishing high school, I automatically went on to the then Queensland Teachers' College at Kelvin Grove to train as a primary school teacher. In those days, the teacher training program (hardly teacher education) was one year long, included some wholly irrelevant psychology and theory of education, a review of the various areas of the primary school curriculum, weekly teaching practice, and regular lectures on the Queensland Department of Public Instruction regulations, including such enlightening topics as how to write a letter to one's Departmental superiors. I don't recall in what grovelling manner the letters were to start but I remember the least offensive of the required endings, which went something like, "I am, Sir, your loyal and obedient servant, ..."

Needless to say, such training left a high school graduate at the age of 17 totally unprepared to start teaching and quite unable to conceptualise the goals, methods, and content of teaching, let alone how to control, never to encourage, Primary School classes that rarely had fewer than 50 children in them. Over the next three years, I "taught" Years 2, 4 and 7 in a primary school until, around 1960, the Queensland school system was amended to reduce the primary school to seven years and add a Year 8 to high school. The result was a considerable shift of children from primary to secondary schools and the Education Department canvassed amongst primary school teachers to re-train for high schools. Consequently, in 1960, I spent about three months back at Kelvin Grove to "re-train" as a

high school teacher, supposedly learning how to teach adolescents but, at most, revising the curriculum in my three teaching subjects of French, English and Geography. I was fortunate to have as my French lecturer, Don Munro, one of the great figures of Queensland language teaching and University administration who impressed me with his logical presentation of French grammar. He may well have presented progressive methodology as well but my knowledge and understanding of the factors that determine how one learns and desirably teaches a language were non-existent: at the best, language teaching methodology remained for me a few asserted precepts and not the rationally determined activity that applied linguistics now reveals it can be.

Such training was typical of most teachers in the middle of the 20th Century but was not the only training that teachers were expected to have. Any teacher with a commitment to the profession or any ambition was also expected to undertake part-time degree studies and so, from 1958 to 1965, I studied part-time, attended evening lectures, and studied externally (i.e. in "distance mode") for my B.A. degree and a Certificate in Education (A.Ed.). Later in my career, when students have complained to me about having to work all day and study at night, it has given me some satisfaction to be able to say that, except for two graduate years, all my university studies from A.Ed. to Ph.D. were part-time through evening lectures or in distance mode while teaching, taking the mandatory sport for at least two or three afternoons a week after school, and being active in my professional organisations. Though it seems arduous obtaining one's qualifications that way, I never regretted it but often wondered how people who were not teaching during the day retained what they were studying or understood its practical significance.

By 1967, I had gravitated to being a Subject Master (Head of Department) and it was at the start of that experience that, for the first time, language teaching started to appear to me to be a rational activity. That, however, came through several coincidences and had nothing to do with the training available at any Australian teacher training institution. My twin brother, John, who had had precisely the same training as I had had went as an Australian Volunteer Abroad to teach English as a Second Language in a Malaysian secondary school. For the first time, he encountered what was then a modern approach to language teaching, an audiolingual syllabus based on structuralist linguistics and behaviourist psychology. He set out to find out as much as he could about the approach and, at the end of his first year in Malaysia, was contracted by the United States Peace Corps to train their next intake of Peace Corps volunteers. I spent

the 1966-67 Christmas holidays in Malaysia with John and, for a couple of weeks, sat in on the seminar he ran for the Peace Corps. For the first time, I started to get an understanding of language teaching and how methodology and syllabuses could be rationally developed from an understanding of the nature of language and language learning.

The second coincidence came in 1967, when, at the height of the Vietnam War, I applied for and was appointed to a Colombo Plan position to run an English language centre for senior government officials in Saigon. Before departure, I was required to take a three week training course at the Commonwealth Office of Education in Sydney and a nearby English language school for foreign students. The program was run by Neale Osman and Don Sutherland, the creators of the Australian Situational Method and the authors of the ESL textbooks known initially as *English for Newcomers to Australia* (later published as *Situational English*). Like audiolingualism, the Australian Situational Method was based on a structuralist view of language and a behaviourist view of language learning but its great advantage was its strong focus on meaning and on presenting the language in wholly meaningful chunks with the meaning clarified through "situations" created in the classroom using strictly controlled language, pictures, drawings, gestures, and actual situations. Three days before I was due to leave Sydney for Vietnam, the 1968 Tet Offensive occurred, the Australian Government withdrew all civilians, and I was offered a position teaching ESL in Cambodia. For almost half the time I spent there, the schools were closed, I taught many private classes in ESL and French for which I devised the syllabuses, but I also had a great deal of time to read in applied linguistics. This both increased my understanding of language teaching methodology and whetted my appetite for applied linguistics and so, on my return to Australia, I set out to do further studies in that area. None were available in Australia and so I did the M.A. in applied linguistics at the University of Essex in England. Three years later, when I wanted to do a Ph.D., again there were no suitable opportunities in applied linguistics at that level in Australia and so I returned to Essex for the first year of my Ph.D.. Obviously the years since then have brought a huge development in applied linguistics in Australia with most universities now offering appropriate training, many to the Ph.D. level, with the first Chair in applied linguistics in Australia being advertised by Griffith University in late 1989, the chair that I have held since then.

On my return from Essex with my Masters degree, I was transferred in 1972 to what was then Mt Gravatt Teachers College and, about the same

time, became MLTAQ Secretary. Around the same time, I was also appointed to what was then called the Foreign Languages Advisory Committee of the Queensland Board of Secondary School Studies. Rather presumptuously, I recall thinking at the time that, if I was going to stay in this field, it was necessary to do something about the quality and status of language teaching in Australia and so I adopted a multi-pronged strategy both for my own activities and for the professional association. This multi-pronged strategy was aimed at:

- language teachers (through the MLTAs, the teacher education programs at Mt Gravatt, and further afield through my own writings)
- language students (through the curriculum)
- the general public (through press and media releases and various public events), and
- the education decision-makers, in particular, education administrators at the school and system levels and the politicians (through submissions and personal representation).

The purpose of the strategy was to make all involved, not least the education decision-makers and the general public, aware of the value of language learning and, eventually, to persuade them that it should be regarded as a vital component of the education of all children. The strategy also aimed to raise the quality of language teaching and learning through improved curricula and pre-service and in-service teacher education that gave teachers both a commitment to language teaching and a rational understanding of how to determine their activities: it sought to foster an understanding of what determines language teaching methodology and curricula, to develop practical skills in language teaching, and to inculcate the consciousness of belonging to an internationally respected profession making a vital contribution to society. A great deal of my own subsequent activity and the things that MLTAQ and AFMLTA undertook were aimed at these goals.

One means by which to address several of these issues was seen in 1973 when MLTAQ mounted the first ever State Conference of language teachers in Queensland. One reason for the conference was to show language teachers that, like other professions and community organisations, language teachers could stage a State conference in a lavish venue and could attract the press and media to it. The latter also served one of the other goals, viz. to start to educate the general public about language teaching. The conference was a success and, at the AFMLTA general

assembly shortly afterwards, the MLTAQ delegates succeeded, against cynical opposition, in persuading the meeting that it was appropriate to try to hold a national conference; consequently, MLTAQ organised the first AFMLTA National Languages Conference in Brisbane in 1976.

One of the strategies at this time was also to demonstrate that language learning was not just an esoteric field relevant only to "arty" dilettantes and so, at every opportunity, we sought to have statements in the press and media, both in Queensland and nationally, that argued the value and social relevance of language learning. Indeed, through this period, the aim was to have at least one item in the press or media each fortnight but generally we averaged an item a week. At the same time, MLTAQ mounted many public events that both attracted the general public (as with the dinners we held in the Greek Club and elsewhere) and gave us an opportunity to speak or have an eminent guest speak briefly on relevant issues (e.g. the value of language learning or the nature and worth of multiculturalism and the relevance of language learning to it). There were also other activities undertaken to demonstrate the relevance of languages and language learning to society and across human life generally. So, for instance, at one of the State conferences, an ecumenical church service was held both to show the relevance of languages to Christian faith and to make the point about languages to a different cross-section of society. On another occasion, I volunteered for Music Lovers' Choice, an ABC program of classical music on a Saturday morning, and filled it with music from different cultures, preaching the language teachers' words in between the music. Similarly but more arduously during the years of Queensland's far right Bjelke-Petersen government but to practically demonstrate the relevance of language teaching to fostering positive inter-cultural relationships, I convened the Queensland Consultative Committee on Community Relations, one of a number of such committees established around Australia by the Commissioner for Community Relations to intervene when acts of racial discrimination occurred. To try to influence the decision-makers, numerous submissions or copies of relevant papers were also sent to as many education administrators and politicians as possible. This was a period of frenzied but, I believe, successful activity, whose success was owed to the wholehearted involvement of the growing number of Queensland teachers who made up MLTAQ at that time.

An important development in the area of curriculum and assessment occurred in the late 1970s in Queensland, developments that, in fact, put Queensland ahead of the rest of the world in the application of the

emerging issue of proficiency to school language programs. During the 1970s, in the context of syllabus development and school-based assessment under the then Queensland Board of Secondary School Studies, there was a focus on competency, which, translated into language terms, meant a focus on the practical ability of students or their "proficiency". About the same time and for purposes related to my Ph.D., I sought to establish the skills that secondary school LOTE students took into university language programmes in Britain and Australia. It was evident that the approaches to matriculation examinations and reporting in both countries left one unable to say exactly what skills students had after five or six years of secondary school language study and it was evident that a different approach to measuring and stating those skills was necessary. Shortly after completing my Ph.D., I was asked to act as an adviser to the Adult Migrant Education Program for the development of new ESL programs and, again, the need rapidly became evident for an approach to specifying and measuring language skills that would focus on practical ability and be readily interpretable for course design purposes, to stream learners into classes according to their proficiency levels, to specify the skills they had when they left the programme to go into the community, and to meet national reporting requirements. Responding to all these needs (LOTE syllabus design and assessment in Queensland, applied linguistic research, and the needs of the migrant ESL program), I set out to develop the first comprehensive proficiency rating scale, now known as the *International Second Language Proficiency Ratings* (ISLPR) (Ingram and Wylie 1979/1999). Elaine Wylie later joined this project and has, of course, made at least an equal contribution to its development and maintenance ever since. The ISLPR and the implications of proficiency for language teaching contributed over subsequent years to the thinking on Queensland language syllabuses and, by the late 1970s-early '80s and several years ahead of much of the rest of the world, the Queensland LOTE syllabuses started to focus around the concept of language proficiency, its development, and its measurement through direct approaches to proficiency assessment. The factor in Queensland that made it possible to adopt such progressive approaches to curriculum design and assessment was the school-based assessment with its accompanying moderation infrastructure which, by the early '80s, had been firmly in place for about a decade.

Nevertheless, despite all this activity and despite the nationwide progress being made in the concept of multiculturalism, by the end of the 1970s, language enrolments had continued to decline. Community attitudes were reasonably favourable and decision-makers seemed to be starting to

take notice but the slide in enrolments continued and it became evident that nothing would be achieved unless we could persuade the decision-makers that we needed a systematic policy on languages. Consequently, through MLTAQ and AFMLTA, we engaged in persistent lobbying with the eventual aim of having a national language policy developed and adopted in Australia. At the same time, it was evident that there was need for an organisation to provide on-going support for and advice on a national policy and so there was need for a national language policy advisory centre of some sort. The initial step in both of these endeavours was to prepare formal papers and submissions arguing, in one, for a national policy on languages and, in the other, for a national language information and research centre. These papers were presented to MLTAQ and AFMLTA in 1978 (Ingram 1978, 1978a). The date is important because, in more recent years, several writers about language policy in Australia have chosen to ignore the preceding years and write as though the lobbying for a national policy was initiated by the group that called itself PlanLangPol which first came together to prepare a submission to the Senate Inquiry that commenced in 1982. In fact, initially there was vehement opposition in AFMLTA to the proposal to lobby for a national language policy and a national centre, the view being put that Australia was too antagonistic to language education for such a proposal ever to be contemplated. Indeed, the very title of the language centre proposal, the **N**ational **L**anguage **I**nformation and **R**esearch **C**entre, which, as an acronym, becomes the National LIRC (lurk), was a derogatory attempt on the part of one of the AFMLTA Executive who later was a PLANLangPol member to belittle the proposal. Despite all of this, the MLTAQ and AFMLTA as a whole were strongly supportive, numerous submissions were prepared, public statements were made, and strong support grew across the community, especially amongst the ethnic communities which also were lobbying for a national policy. The outcome was that, in 1982, the Senate referred the matter of a national policy on languages to its Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, a lengthy Inquiry ensued, and eventually the Standing Committee's report was tabled in the Senate in 1984 (SSCEA 1984). The first national policy was adopted in 1987 (Lo Bianco 1987), the Australian Language and Literacy Policy in 1991 (DEET 1991, 1991a), and the National Asian Languages/Studies Strategy for Australian Schools in 1994 (COAG 1994). In addition, in the course of the 1990s, LOTE was designated one of the key learning areas in the curriculum and was effectively made compulsory for some years in every child's education.

It is significant, also, that, though it took some five years from the Senate reference to the adoption of the first national policy, both the activities of the MLTAs and AFMLTA and the procedure adopted by the Senate in calling for public meetings and submissions meant that there was much community debate on a national policy and on language education through the 1980s. As a result, not only did strong public support emerge for language education and the development of a national policy but, even before the Federal Government had adopted a policy, most States and Territories had moved to develop their own. In addition, following the adoption of the 1991 policy (the ALLP), for the first time, a structure was put in place to monitor language policy and recommend action to the Federal Education Minister. This took the form of the Australian Language and Literacy Council but, at about the same time, the Association's persistent lobbying since 1978 also paid off with the creation of the National Language and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA), principally to undertake research and provide expert advice on language policy issues. Though the NLLIA had a somewhat turbulent history, it is significant that many of the problems it encountered arose partly as a consequence of its departing from the more focussed structure and purpose proposed in AFMLTA's original submission (see Ingram 1978 and 2001, Chapters 1 & 8).

Clearly, the period from 1978 to 1996 was one of great progress and excitement for language teaching and language policy in general and Australia came to be regarded worldwide as leading the English-speaking world in systematic language policy development and implementation. It is wholly to be deplored that the years since 1996 have seen that progress stagnate and reverse. In 1996 and subsequent years, the Australian Language and Literacy Council was abolished, funding was greatly reduced soon after to the National Language and Literacy Institute of Australia effectively, if not formally, abolishing it, overall support for the LOTE program in schools was reduced, and, in 2002, funding for the National Asian Languages/Studies Strategy for Australian Schools ceased prematurely. It is little wonder that, at the State level, the momentum that had been generated towards improved language education policy and practice declined drastically, and there is every indication that, at the school level, LOTE teaching has fallen back into a state of decline with reducing enrolments, with no significant improvement in LOTE teacher quality and supply, and with schools moving away from comprehensive language teaching because of the practical impossibility of doing otherwise with limited resources and too few qualified and proficient teachers.

However, possibly signs are emerging of renewed interest in language policy at the Federal level. The Federal Government commissioned the Review of the Commonwealth LOTE in schools Program in late 2002, its report was released in June 2003 at the time this paper was being written (Erebus Consulting Partners: 2002), and there were welcome, if long overdue, initiatives announced in the May 2003 Federal Budget. The Budget papers refer to the value of languages "to Australia's economic growth in a competitive global environment" and offer several useful initiatives, one of which is to make funding available for a new National Centre for Language Training, for which the accompanying justification states:

There is a strong need for Australian exporters, professionals, teachers and tourist industry workers to quickly acquire specialist language and business culture training... .

The funding for this initiative will assist the successful tenderer to develop and offer customised intensive immersion training in a range of key languages, culture and cross-cultural skills necessary for Australia to engage with other countries in business, trade and other exchanges.

The immersion training will significantly reduce the time required to attain language and business cultural competence, making the Centre attractive to businesses and professional firms, teachers, government departments, and graduates seeking to boost their employability. (http://aei.dest.gov.au/budget/default.htm)

The Budget also announced a substantial allocation of funding to support language education at all levels of schooling, including ethnic schools, and a new scholarship scheme, the Endeavour Program, which, amongst other things, will offer language teachers an "immersion experience in the language, country and culture about which they are teaching". A related scheme will provide loans to assist Australian university students to study overseas (see http://www.dest.gov.au for more information on all these initiatives). While these are laudable initiatives, it is regrettable that they are not being taken within the context of a comprehensive language or language education policy since the history of similar developments through the 1970s and early '80s is that they tend to be transient in their effectiveness and are ultimately ineffective. One can only hope that these announcements signal a new willingness on the part of the Federal Government to provide leadership in language policy development (see http://aei.dest.gov.au/budget/default.htm) and, if notice is taken of the

LOTE in Schools review referred to earlier, indeed this might occur. The first two "general recommendations" in the report of the Review are:

1   *A new National Policy or Statement on Languages Education [should] be developed through MCEETYA. The policy should address the purposes, nature, value and expected outcomes of languages learning ...*
2   *The new National Policy should take account of contemporary and future efforts to reconceptualise curricula to reflect, among other things, realistic levels of language learning, and adopt new forms of pedagogy including, most importantly, the effective use of information and communication technologies. (Erebus Consulting Partners 2002:195)*

Three other important developments of the mid-1980s warrant mention here. First, an important initiative of the AFMLTA through the 1980s was to stress the economic relevance of language skills and hence of language education. As already mentioned, one aspect of the strategy referred to earlier was to continually argue the relevance of languages and language education to everyday life, not least to business and industry. One of the first papers on this topic was presented at the 6th National Languages Conference in Adelaide in 1986 (Ingram 1986, also 1987; for later writings, see Ingram, in preparation, 1991; ALLC 1994; Stanley et al 1990). Today it rings strange that such an issue had to be argued but, in fact, the dominant arguments for languages during the 1970s and early 80s related to the multicultural reasons for a strong language teaching system and even the first national inquiry into the teaching of Asian languages and cultures in the late 1960s made scant reference to the economic values of language skills (see Commonwealth Advisory Committee 1970). The 1986 paper generated considerable discussion and, once again, vehement opposition from those who either did not want to see the previous focus on language education as a dilettante subject to be eroded or were sceptical about the society's readiness to see economic value in language skills. In any case, the sceptics were far outnumbered by the others, the 1987 national policy made some reference to economic issues despite its overwhelming focus on multicultural issues (Lo Bianco 1987) and, by the 1991 policy, economic issues became dominant (perhaps even too dominant) (DEET 1991, 1991a). This trend was extended in the 1994 National Asian Languages Strategy (COAG 1994) and in many trade reports of the 1990s (e.g. Ingleson 1989, Garnaut 1989; see also a summary of some in ALLC 1994). It is a reasonable argument that, for much of the 1990s, there was an imbalance towards economic reasons for language teaching but, nevertheless, in a society dominated by economic concerns, it is both socially desirable and politically expedient for language teachers not to

lose sight of the economic value of language teaching and to continually emphasise it in their statements even while trying to ensure that the other social, cultural, educational and intellectual values receive due attention. It is significant that, despite the present Federal government's negativity towards language policy since 1996, one of the first positive decisions they have taken is to establish a national language centre specifically to address the needs of business and industry. This clear indication of interest provides an opportunity that language teachers should seize to promote their cause in a wider context.

The second additional and highly significant development of the mid-1980s is less immediately relevant to the MLTAs and AFMLTA but warrants mention because of what it has done to professionalise language teaching, increase training opportunities in applied linguistics, and so raise the overall standard of Australian language teaching. It has also dramatically increased employment opportunities for language teachers and the public consciousness of the contributions of language teaching to society. In the mid-1980s, student visa regulations for overseas students were amended to facilitate the entry of full-fee paying overseas students to universities and other educational institutions. Since many overseas students require additional English before studying in Australia, the ESL teaching industry took off and continues to expand rapidly. Consequently, demand for trained language teachers able to teach ESL has escalated, there is a continual shortage of well qualified ESL teachers, universities and other training institutions have responded with additional courses at both undergraduate and graduate levels, and competition for secure employment in the area has led to a significant and highly desirable "qualifications creep" so that now the basic qualification for an ESL teacher wishing to gain continuing employment in a University or in a good quality private ESL centre is a Masters degree in applied linguistics. Even though this initiative relates to ESL and not to LOTE, it has led to more and better training opportunities for all language teachers and a context within which research and innovation in language teaching is also able to take place. These developments have also brought a higher profile for language teaching as a valued profession and one on which one of Australia's principal export industries (viz. education) is utterly dependent. ESL teaching has, in fact, become a major national industry, one on which the very existence of Australian universities now also depends since, because the Federal government has dramatically reduced its funding to universities, they are now highly dependent on overseas student fees to be able to provide education to Australians and, without the students that the ESL industry bridges into Australian universities, the

present serious funding shortfall for our universities would be cataclysmic. In fact, the contribution of language teaching to Australian society in the form of ESL teaching pre-dates the overseas student programme since ESL teaching in the adult and child migrant program has played a vital role in Australia's immigration program since the Second World War in facilitating the creation of a harmonious and uniquely successful multicultural society.

The third additional development of the 1980s and '90s that I wish to refer to here, the creation of language centres, also grew out of the initiatives taken by MLTAQ and AFMLTA but also from the developments just mentioned. Earlier, reference was made to the lack of opportunities even through the 1970s for language teachers to undertake serious study in applied linguistics: there were simply no University departments or centres teaching applied linguistics even though such subjects as language teaching methodology existed in the training institutions. As mentioned earlier, MLTAQ and AFMLTA both promoted the concept of a national language centre and, at times, lobbied unsuccessfully for the creation of a language centre at educational institutions. In the 1970s, for instance, on behalf of MLTAQ, I wrote to Griffith University to argue at length the case for a language centre. It was ironic that the then Vice-Chancellor peremptorily rejected the idea but, a few years later after I had established a centre at Mt Gravatt, he asked to participate in one of the basic courses in language teaching methods that we were offering, and, a few years later again, I was invited by a subsequent Vice-Chancellor to found my present Centre. The language policy developments of the 1980s and the surge in ESL teaching to cater for the influx of overseas students led, in fact, to many institutions founding language centres of various sorts, especially to teach ESL, but also, in some instances such as the Centre for Applied Linguistics and Languages in Griffith University, to comprehensively promote applied linguistics through courses, research and consultancy services. It is also significant that, related to these developments, has been the fact that, following the case for a national centre produced in 1978 and promoted by AFMLTA, two major international publications on language centres have come from Australia, in fact the only significant publications on the topic. In 1990, the first worldwide survey of language centres was produced and, in 2001, the first commercial publication reviewing in detail five language centres around the world and then discussing the role, function and management of language centres was also published (see Ingram 1991a, 1990 and 2001). The significance of this lies in the fact that language centres worldwide

play a vital role in the monitoring and implementation of language policy and in related research and development.

Finally in this retrospective view of language teaching, reference should also be made to the growing importance of Australian language teaching from a global perspective. As was noted earlier, part of the strategy adopted was to emphasise the global importance of the language teaching profession at a time when Australian language teachers felt themselves continually under attack and continually forced to justify their very existence in a school. One approach to this was, through MLTAQ and AFMLTA, to have Australian language teachers continually represented on, and involved with, the Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes (FIPLV, the World Federation of Modern Language Teachers) and to feed back to all members of the MLTAs information from FIPLV so as to make them aware of the global status of their profession. As well as ensuring that AFMLTA was represented at the various business meetings and conferences of FIPLV, for six years I was FIPLV Vice-President and Regional Representative for South East Asia and the South West Pacific; shortly after that, Denis Cunningham, who was then AFMLTA Secretary, became FIPLV's Secretary-General, and subsequently, over the last several years, FIPLV President. Since Denis' involvement, not only has he ensured that Australia was seen as a major contributor to world developments in language teaching, he has brought to FIPLV all the acumen and energy that characterised his years as AFMLTA Secretary with the result that FIPLV's profile has never been higher nor more respected not only by language teacher associations around the world but also by such bodies as UNESCO. Indeed, under the guidance that has come from Australia, specifically from Denis as President, there have been numerous valuable initiatives undertaken by FIPLV, often in conjunction with UNESCO. In particular, reference should be made, amongst many others, to the work of Linguapax, the emphasis on the role of language teaching in furthering world peace, and the creation of the "Culture of Peace" website, all of which emphasise the vital contribution of language education to positive inter-cultural relations. Such initiatives are particularly important at a time when the governments of three major English-speaking countries seem hell-bent on promoting inter-cultural and inter-faith suspicion, inter-racial hatred, and international conflict. If language teaching was ever important, it is now when the governments representative of our own first language and macro-culture and of the language most widely taught globally are adopting, with hypocritical virtue, strategies that enflame antagonisms rather than create understanding and tolerance. It is especially appro-

priate that FIPLV take the lead it has on these issues and all the more pleasing that Australia's language teachers, through Denis, are providing this lead.

3   Looking Forward: Issues

There are undoubtedly many areas of concern to language teachers but the opportunities for them have also never been greater as a result of the inevitable march of globalisation, efficient telecommunications, rapid transport, massive worldwide migration, and dramatic advances in educational technology. Equally, the needs to which they must respond and, hence, their responsibilities have never been greater in the face of human diversity and the crying need for mutual understanding and acceptance of that diversity. In this final section of the paper, I wish to select six critical issues and consider what needs to be done for the future. Though these issues will be dealt with very briefly, reference will also be made to other papers by the present writer or others where they have been discussed at length.

3.1   Professional Associations: the MLTAs, AFMLTA and FIPLV

Undoubtedly, even allowing for the regression or, at best, patchy progress made since 1996, overall there has been very substantial progress made in language education in Australia over the second half of the 20th Century. It is very significant to remember as we look to the future that much of that progress has been made as a result of the efforts of the Modern Language Teachers Associations (MLTAs) and the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations (AFMLTA). At a time when, through neglect and lack of political leadership on language policy, language education again feels itself under threat, it is important to remember the achievements of the past and to remember that those achievements were gained largely as a result of the language teaching profession's own efforts both at the level of the curriculum and by stimulating the political and educational decision-makers to recognise the importance of language education and to act to develop systematic language policy. There are important implications of this that relate to the professional associations.

First, the language teaching profession in Australia has lived, over the years, in the ambiguous context of being an important and highly respected profession worldwide but continually under attack in Australia, it is vital for the profession to adopt a high level of responsibility, self-reliance and a strong confidence in the worth of what it is doing. As the

current President of AFMLTA, Tony Liddicoat, has recently pointed out (Liddicoat 2002: 29), language teaching perennially is faced with the need to justify itself, often in the face of antagonism or disinterest from other educationalists but often, also, I would add, in the face of new, supposedly progressive, curriculum fads that conflict with the distinctive requirements of language learning. The response of language teachers must be, first, to maintain their confidence in the vital role that language teaching has to play in a multiethnic society in a linguistically, culturally, and racially diverse and increasingly globalised world marred by mutual suspicion. Second, they must draw on all of the resources of applied linguistics to ensure that developments in language policy, language education planning, language curricula, and education generally take account of the distinctive contribution and requirements of language education. Third, in support of that confidence and to enable language teachers and their local organisations to draw on wider support, it is vital for those organisations, essentially the MLTAs and their local branches, to be conscious of the wider profession to which they belong and so to maintain strong relationships with the national body, the AFMLTA, and the worldwide body, the Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes (FIPLV). Fourth, language teachers must always be prepared, not to deplore the need to justify their existence, but to be ready to do so and to do so in ways that appeal and respond to the diverse interests and decision-making processes in the society. Fifth, the hallmark of a profession is self-reliance, a strong sense of responsibility for its own progress and the quality of the services its members provide. As the brief history that was outlined illustrated, language teaching has professionalised in this way, the level of training available to language teachers has improved enormously, language teaching is now backed by its own specialised (and diverse) discipline of applied linguistics, and the profession has in place its own quality development programs through the seminars and workshops that the MLTAs run and their local, State and national conferences. It is traditional and appropriate that teachers demand support in all this from their employers since their employers benefit from that professional self-reliance but, if language teaching is a profession, self-reliance should never give way to mendicant self-interest. As will be noted subsequently, there is much yet to be achieved within the context of language and language education policy to ensure the quality and supply of language teachers but language teachers must also accept their own responsibility as a profession to continually raise their own standards, to seek the highest quality in their own activities, and, in a word, to professionalise (see also Cunningham 2003a). Sixth and finally, language teachers need to be politically astute. It is idealistic but naïve to

deplore the politicisation of language teaching since that view flies in the face of the democratic system in which we live. Education is heavily subsidised by government (most of us would say, not heavily enough). That makes it a political issue and, ultimately, it is the politicians that directly or indirectly determine and adopt language policy and its implementation plans. It behoves the language associations to design strategies to influence those decisions in the most informed and effective ways they can. Possibly the approach adopted by MLTAQ and AFMLTA in the 1970s and '80s and its effectiveness may suggest general approaches that it would be timely to re-consider.

3.2   Language Policy

If language education is to survive, let alone develop, it is essential that it exist within the context of systematic language policy-making responsive to the real needs of Australian society, those needs arising from the multicultural nature of the society, personal or individual needs, and the globalisation of all human activity made inevitable and irreversible by rapid transport, efficient communications, and the continual mixing of the world's people through migration, tourism and economic necessity. We tend to think of language policy-making as something that occurred in Australia through the 1980s and early '90s. However, as Michael Clyne's excellent account of languages in Australia makes clear (Clyne 1991), language issues have always been of concern in Australia and Australia has always had the advantage of linguistic diversity whether it viewed that favourably or unfavourably. I have described the changes in language and language education policy in other papers (eg Ingram 2003, 2002a, 2000, 1993) and here the comments will be limited to the design of language policy.

Though Australia made considerable progress in language policy deve-lopment in the 1980s and early '90s, the 1987, 1991 and 1994 policies were all deficient in certain regards (Lo Bianco 1987, DEET 1991, COAG 1994). The 1987 and 1991 policies lacked rigour in their design and in tracing the admirable policy proposals through into practice, as a result of which there were serious deficiencies in such areas, for instance, as teacher supply, teacher education, and the on-going monitoring and evaluation of the policies. Though the 1994 policy was more rigorous in its approach to designing policy, specifying goals, and identifying the need for improved teacher quality, it also had serious deficiencies, not least in exaggerating the potential for teacher supply and in under-estimating the time needed for learners to acquire the levels of language proficiency specified for the various exit points.

The issues involved in developing and implementing language policy are too wide-ranging and too complex to be addressed successfully in any piecemeal fashion. In addition, the time required to develop useful levels of language proficiency means that language learning is a long-term activity. Language education policy needs, therefore, to be designed on a long-term and systematic basis if it is to succeed in creating and maintaining a significant pool of people with useful language skills. It was pleasing in the recent report of the Review of the Commonwealth LOTE in Schools Program to read:

... Australia's linguistic diversity needs to be understood as a national resource, hence the Commonwealth has a responsibility to enhance and protect LOTEs... .

The Commonwealth should provide general policy direction and positive leadership ... The Commonwealth needs to ensure the study and teaching of languages of strategic and social importance to Australia in conjunction with State budgets and interests. Continuity is crucial for effective LOTE programs, and Commonwealth support protects developing curriculum areas from disruption caused by short-term financial pressures on states... .

Any new policy needs to view the learning and teaching of languages as a cycle rather than a linear series of stages, and thus take a longer-term perspective... .

In the end, only a national undertaking, supported by the Commonwealth in some shape or form can offer some stability of policy and co-ordination of change. (Erebus Consulting Partners 2002:192-193)

To ensure that language and language education policy are more than "warm words", policy must be rigorous and rational, firmly based in an understanding of the *nature of the society* and the *society's language-related needs* and articulated through specified *goals and objectives* to specific *policy proposals*. In turn, these policy proposals must be traced through specific *implementation recommendations*, and evaluated in practice to provide *on-going policy evaluation, review and development*. All aspects of this policy development pathway should be justified with a specific *rationale* and, in the present writer's approach to policy development, presented in a set of *rational frameworks* which clearly demonstrate the inter-relationships between each aspect of the policy and its implementation and evaluation (see Ingram 2003, 1994, 1993; Ingram & John 1990; AFMLTA 1982).

An effective, long-term approach to language or language education policy the input of expert advice from a variety of fields, not least from

applied linguistics and the establishment of a permanent structure that can advise on language policy, collect relevant data, monitor the social and language situation and changing needs, and recommend policy developments. In the early 1990s, this took two forms: a national advisory council, the Australian Language and Literacy Council, and a national language research centre, the National Language and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA). The need, then, is for a national advisory body analogous to the former Australian Language and Literacy Council with representation from a cross-section of industry, education and society in general. This body should, also, be supported by a national language institute, which is limited in scope, size, and budget demands, highly expert, and designed to gather information and provide informed advice whether to the government, to the profession, or to the general public; it should also be independent of the language education system itself. In other words, the type of national language institute that is required would be very different from and more independent than, the former NLLIA and would be more like the original concept of such a body when it was promoted by AFMLTA from 1978 through the '80s (see Ingram 1978a, 2001).

The need for a renewed national language and language education policy together with the supportive infrastructure is undoubtedly the most fundamental issue that needs to be addressed in the immediate future.

There are many issues that one might consider in looking towards the future and which are fundamental to issues of language policy but here time necessitates that I select only a few. Of the others, perhaps no issue is ultimately so fundamental as that of language rights, which have been discussed at some length elsewhere and are, if anything, growing in importance as it is increasingly realised that other rights of education, information, access to services, racial equality, and cultural identity are interdependent with language rights and are increasingly threatened by the loss of languages worldwide (see Crystal 2000; Cunningham, Ingram & Sumbuk, in press). Rather than discuss this large and complex issue here in the limited time available, I would refer you to other papers where it has been considered at some length. On behalf of AFMLTA, the present writer has argued the fundamental importance of language rights in the context of a Queensland inquiry into individual rights and freedoms (Ingram 1992). In 1978, the Galbally Committee asserted unequivocally the rights of all people to maintain their own culture (hence, by implication, their own language) and to acquire others (Galbally Review 1978:4). In addition, Australia is signatory to various

international conventions which explicitly or by implication, recognise language rights as integral components of human rights and outlaw discrimination on the basis of language (e.g. the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights). Cunningham has provided a very useful history of the efforts by FIPLV, UNESCO and other organisations to have a universal declaration of language rights adopted (see Cunningham 2003).

3.3   Languages and Industry

Earlier, reference was made to the growing prominence from the mid-1980s of the relevance of languages to industry and the focus those issues threw on the economic value of language education (see also Ingram in preparation, 2001 (especially Chapter 3), 2001a, 1991, 1987, 1986; Ingram & Sasaki 2003; see also ALLC 1994).

At present, one has to conclude that the needs of Australian industry are not being met by the language teaching system. The allocation of funds in the 2003 Federal Budget for a National Language Centre specifically targeting business and industry suggests this. In addition, surveys of job vacancy advertisements in Australian newspapers have shown a huge increase (some 4000% over the decade to 1992) in the demand for language skills by Australian industry outside of education (Stanley et al 1990, ALLC 1994: Appendix 3). Recent world events have shown how the defence industry has been hampered in its activity by the lack of language skills. Reliable American reports of discussions at the U.S. National Security Education Board in November 2002 asserted that American operations in Afghanistan were adversely affected by the lack of skills in the local languages (Bruce Sundlun, former Governor of Rhode Island and member of the National Security Education Board writing in the Providence Journal-Bulletin, 9 February, 2003, p I-09). The head of the Australian Defence Forces, Peter Cosgrove, has also stated:

One key deficiency in our capabilities in East Timor was the lack of language skills across the spectrum. We needed more linguists to provide liaison with our Coalition partners. And just as importantly there were more misunderstandings based on cultural differences than any of us could have anticipated, or would have desired. (Cosgrove 2002)

The need is no less, the misunderstandings or breakdowns in communication are no fewer, and the opportunities lost no less costly in other

industries (see Ingram in preparation, 1991, 1987, 1986; ALLC 1994). For language teaching to respond to the needs of Australian industry, a number of issues require attention:

1   Language teaching must become more efficient and more effective by showing that useful levels of language proficiency can be attained in reasonable times with good methods.

2   Language teaching at all levels and in most institutions must be ready to design a range of courses that identify and meet the specific needs of industry and provide marketable vocational language skills for the learners.

3   Since the actual language needs of industry are difficult to predict and depend to some extent on changing market opportunities and, in any case, since language courses are necessarily finite and learning has to go on beyond them, it is essential that learners at all levels learn how to learn, i.e., it is essential that the methodology adopted give the learners autonomy and practical knowledge of how to learn and of how to use the community and other resources to take charge of their own learning both during the course and, in particular, beyond it.

4   Language teaching needs to be able to specify accurately and in meaningful ways the actual skills that learners acquire and their relevance to the practical demands of the workplace. The use of proficiency scales such as ISLPR can provide practical and readily interpretable measures of language proficiency. In addition, however, there is need for relevant sets of vocational language competencies similar to those that O'Neill developed for the Australian Tourism Authority that identify directly the vocational language skills needed either by industry in general or by any particular industry (see O'Neill 2000; see also Languages Lead Body 1992, 1992a).

5   There is need for a system of assessment and certification of language skills, no matter where or how they have been acquired. The need for such a system is demonstrated in the area of English as a Second Language by the rapidly expanding and worldwide use being made of the IELTS Test and its certificates for migration and vocational purposes even though IELTS was not designed for such uses. The need is just as great in other languages.

6   Despite the growth in demand by industry for language skills referred to earlier, there is strong evidence that Australian industry remains insufficiently aware of the benefits to be gained from employing language skills. There are at least two implications of this. First, industry must be made aware of the benefits to be gained from taking advantage of the cultural and language resources in the community and produced through the education system to enable them to better match their products to the markets, to explore new markets, to relate to trading partners and clients, and to market their products more effectively. Second, Australian industry needs to understand how to go about identifying and specifying their actual language needs. They need to be informed how to use the instruments that are available (proficiency scales and competency specifications, as referred to earlier) and they need to know how to conduct language audits or needs analyses to identify and specify the language and culture skills that they have available or that they need to conduct their business most effectively. For this reason, the Australian Language and Literacy Council recommended in 1994 that the government fund some model needs analyses and language audits to demonstrate to industry in practical terms how to go about this process (see ALLC 1994: Recommendations).

In brief, language teachers, applied linguists, military personnel, trade reviewers, and language policy-makers have all asserted the practical importance of language skills and cultural awareness to all forms of Australian industry. It is essential that we, as language teachers, take serious account of that and ensure that our courses at all levels acknowledge, not only the traditional cultural values of language learning, but the practical values as well and design our courses and their methodology to provide the practical skills and in-depth cultural understanding that industry requires.

3.4   Cross-Cultural Attitudes

There can be doubt that, in these first years of the 21st Century, the issues of cross-cultural attitudes, inter-faith tolerance, and acceptance of racial equality are of pre-eminent importance. We have already seen world leaders fostering attitudes of suspicion and hate towards people of other races and cultures. Even in multicultural Australia, we have seen politicians distort the facts to generate suspicion and hatred towards individuals of other races, cultures and religions for their own political gain. Such actions can lead only to world chaos and violence but it is possible only where racism is latent in society and ready to be pricked

into activity for selfish or ethnocentric gain. If the sense of decency, equality and a fair-go that Australians like to believe is a fundamental Australian trait is to survive, if multicultural harmony and enrichment are to continue to characterise Australia, and if the world is not to collapse into warring chaos, it is essential that all societies, not least Australia, take seriously the issue of inter-cultural, inter-racial relations and, therefore, of inter-cultural attitudes. I have written at length about these issues in other papers and have reported on a number of research studies (e.g. Ingram 2001/2002, 2000a, 1999, 1999a, 1995,1980a, 1980b, 1978b; Ingram et al 2003, Ingram et al 1999, Ingram & Sasaki 2003). Suffice it to say here that, apart from the sheer commonsense and innate decency that we hope that all people have but often seem lacking in our national and world leaders, a society has open to it two principal tools to effect attitude change: legislation and consequent litigation to suppress negative acts and education, society's most positive tool for fostering more favourable attitudes. Within education, there is strong evidence that the most effective tool is language education. In fact, most language education policies and syllabuses identify the fostering of cross-cultural understanding and positive attitudes as one of the principal goals (see Ingram 2002, 2001/2002).

However, research into the role of language teaching in effecting positive cross-cultural attitude change clearly shows that merely endorsing such goals or the mere fact of language learning does not inevitably produce more positive cross-cultural attitudes and may, in fact, worsen attitudes and harden ethnocentricity. If positive cross-cultural attitude change is to occur, both the content of the courses and the teaching methodology must be appropriately designed. These have been elaborated in the papers referred to earlier and won't be discussed here. Suffice it to say that, of all the goals that we might pursue in a language teaching program, probably none is so important as that of fostering more positive cross-cultural attitudes and the valuing of human diversity. It so happens that the methodology that is appropriate to this goal is also most appropriate for the development of language proficiency (see Martí 2001; Ingram 2002, 1980a, 1980b, 1978b, Ingram et al 1999).

Gomes de Matos (2002) emphasises the humanising function of language teaching when he says:

1   *Language should have a deeply humanising function... .*

2   *Languages should be taught/learned and used for humanising purposes, on the basis of such values as human rights, justice, and peace.*

3 Language users/learners should learn how to interact and to be interacted with in human-dignifying, peace-promoting ways. (Gomes de Matos 2002:4-5)

In addition to ensuring that our language teaching programs are deliberately designed to foster positive cross-cultural attitudes, teachers might also consider participating in a major UNESCO project that has come out of the International Year for Cultural Heritage and the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World. A "culture of peace" website has been established under UNESCO auspices (http://www.unesco.org/cp) with FIPLV also supporting this initiative. One of the action areas marked out by the UN Declaration and Program of Action on a Culture of Peace (1999, Resolution A/53/243) calls for:

*1 **Fostering a culture of peace through education** by revising the educational curricula to promote qualitative values, attitudes and behaviours of a culture of peace, including peaceful conflict-resolution, dialogue, consensus-building and active non-violence... .*

3.5 Curriculum, Methodology, Technology and Assessment

If language teaching is to respond to the challenges and opportunities of the future, it is essential that we ensure that the programs we offer are of the highest quality, that we draw on all the understanding available from applied linguistics and research into such issues as the attainment of proficiency and the fostering of positive attitudes to design programs that will contribute to the goals that have been referred to above and that are commonly found in language syllabuses. At the same time, it is essential to consider the way in which language develops and to draw on insights from applied linguistics and, in particular, developmental psycholinguistics, to ensure that we are designing language programs that complement the natural learning processes. In Queensland, there has, over the years, been considerable innovation in language curriculum design. However, in recent years, much of the curriculum innovation has occurred within the context of general curriculum innovation. There is considerable value to be gained from considering what is happening elsewhere in education. However, there are also serious dangers if the distinctive roles and nature of language learning are not taken adequately into account. Such curriculum design clichés as "content-based" and "outcomes-based" curricula, language across the curriculum, "big" or "rich" tasks, and so on provide insights into and approaches to learning that can make useful contributions to language curriculum design. In one school with which I

am familiar, "big" or "rich" tasks have been implemented very successfully in the upper primary school and, on the basis of homework tasks my children have brought home, the French teacher seems to be integrating this approach successfully with beneficial effects on the children's language learning. However, it must also be remembered that language develops in both a sequential and hierarchical manner, the level of proficiency strongly influences the tasks that can be carried out and how they are carried out, and so the curriculum designer and, in particular, teachers planning their own work programs must cater in their planning for the systematic development of the language at the same time as capitalising on the "big tasks" or content-based aspects of the curriculum to encourage active learning methods, to accelerate the learners' productive use of the language, and to maximise the effectiveness of their receptive skills. In brief, language teachers need to assert the distinctive nature of their activity, the distinctive needs of language learners, and not be dragged unthinkingly into adopting curriculum clichés that better match students' abilities and learning styles in other subjects.

Of particular importance is to remember that language is learned through use and through social interaction. In this, concepts such as content-based curricula and "big" or "rich" tasks are useful but it also emphasises the importance of encouraging learners from very early in their learning of the language to interact with others using the language. In fact, the central learning activity in most approaches to language syllabus design should be seen as social interaction with other activities, including formal teaching-learning activities, as supporting the use of the language for that purpose (see Ingram 1980a, 1980b, 1978b). As noted earlier, such an approach promotes the complementary goals of developing language proficiency and fostering positive cross-cultural attitudes.

In fact, Australia is well placed with its multicultural population, its close interaction with many of the neighbouring countries where the principal languages taught in Australian schools are spoken, and its relatively high level of technology to develop and adopt such active and interactive learning methods (see Ingram 2002, 1980a, 1980b).

There are many issues in the area of curriculum and methodology that must be addressed if languages are to occupy the place they deserve in education. Most fundamental is the issue of the quality and supply of language teachers, which will be discussed subsequently. No matter what progress is made in applied linguistics to enhance the design of curriculum and to develop more effective approaches to methodology,

they must be implemented by teachers proficient both in the language and in methodology. In addition, though LOTE has been designated a key learning area for at least a decade, it is rarely treated as a key learning area in the resources allocated to it, in its location on subject selection lines in the general school curriculum, or in the specialist facilities such as language laboratories, computers, relevant software, and library resources which are considered mandatory in, for example, English language centres across Australia catering for overseas students. Again, the distinctive learning needs of languages are rarely acknowledged in the time allocation afforded languages at any level so that, for example, the practically desirable but excessively ambitious proficiency targets set by the national Asian languages strategy could not be reached in the contact time allowed in most schools (COAG 1994). The report itself was unduly optimistic in this regard since the total school time it recommended for Asian language learning was about half that (approximately 2,500 hours) which the best available evidence would suggest is necessary to reach minimum vocational proficiency (ISLPR 3), the target which the report sets for at least some learners of Asian languages by Year 12 (COAG 1994:xiii). It is, indeed, appropriate in language education planning to set proficiency targets that ensure that students who give up language study at one of the main exit points do so having had a realistic opportunity to achieve a practically useful level of language proficiency but such goals are meaningless if the corollary time allocations are not implemented. In addition, new learning modes are required to maximise learning efficiency with consideration being given to such issues as teacher quality but also to periods of more intensive learning, immersion programs, opportunities to spend some time overseas in the country of origin of the target language (as overseas students serious about acquiring English skills now do), and the use of technology to maximise language immersion and use, to make the rote learning elements of language learning more efficient and less boring, and to increase the authenticity of the language experience.

Modern technology has a great deal to contribute to more effective language teaching (see Cunningham 2001) but it will do so only if teachers are properly trained to make best use of it, if it is seen, not as a panacea or a baby-minding toy, but as facilitating the implementation of good methodology, and if it is genuinely available to the LOTE program. As already noted, few schools have available for the LOTE program the array of modern technology that is regarded as mandatory in most Australian ELICOS centres which are routinely equipped with language laboratories, computer laboratories, and self-access centres and have

specialist staff available to assist teachers to make best use of the equipment. Today's technology is such that it can contribute effectively to all aspects of language learning from grammar drills to sophisticated pronunciation practice to speed reading but perhaps the usage that touches most nearly to the basis of language learning is its capacity to facilitate interaction between learners, and between learners and native speaking peers in other countries. Email and chatpages can be used effectively, as Stockwell and Stockwell (2003) have shown for email, to increase interaction and benefit cultural awareness. ESL teachers at Akita University in Japan and Japanese teachers at Griffith University have cooperated in programs to enable their learners to interact by video, an activity that will be further facilitated as webcameras and broadband links become more commonplace. Virtual reality, whether in a VR laboratory or using a regular PC, holds immense potential to enable learners to virtually walk through, or live and interact in, the target country and culture.

Nevertheless, despite the remarkable opportunities that modern technology can provide, the fundamental nature of language is a tool for interaction between people and, in a diverse multicultural society such as Australia where the diversity is immensely increased by the high level of foreign tourism and the overseas student program, teachers need to be able to use the human resources around them to enhance the learning of students. I have written at length about the use of community involvement in language teaching and it won't be discussed further here but, again, suffice it to say that a community involvement approach requires a different orientation to the purpose and methodology of language teaching, an orientation that responds closely to the nature of language and the psycholinguistic evidence about how languages are most effectively learned (see Ingram 2002b, 1980a, 1980b, 1978b).

As curriculum design and methodology evolve to better reflect the nature of language and how languages are learned, there are profound implications for testing. In one aspect, the development of language testing over the last 50 years and in the foreseeable future reflects a continuous attempt to move towards more authenticity in the language use that is required in the tests (see Ingram 2003a for a discussion of this). As already noted, Queensland, because of its focus on school-based assessment, was able, much earlier than most other places, to adopt a proficiency focus in curriculum design and a "direct" approach to its assessment. However, language teachers require facility in many other aspects of testing besides proficiency assessment for purposes of both formative and summative assessment. What is most important is for

teachers, policy-makers and examiners to realise that there is no single answer to the challenge of devising appropriate tests: the way in which one tests should differ according to the purpose and context of the test, and how the results are to be interpreted and by whom. It is not possible to discuss language testing here but only to emphasise the need for policy-makers and teachers to develop a better understanding of language testing (see Ingram & Wylie 1979/1999 and related papers; Ingram 2003a, 1996 and other papers in the bibliographies to these).

It is appropriate, in the context of testing, to refer back (without discussion) to two issues raised earlier: the need for a system by which language skills may be certified and the complementary need for a system of accredited language assessors.

3.6   Teacher Quality and Supply

In 1994, the Australian Language and Literacy Council produced a report on the quality and supply of language teachers entitled *Language Teachers: The Pivot of Policy* (ALLC 1994). There can be no doubt that any language education policy that neglects the issue of teacher quality and supply will fail. Regrettably, all previous language policies have, at least in their implementation, paid insufficient attention to this issue. The national crisis in language teaching referred to at the start of this paper revolves mainly around the supply and quality of language teachers and the corollaries that flow from that gross and growing deficiency. There is no doubt that there are excellent, language proficient, and well trained language teachers in Australian schools but the sad fact is that, as the ALLC report indisputably showed, such language teachers are in the minority and are too few in number to implement current policies. Furthermore, a very large proportion of those teachers currently teaching languages in primary and secondary schools have language proficiencies considerably below that which, in the view of the ALLC, was the minimum appropriate for a language teacher (i.e. S:4, L:4, R:4, W:4 on the ISLPR). At least as many of those currently teaching a LOTE lack specialist training in applied linguistics at even a basic level let alone at the level which is increasingly regarded as the minimum acceptable for ESL teachers to obtain a contract position in a reputable ELICOS Centre, i.e., a Masters degree in applied linguistics. If the Federal Government adopts the recent review of the Commonwealth LOTE in Schools Program, the most fundamental issue they must address together with their State and Territory counterparts is the quality and supply of language teachers. To achieve this, many difficult but critical issues need to be addressed, included amongst which are:

- Teachers need to be given regular opportunities to develop, maintain and upgrade their language skills. The Endeavour Scholarships announced in the recent Federal budget will undoubtedly contribute to this but, if the need is to be seriously addressed, hundreds, not scores, of such scholarships are needed annually.

- The supply of language teachers needs to match the enrolment objectives in the policies but it has been amply demonstrated over the last two decades that this will not occur without incentives both to attract students to train as language teachers, to ensure they enter teaching rather than industry, and to retain them in the profession. Such incentives might include salary loadings based on language proficiency levels but scholarships or university fee abatement provided that the student remains for a specified time in teaching would also act as incentives.

- There is still need for teacher education programs specifically designed to get native speakers in the community into language teaching. Amongst other things, their language skills should be recognised and advanced standing be provided in teacher education programs in the same way as tradespeople or artists have their skills recognised.

- University language departments need to revise their programs to ensure that students intending to enter teaching achieve at least ISLPR 3 in all four macroskills by graduation, that they have spent some time in the country of origin of the language, and that they have interacted at frequent intervals with native speakers in the Australian community (whether residents, tourists or foreign students).

- All language teachers should be encouraged by whatever means are available (e.g. scholarships, promotional criteria, salary incentives, and study leave) to pursue higher degree study in applied linguistics. Those who lack training in language teaching methodology should be required to take appropriate courses, possibly introductory Graduate Certificates in Applied Linguistics or Second Language Teaching.

In brief, language teachers are the pivot on which the success of language education policy depends. The issues of language teacher quality and supply have not been adequately addressed in the past. If they are not addressed in the future, then any talk about new language or language education policies will be futile and language teaching will continue to lurch from crisis to worse crisis.

4   Conclusion

Language teaching has changed dramatically since Keith Horwood's days. He contributed greatly to the creation of viable professional associations for language teachers in Australia and, not least, in building the AFMLTA, which, over the years, has assumed a significant leadership role in language education in Australia. Like Keith, today's language teachers must remain convinced of the worth of their activity, they must recognise the value of joining together as a respected profession, and they must be ready to assert to others the importance of language learning to the education of all children, to the society in general, and to the security of the world.

Like Martin Luther King, we as language teachers must retain and maintain our dream, our dream of a world in which all people are not only created equal but are treated as equals, with equal opportunities, equal freedom, equal rights. We must retain our dream of a world in which people are able to interact freely and equally, recognising each other's rights to be different, to live differently, to speak differently, to think differently, and to worship differently. We must retain our dream of a society and a world where cultural differences and the languages that reflect and support them are not only tolerated but are valued and genuinely enrich all people's lives.

That is what language education most fundamentally is about. As important as language education is in providing skills to grease the wheels of industry and trade, to develop awareness of high culture and literary sensitivity, it is its role in fostering positive cross-cultural attitudes, acceptance of the rights of others to be different, and the opportunity for all of us to be enriched by those differences that language education most fundamentally is about. Not only that but, as we look to the future and remember both our own past and what, as a profession, we have achieved and remember the world and the chaos that the loss of that dream has caused and is still causing, we must maintain our dream and continually assert the importance of our activities in the education of all children.

Martin Luther King spoke of a dream that is readily applicable, not just to the United States at a time of great inter-racial tension, but equally to today's world, no less torn apart by inter-racial suspicion and hatred. You are all undoubtedly familiar with his most famous speech, but let me quote it again in our context:

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair... .

I have a dream that one day this nation (that our nation and all nations) will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed – we hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal... .

I have a dream that ... (our children) will one day live in ... (nations) where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character....

With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation(s) into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. (Carson 1998:226)

It is worth recalling, also, the statements of Australia's chief military officer, General Peter Cosgrove, who has strongly supported the need for an effective language learning program in Australia and has correctly placed language learning as more important than military might in effecting world peace. He said:

This much is certain... . we have indeed become more interdependent, more closely linked to our fellow human beings than at any time in recorded history... .

Both in their scale, and their cultural significance, the proliferation of linkages among nations is without precedence. It is a phenomenon that is inexorable... . I cannot imagine a future in which people of all cultures and nations are not increasingly connected by ties of travel, commerce and migration... .

Language skills and cultural sensitivity will be the new currency of this world order... .

Our future prosperity and security will depend on our ability to understand ... (other) cultures and to build bridges to the citizens of these nations and all our immediate neighbours... .

... in an increasingly interconnected world the impact of armed conflict is increasingly catastrophic. If globalisation has meant one thing it is this: no man or woman ... is any longer an island... .

... Commercial links, alone, will never render war unthinkable. What will, however, are mutual understanding and respect and the banishing of prejudice....

If (the) future is to be one of peace and prosperity our kids will need the capacity to engage in a dialogue with others of different cultures and creeds. (Cosgrove 2002)

In the preface to his organisation's publication on a *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* (Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights Follow-up Committee 1998), Carles Torner, of the International PEN Club narrates an old legend of a king who heard that there lived in his country a truly wise man. The man was so wise, it was said, that he knew all the languages of the world and could read the thoughts of all people no matter where they came from. The king called the very wise man to his palace, talked with him at length, and ended by asking him one last question. The king said to him,

"In my hands, which are hidden behind my back, there is a bird. Wise man, answer me: is it alive or dead?"

Torner goes on to say that the wise man's answer was addressed to everybody. The wise man was frightened: he knew that whatever answer he gave, the king could kill the bird. He looked at the king for a long time and finally he said,

"The answer, sire, is in your hands."

Indeed, the answer is in all our hands. As the language teaching profession, as members of a worldwide profession of immense and universal importance, as members of a profession on which the harmony and prosperity of this nation depends but, even more than that as recent events have starkly shown, on which the future of the world depends, the answer is in our hands. It behoves the language teaching profession, not to lose its dream in the face of political indifference and management antipathy but to envision the role that it can serve in creating a more harmonious, culturally enriched, and interactive society and peaceful world; it behoves the language teaching profession to draw on the wealth of information and insight available to it through applied linguistics to ensure its own practices are as competent and as effective as they can be and to ensure that they are designed to achieve the high goals that our profession must pursue. Beyond that, it is the responsibility of the language teaching profession to convince the political and educational decision-makers that language teaching does have the sort of importance I have asserted here and that we have the knowledge, skills and commitment that will enable us to achieve those goals.

The answer, the future of language education, is in our hands.

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The Evolution
of a Language-in-Education Policy:
The Case Study of Fiji Islands[1]

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1   Introduction

Fiji is an independent nation located in the middle of the Southwestern Pacific, about 2 500 km northeast of Australia, and 2 000 km north of New Zealand. It comprises over 300 islands and covers 18 376 square km. Both its size and location make it the hub of the region, with an important economic and political role in the South Pacific.

Fiji became a British colony in 1874, and between 1879 and 1915, the colonial government brought in about 60 000 labourers from India under the indenture system to work on plantations, particularly of sugarcane (Lal 1983). Fiji became independent in 1970, and suffered coups d'Ètat in 1987 and 2000. In the aftermath of the two coups in 1987, Fiji became a republic, and since the promulgation of the 1997 Constitution, it has been officially known as the Republic of the Fiji Islands.

The population of Fiji is currently estimated to be just over 800 000, of whom nearly 51 per cent are indigenous Fijians and almost 44 per cent Indo-Fijians (or "Fiji Indians"[2]), the vast majority of whom are descendants of indentured labourers. The remaining 5 per cent or so of the population comprise Rotumans, other Pacific Islanders, Chinese, "Europeans" (as Caucasians or "Whites" are known locally), "part-Europeans", and other people of mixed ancestry.

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[1]   This chapter is based on a larger article published in *Current Issues in Language Planning* (Mangubhai & Mugler 2003). I am grateful to the Journal for its permission to use this material.

[2]   In this chapter the term "Indo-Fijian" for the present-day Fiji Islander of Indian descent, and "Indians" to refer to the first generation of immigrants from India to Fiji.

2   Language-in-education Policies

Prior to European contact, there was no formal educational system. With the arrival of missionaries in 1835, formal schooling was introduced into a society in which learning had previously been integrated into the everyday life of the people and in which particular types of learning were the prerogative of particular groups within a tribe. One learned to become a fisherman by going fishing with other fishermen and learning from the actual practice of fishing. One learned to be a canoe builder by working with the canoe builders. In short, traditional education was "practical, vocational and was concerned largely in maintaining the status quo" (Bole 1972:1).

The missionaries had limited goals, which were more likely to be achieved if Fijian[3] was used. In terms of literacy, a further decision had to be made: the choice of a dialect, a choice driven not only by linguistic but also by political considerations. With education in the early years restricted to primary level, there was considerably less pressure to learn English or use English to advance Fijian education. The other major language, Hindi, only arrived in Fiji in 1879, and then, because of the mix of dialects and languages of the Indian indentured labourers, evolved into Fiji Hindi, which is morphologically and lexically different from standard Hindi. After the end of indenture, however, Indians agitated to have more education provided for their children, more English taught in schools, and greater opportunities to learn their own languages in schools. This continual pressure, in conjunction with a growing conviction in official circles that the route to education lay through the English language, resulted in a more prominent place accorded to the language in both Fijian and Indian schools[4], a situation that has continued to this day.

The first schools set up in Fiji were the pastor schools (Vuli-ni-lotu) at each Mission Station. The Wesleyan Mission policy was "to set up, in each circuit, village schools at which the children could learn to read and write

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[3]   There are a great many dialectal variations in Fijian. The missionaries eventually chose the Bauan dialect (Bau was the most powerful "state" at that time), which was also the then language of diplomacy used in the Fiji islands (Geraghty 1984). This dialect became the language of the Fijian Bible and thus became the literary standard, even though, according to Geraghty it is far different from the standard colloquial Fijian spoken today (Geraghty 1989).

[4]   For historical and geographical reasons schools in Fiji are frequently referred to as either "Fijian" or "Indian", depending upon the preponderant group that makes up the population of that particular school.

their own language, and at the same time gain proficiency in arithmetic" (Mann 1935:23). The effectiveness of such schooling, however, as Mann admits, depended very much on the efficiency of the teachers. By any standard it was poor education, but that was all there was available. In 1867, a resolution was passed stating "that the time had come for the teaching of English in all our [Methodist Mission] schools where practicable" (quoted in Legislative Council Paper, 1970:1). In fact, this would have been "practicable" only if the Mission had been able to bring in a large number of English-speaking teachers and to consolidate the many small village schools into a few bigger ones. Despite this resolution, education provided by the Wesleyan Mission to Fijian children was conducted largely in the Fijian language.

By contrast, the Catholic Mission, which started a decade later tended to gather students in "central schools under the charge of the European missionary" (Legislative Council Paper, 1970:1). In 1887, Bishop Vidal, First Vicar Apostolic of Fiji, introduced various teaching orders into the country – the Marist Brothers, the Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny, and the Marist Sisters – in order to expand the provision of education by the Church. In the space of the next two decades, these teaching orders established schools for Europeans, Fijians and Indians (Mann 1935). The establishment of schools in urban areas, or more populated areas, and run by religious sisters and brothers from overseas, necessarily meant that more prominence was given to English in the Catholic schools than in the Methodist schools. The policy was, however, borne out of the practicalities of the curriculum and materials, as these were more easily available in English.

A more overt shaping of language-in-education policies began with the establishment of a Board of Education by the Colonial Government through the Educational Ordinance of 1916. This act placed the control of education in Fiji in this Board. It was chaired by the Governor and included members of the Executive Council. The chief superintendent of the schools served as the chief administrative officer of the newly created Department of Education. The Board established a system of grants-in-aid to schools (Mangubhai 1984). To receive these grants, schools had to show that they had teachers capable of teaching in English (*Legislative Council Paper 19*, 1970), a condition that disadvantaged most Methodist mission schools, which had emphasised instruction in the vernacular. The patent unfairness of this ruling resulted in its revocation in 1917 (Whitehead 1981).

It was the recommendations of the 1926 Education Commission (*Report of the Education Commission*, 1926) that really gave shape to a nascent language-in-education policy. The Commission commented upon the great desire expressed by both Fijians and Indians to include English in the school curriculum. They reasoned that, as English was the language of Government, every citizen would benefit from being able to use the language in which Government business was conducted; they also argued that it would help "the diverse elements in the population [to] be consolidated" (p 13). The Commission recommended that:

- the vernacular (Fijian or Hindi respectively) to be taught in all primary schools, so that all children may be given ability to read it and speak it fluently
- a carefully planned and very simple course of reading and speaking English to be introduced as early as practicable
- the medium of instruction in the subjects of general education, e.g., geography, nature study, health, etc, to be in the vernacular until such time as the children have an adequate knowledge of English
- in schools where the non-European teacher is a competent teacher of English, and in Missions schools taught by European teachers, English will become the medium of instruction at an early stage (p 14)

While these recommendations left the use of English as a medium of instruction somewhat open, they did establish that Fijian and Standard Hindi (not Fiji Hindi) were to be the primary languages of instruction for Fijian and Indian students respectively. For the Indian children who spoke a South Indian language as their first language, Standard Hindi was a second language. This section of the community wanted to use their own language at primary level and were permitted to do so where numbers and teacher availability made it feasible. Similarly, the Muslim parents wanted their children to do their early schooling in Urdu, and this was permitted on a similar basis for the South Indian children.

Over the next twenty years, these policies would be amended as political, social and educational imperatives influenced the development of the education system in Fiji. By 1944, the Stephens' Report (1944), had the following to say:

At the present time the vernacular is the medium of instruction, that is Fijian for the Fijians and generally Hindustani for the Indians, although where there is a demand from more than 15 Indian children provision can be made for teaching another Indian language. English will become the

lingua franca of Fiji. Practically all the Fiji-born Indians desire that English should be the medium of instruction. A few of the older people and of the people not born in Fiji desire to continue Hindustani[5]. More attention should be paid to the teaching of English and progressively the stage at which English becomes the medium of instruction should be lowered until ultimately it is the medium of instruction right through the schools (p vii).

While a number of suggestions made by Stephens regarding the reorganisation of the educational system in Fiji were not implemented, or were implemented in a watered down version (see Whitehead 1981, especially Chapter 5), the issue of the medium of instruction seems to have been accepted, as is shown by the 1946 proposed plan of development for the educational system in the Colony of Fiji. The Stephens Report recommended that the mediums of instruction be English, Fijian and Hindi, but progressively, as the result of the intensified teaching of English as a subject, English should become the sole medium of instruction for the whole country. In a more detailed discussion, the 1946 Educational Plan suggested a staggered introduction of English as the medium of instruction. For the then immediate future, it did not see English as the medium of instruction below Grade 6, but gradually, with better teaching of English at the lower levels of the primary education, it could progressively be used as the medium of instruction until it was eventually used at Grade 3. At this stage, the Plan recommended that a review be undertaken to determine whether there was any need to use English as the medium of instruction at Grades 1 and 2.

The suggestions about the medium of instruction were, however, not to be enforced rigorously, it would seem from subsequent paragraphs in the 1946 Plan. Where appropriately qualified teachers were available in a school (that is, qualified to instruct in English), that school could, after consultation with the Department of Education, teach in English at grades below Grade 6. So a school, such as St Columba's Primary School in Suva

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5   Traditionally the term "Hindustani" referred to the lingua franca spoken in North India and large cities throughout the country. The literary form of Hindustani, called "Urdu" and written in the Perso-Arabic script, became the language of local administration in British India. Urdu was, however, rejected by many Hindus because of its association with Islam, and another literary variety, Standard Hindi, also based on Hindustani, was developed, written in the Devanagari script and with words of Perso-Arabic origin replaced by borrowings from Sanskrit (Siegel 1987: 139) However, as Siegel notes, "in Fiji the terms "Hindi" and "Hindustani" are used more or less interchangeably" (p 140).

run by the Marist Brothers, offered primary education through the medium of English from Grade 1, using teachers who were native speakers of English or those who were proficient ESL speakers. It was a very popular school for the urban Indian parents, who saw an advantage in schooling their children through the English language.

The question of whether an Indian language other than Hindi might be used as the medium of instruction was also addressed in the Plan. It was possible to use a South Indian language provided special permission had been granted by the Department of Education. Permission depended upon the school having at least 15 students for whom the South Indian language was the first language as well as the presence of a teacher competent to teach in this language. In essence, this was not much different from the policies of the 1920s and the 1930s.

The vernacular languages were to be retained in the curriculum as subjects of study, and once English became the medium of instruction, they would become subjects of study in intermediate and high schools. In the Director of Education's Annual Report for 1946, tabled in the Legislative Council in 1947 (*Legislative Council Paper 31*, 1947), he reports that, in a number of schools, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu and Gujarati are taught. The last sentence in the paragraph in the Annual Report suggests that parents, in conjunction with schools, wanted to retain their first languages: "There is a movement afoot to emphasise the teaching of Indian languages other than Hindustani at the expense of general education" (p 10).

On the surface, the suggestions in the 1946 Plan do not seem very different from those of the 1926 Commission. The 1926 Recommendations were made in the context of attempts to offer more adequate provisions for the education of Indian children, and one of the issues was the language of instruction for these children. The Commission decided on Hindi as a main vernacular but left the use of other Indian languages dependent upon the particular circumstances. On the issue of English, the 1926 Commission was less definite, partly because the prevailing thinking was that there was no need to teach all Indian or Fijian children English to higher levels, since little education was provided at higher levels for these children. By contrast, the 1946 Plan was quite clear about languages-in-education. It also suggested a slight expansion in the provision of secondary education for Fijian and Indian children. Whitehead (1981:69) observed that, by 1946, "it was apparent that, whether the Government wished it or not, it was obliged by the pressure of circumstances to adopt a more positive attitude towards its educational responsibilities".

By the 1950s language related to manpower development was evident in educational planning. In the Educational Plan for 1956, the introductory Part I mentions the shortage of young people for the professions, government service, commerce or technical trades because of insufficient schooling. The issue of which language should be used as the medium of instruction at what level had been further refined and the "pressure of circumstances" influenced the new wording for the language-in-education policies as enunciated by the then Director of Education, Lewis-Jones:

The medium of instruction in primary schools for the first four years is English, Fijian or an Indian Vernacular, according to the race of the children. Thereafter in all primary schools and all forms of post-primary education, the medium is English. In Fijian and Indian primary schools oral English starts in Class I [Grade 1] and when English becomes the medium, the vernacular language is then taught as a subject. (Lewis-Jones 1955:4)

It was evident that in the intervening ten years (1945-1955), the English medium of instruction had moved downwards from Grade 6 to Grade 5. In reference to Indian vernaculars, a change had occurred, from considering Hindi as the main Indian vernacular, as stated in official documents, to the use of a less specific "Indian Vernacular". Of interest also is that, in discussing which Indian language can be used as the medium of instruction, mention is made of Urdu[6]. According to the report, a start had been made in 1954 to improve the Urdu ability of teachers at the Teachers' Training College as well as at special refresher courses.

The last educational commission in Colonial Fiji was completed in 1969 and published as Education for Modern Fiji (*Education for Modern Fiji: Report of the Fiji Education Commission*, 1969). It recommended that the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue for the first three years, with English compulsory as a second language from Grade 1. From Grade 4, the vernaculars were to be taught as subjects. In contrast to the Lewis-Jones Report, English was now to begin as the medium of instruction from Grade 4. The Fifth Developmental Plan 1966-70 (*Fiji

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[6]   This development seems to have reflected the new political reality of post-Partition India and Pakistan. Certainly, events that occurred when the writer was growing up in Fiji confirm a more polarised Indo-Fijian society, the main polarisation being between Hindus and Muslims.

Development Plan: 1966-1970 1966)   mentions only English, not the other languages, as the medium of instruction and observes that the change in medium occurs at Grade 5. The Government admitted that the "declared policy of making English the medium of instruction throughout the primary school" was not possible because of teachers' low levels of command of the English language. To remedy this situation, the Fifth Development Plan recommended that an English Language Unit should be set up in the Department of Education to prepare appropriate textbooks and readers in the English language.

Since independence in 1970 the language-in-education policy has been to use the vernacular as a medium of instruction for the first three years and then officially to switch to English from Grade 4. This is not stated as a language policy as such, but statements in official documents refer to English becoming the medium of instruction from Grade 4 – a reality reflected in the materials developed by the Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Education. The teaching of English as a subject begins in Grade 1.

The vernacular languages programs for higher grades were also developed, especially after the establishment of a Curriculum Development Unit in the Ministry of Education in the early 70s, so that students could undertake examinations at Grade 10 (the Fiji Junior Examination) in the subjects Fijian, Hindi and Urdu. With changes occurring in the examination system, especially with Fiji taking control of its own national examinations, it is now possible to study Fijian, Hindi and Urdu up to Grade 13.

With regard to developments about language of instruction and language teaching from the 1920s to the 1940s and the 1950s, it is instructive to make some comparisons with British Colonial policies in Africa. Whitehead (1995) claims that the British Colonial Government did not want to make the mistakes they thought they had made in India where English was used as the medium of instruction from very early stages. In the 1920s, an advisory committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa was set up to provide advice to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. This committee, among other things, suggested the importance of the first language as the medium of instruction, particularly in the early years of a child's education. Their recommendation was that the first language should be the language of instruction in secondary as well as in primary education, with English used only in the highest classes and for subjects like science and mathematics, where it was feasible. The African Colonies considered this draft recommendation but rejected it on a

number of grounds, including, in some countries, the demand for English by the indigenous people. The many varied attitudes to this proposal were taken into account by the British Government, resulting in a more watered-down document which was distributed to the Colonies – a document that sought the middle way, a bit of both, so that vernaculars could be used for the earlier stages and English for the later stages of education. By the 1940s, according to Whitehead, the more radical suggestion originally made by the Advisory Committee was no longer a viable option.

Indeed, both the demand for more English by the colonised and the desire to limit access to it by the colonisers are echoed in the history of language policy in various parts of the British Empire, such as India and Malaya (Powell 2002). Similar forces operated in Fiji to make the use of English more prominent, accelerated by the influence of New Zealand language policies and the 1946 report by Stephens, a New Zealander.

3 Vernacular Languages

The place of vernacular languages in education, especially as mediums of instruction, changed over the period from the 1840s to the present. The early Wesleyan missionaries to Fiji found the use of vernacular Fijian more effective for the Christianisation of the Fijian people. After Fiji was ceded to Britain in 1874, the education of the Fijian people was left largely in the hands of the missionaries, so that the Fijian language continued to be used. There is little doubt that this policy of missionaries resulted in quite widespread basic literacy, a fact that was commented upon by Governor Arthur Gordon, the first Governor of Fiji:

I have visited a great number of [church] schools and have been impressed by their efficiency. A very large proportion of the natives can read and write and the amount of native correspondence would greatly surprise those who are inclined to sneer at native progress (cited in *Legislative Council Paper 19*, 1970:1)

With the arrival of the indentured labour from India, Indian languages were introduced into Fiji. The nature of the indentured system, its recruiting operations, and the various parts of India from which they were recruited gave rise to a more simplified form of Hindi, called Fiji-Hindi, which became the lingua franca for the Indians, whether they were from the north or south of India. It was only at the end of the Indenture period, after 1920, that there was greater agitation by Indian parents for

the education of their children. The 1926 Education Commission shows that there were calls from the parents and Indian organisations for more English to be taught to students but also at the same time more Hindi, Urdu or one of the South Indian languages. The colonial policy was to encourage the greater use of standard Hindi as the medium of instruction rather than languages with fewer speakers, such as Urdu, Tamil, Telegu or Malayalam (Siegel 1987). From the 1940s, there was an increase in the use of English.

Developments prior to independence led to a mind-set that saw the English language as a buffer between the Fijian and Indo-Fijian populations and as a lingua franca, a term that echoes the McMillan submission in the 1926 Education Commission – "It [English] must inevitably become the unifying lingua franca of the Colony" (p 76). The chance to make Fijian the national language was not taken up when Fiji became independent. In this regard, it is interesting to note what the Fiji Education Commission of 1969 (*Education for Modern Fiji: Report of the Fiji Education Commission*, 1969) had to say:

The suggestion that Fijian should be compulsory for all children has been made from surprisingly diverse quarters. The main arguments are:

- that to create a national feeling, a national language other than English is needed, and that this should naturally be the indigenous language of the Islands
- that since Fijian is already to some extent a lingua franca (especially in mixed rural areas), it is desirable that this should be good Fijian; and
- that this would extend the reading market for Fijian. (*Education for Modern Fiji: Report of the Fiji Education Commission*, 1969:24; emphases original)

This suggestion, however, was not taken any further, even after independence.

The 2000 Fiji Islands Education Commission/Panel grappled with this issue again and several writers recommended that Fijian should be learned by all (Subramani 2000; Williams 2000), with Williams suggesting that it ought to be compulsory for all non-Fijians up to Grade 10.

In the late 1970s there were attempts to introduce spoken Fijian to Grade 6 Indo-Fijian students, and spoken Hindi to Grade 6 Fijian students, but the attempt was half-hearted and neither resources nor trained teachers

were provided, or indeed, were available, to ensure success. To counter the difficulties of obtaining trained teachers, the Government decided to introduce this initiative through the Ministry of Education's Schools' Broadcast Unit. The Fijian opinion in some quarters, as the author was told, was that Fijian students were already having to cope with the current curriculum and do well in examinations, at least as well as the Indo-Fijian students, and therefore putting effort into learning Hindi was not going to help achieve these goals. It seems that policies that make teaching a second language optional are not likely to succeed.

The three coups that have occurred in Fiji since 1987 have focussed the mind of the populace on the urgent need to learn much more about each other. The early colonial policy wanted a separation of the two groups for a number of reasons, amongst which were that the very different cultural practices of the two major ethnic groups were likely to create friction and problems. With hindsight, it is clear that this solution was only likely to defer the moment when issues related to power, position, politics and social development would have to be addressed head-on. And part of this solution would have to address how the various languages in Fiji can contribute to the creation of one nation.

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Historical Perspective
of Language Planning
and Language Policy in Senegal

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1   General Presentation

Senegal is a multiparty democratic country located in the western point of Africa. It covers a little over 76,000 square miles and the population in 2003 was over 10,127,809 (Sud Quotidien 2004:2). With an annual growth rate at 2.5%, the population is estimated to reach 12.2 million in 2010 (Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique 2000). The population of Senegal is characterised by a large proportion of young people. For example, 47% is below 15 and 58% is below 20 but only 9% is above 60 (Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique 2000). Senegal shares its borders with Mauritania in the North, Mali in the East, the Republic of Guinea and Guinea-Bissau in the South, and the Atlantic Ocean in the West.

Senegal is a multicultural country with around twenty communities (Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique 1993:24). The dominant ethnic communities are the Wolof (42.7%), Pulaar (23.7%), Serrere (14.9%), and Diola (5.3%) (Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique 1993: 24-25). It is estimated that there are around 36 languages spoken by around twenty ethnic communities (Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique 1993:24). Wolof, the lingua franca in many parts of the country, is spoken by more than 80 % of the population. Around 50% speak it as their first language while around 22% speak it as a second language. Pulaar, the second most widespread local language, is spoken by around 22% as a mother tongue. It is also the second language of many people in places like Tambacounda and Kolda (Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique 1993:25-26). The only official language of Senegal is French and there are currently 14 national languages or "officially recognised" (Prinz 1996:15), that is, languages that are codified and recognised by

agovernment decree thus eligible for use in the media, education, and courts. In December 2004, the national languages of Senegal are: Wolof, Pulaar, Serrere, Diola, Mandingo, Soninké, Hassaniya, Balant, Mankaañ, Manjaku, Serrere Noone, Bedik, Bassari, and Saafi.

2   French Schools during the Colonial Period

The first French colonial settlement in Senegal started around 1683 on the Isle of Bocos in Saint Louis (CRDS 1976; Gaucher 1968) but the first school was introduced only on 7 March 1817, that is two years after England conceded to restore to France the colonial possessions they had controlled before January 1792.

A young schoolteacher, Jean Dard, founded the first elementary French school in Senegal in 1681. He was appointed by the *Ministre Secrétaire d'État et de la Marine et des Colonies* to start education in French and to implement the Bell and Lancaster teaching method in Senegal (Gaucher 1968:12). The introduction of education in French colonies has received a lot of attention, particularly by historians, educationists, and linguists. Gaucher (1968) conducted one of the most comprehensive researches on the introduction of French school in Francophone Africa. In his book, *Dard ou les Débuts de l'Enseignement au Sénégal* (1968), he argued that school was introduced in Senegal primarily to spread French culture and thereby to lay the foundations for the Christianisation of Africans (Gaucher 1968). French colonial authorities postulated that school was the most reliable tool for the implementation of the French colonial policy of assimilation. They were convinced that once school was well established, the process of assimilation would be faster and conversion of people into Christianity easier. The main philosophy that underpinned French colonial policy was the assimilation of Africans by:

[utilisant] des moyens, souvent planifiés, en vue d'accélérer la minorisation de certains groupes linguistiques. Une politique d'assimilation a recours à des moyens d'intervention tels que l'interdiction, l'exclusion ou la dévalorisation sociale, parfois la répression, voire le génocide dans les cas extrêmes.[1]

After repossessing the colony of Senegal for more than two centuries, French settlers realised that all their previous attempts to implement the "*plan de colonisation*" or agenda for colonisation were not successful. As a

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[1]   http://tlfq.ulal.ca/axl/monde/polassimilation.htm accessed on 29/08/2002 at 11:30

result, the *plan de colonisation* was revised and made subtler, less aggressive and was assigned broader aims, that is the:

possibilités d'extension et de pénétration dans l'arrière pays, y oeuvrer pour améliorer les rapports commerciaux, faire du territoire une colonie où s'épanouira progressivement la civilisation française (Gaucher 1968:19).

The *Ministère de la Marine et des Colonies* realised that the cultural, linguistic, and religious gap between the local population and French settlers was still immense (CRDS 1976) after more than two hundred years of colonial domination and settlement in Senegal. The colonial authorities understood that attempts to convert the population to Christianity might be time-consuming and dangerous (Gaucher 1968:21-22), which was among the overriding reasons the Minister approved the creation of the first school in Senegal. The French school epitomised the failure of the repressive and aggressive colonial system, which aimed at subjugating the large majority of people and to win their adhesion and sympathy. The driving need to alter colonial strategies was expressed by Laprade. He stressed that:

Il ne suffit pas de réprimer: nous n'obtiendrons que des succès éphémères. Il faut aussi instruire: c'est dans ce but que nous avons créés des écoles primaries (Laprade 1860)[2].

The Governor Faidherbe, one of the most notorious architects of French colonial policy, emphasised best the ideology that underpinned the colonial implantation of the French school in Senegal. In a speech delivered in July 1860, he argued the importance of education for the local population, at least from a colonial perspective:

l'un des moyens les plus propres à assurer notre influence sur la race indigène et à la diriger dans la voie qui convient à nos intérêts est sans contredit l'instruction, car l'instruction ... a pour but en effet d'abaisser les barrières élevées par la différences de moeurs et de croyances ... C'est donc son propre interêt dont le nôtre n'est que la conséquence que nous poursuivons en cherchant à instruire cette population pour nous l'assimiler (Faidherbe 1860)[3].

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[2]   Speech delivered on 23 August 1860 quoted in CRDS.1968:3.
[3]   Speech delivered by Faidherbe reported in *Moniteur du Senegal* July 1860.

The introduction of the French teaching system in Senegal was not an easy task. Besides reading and writing in French, the school offered subjects such as arithmetic, music, and calculations. Overall, the success of the school was fairly modest but impressive if we consider the popular hostility towards the French colonial system and institutions and the faithfulness of the population to their religious beliefs and Koranic schools. To start a western type of education school and to get sizeable numbers of people to join the school was a gigantic challenge. In 1817, Dard started a French school with only 7 African students but the enrolments went up later. For example, in December of the same year, the school enrolments jumped to 80 students and, by the end of the 1818, more than a thousand attended the school (Gaucher 1968:41). In a letter written to the *Ministre de la Marine Chargé des Colonies*, Dard claimed to have taught more than 300 people in a span of five years and stated that around 250 attended daily classes (Gaucher 1968:162). The claimed successes of both the school and the schoolteacher impressed the locals as well as to the colonial authorities. Jean Dard's successful achievements were corroborated by Governor Fleuriau, who enthusiastically concluded that:

nous commençons à recueillir les fruits de cet établissement. La plupart (des élèves) parlent et écrivent le français assez correctement et ont acquis en même temps une instruction première que leur prédécesseurs sont loin d'avoir. Les plus âgés seront avant peu en état de tenir des comptes ou de se livrer à des affaires (Gaucher 1968:54).

As a result, a second schoolteacher was appointed in 1818 to support Jean Dard's efforts. When Dard was appointed in Senegal to set up a school and start a French school on the order of the *Ministre Secrétaire d'État et de la Marine et des Colonies*, he laid the foundation stone of the most significant and influential emblem of French colonial presence in Senegal. Certainly, today's Senegalese educational system is a genuine replica of the French model, especially in terms of its traditions, practices, and structures from primary to university levels.

Even though Jean Dard obtained satisfactory results in his pioneering enterprise, he experienced harsh difficulties. The difficulties were related both to the language of instruction and the content of the school's curriculum. It didn't take him a lot of time to realise the need to alter his teaching methods in order to make the teaching more effective and relevant to the teaching environment and the linguistic reality. Therefore, he decided to study Wolof, the most widely spoken language in that part

of Saint Louis, transcribed it, developed a Wolof-French dictionary, and used Wolof as the medium of instruction. He was deeply convinced, for example, that a bilingual teaching approach would be more effective than a French-only school policy. His decision to educate the local population using home languages created a shock wave in the colonial circle. Fundamentally, Dard had shaken all the principles underlying the colonial language policy agenda. The authorities rejected his teaching approach, which was regarded as heretical. Uproar of criticisms were levelled against him and his teaching activities were under fire. Subsequently, the *Ministère de la Marine et des Colonies* commissioned an independent inquiry designated to shed light on Dard's claims about the successes of his school and also the alleged achievements of the bilingual teaching experience. The report conducted by Governor Jubelin between January 1828 and May 1829 was severely critical about the use of Wolof and French as the medium of instruction and it concluded that:

le vice fondamental du système d'enseignement, c'est l'emploi de la langue indigène, language parlée mais non écrite, comme moyen d'arriver à l'instruction des élèves (Gaucher 1968:107).

Dard was primarily accused of perverting the concept of education from the colonial perspective by using vernacular languages and he was blamed for not disseminating "Christian values". The Jubelin report reached similar conclusions and concluded vigorously that the use of Wolof and Bambara at school undermined the colonial policy of assimilation:

c'est là l'obstacle sérieux, la difficulté capitale: tant que l'usage du Wolof ne sera pas exclu des leçons de l'école et pour ainsi dire retranché aux élèves, on n'obtiendra jamais de succès réel et on retombera toujours dans l'inconvénient de n'inculquer aux enfants que des notions superficielles, confuses et passagères, que la plupart oublieront aussitôt qu'ils auront quitté l'école (Gaucher 1968:108).

In a word, the language issues raised in the report emphasised much deeper concerns. Obviously, the report highlights essentially divergent interpretations about the missions of school in the colonial system. On the one hand, Jubelin, Faidherbe and many others consider the French colonial school as an instrument for cultural domination and assimilation, that is, to educate young Africans who would become "des auxiliaires utiles de l'administration, capable de comprendre et de faire apprécier le

rôle civilisateur de la France"[4] because primarily education in French aimed to "instruire cette population pour nous l'assimiler"[5]. As mentioned by Gaucher (1968), the aims of the French colonial school were primarily:

de créer chaque année parmi les élèves une pépinière de jeunes sujets propres à devenir l'élite de leurs concitoyens, à les éclairer à leur tour et à propager insensiblement les premiers éléments de la civilisation européennes chez les peuples de l'intérieur (Gaucher 1968:109).

On the other hand, someone like Dard resolutely believed that the French colonial school should be a tool for liberation and consequently should be used to introduce social change. Dard believed that to reach this goal the school should disseminate knowledge through the use of vernacular languages. In the foreword of his path-breaking *Grammaire Wolofe* (1825), Dard, quoted by Gaucher (1968), expressed his concerns about education in European languages in the colonies and questioned its cultural, social and linguistic relevance. He argued unambiguously:

en effet, de quelle utilité peuvent être des mots français ou anglais répétés par un jeune africain, quand il ne peut comprendre ce que ces mots signifient dans son propre language. Alors il est découragé; et souvent le premier mois d'études n'a servi qu'à le dégoûter de l'instruction pour toujours (Gaucher 1968:173-174).

Based on this conviction, Dard concluded that "quoi que l'on dise, il faut que les noirs soient instruits dans leur propre langue; sans cela point d'établissements durables, point de civilisation"(Gaucher 1968:173).

3   "French only" Policy

Another important feature of French colonial policy in Senegal with regard to language was the implementation of a "French only" policy. Indeed, fearing that Wolof in particular and local languages in general would slow down the process of the imposition of French language and culture, the colonial authority regulated language use in the colonial schools. The first colonial decree that organised education in French in Senegal emphasised strongly that the "French only" policy must be implemented in all colonial schools. Indeed, the first decree aimed at the

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[4]   *Journal Officiel du Sénégal* 1920.
[5]   Faidherbe 1860 in *Moniteur du Sénégal* . 17 July 2002 quoted in CRDS 1976.

creation of a girls' school for African students was released in July 1826 and Article 8 stated clearly that "la language française sera seule employée par les élèves"[6]. Furthermore, another *Project de Décret* submitted on 29 October 1834 to the Ministre Secrétaire d'État et de la Marine et des Colonies, urged schools to focus on the use of the French language and the teaching of French history. Ironically, it is important to underline that the first decrees that created and organised the French colonial schools in Senegal were totally silent about the local languages, their use and their place in the colonial education system.

Though education in French continued to be dominant in Senegal over several years during the colonisation process and it was entrenched in colonial rules and regulations, the resistance to the colonial authorities and the nationalist sentiments remained firm and earnest. In particular, pressure and demands for independence became more organised and toughened in the following years. In parallel to these demands, Koranic and Arabic schools along with their leaders became very popular. Fearing losing their grip on the education system and in order to maintain the hegemony of education in French, the colonial authority passed a decree to ban the use of local languages in the education system as a whole. The decree, which applied to all schools in French West Africa, stated that:

l'enseignement doit être donné **exclusivement en langue française** [our stress]. L'emploi des idiomes indigènes est interdit. L'usage des langues maternelles n'est authorisé que dans les écoles coraniques et les écoles de cathéchisme, les écoles religieuses n'étant considérées comme des établissements d'enseignement (Wardhaugh 1987:125).

4   French in Post-independent Senegal

When Senegal gained political independence in 1960 after more than three centuries and a half of French colonial domination, French was adopted as the sole official language. Due to this official status, proficiency in French is associated with higher education, social mobility and upward economic and professional opportunities.

The colonial imposition of French had already relegated local languages into the background. As a result, the local languages of Senegal received little attention and recognition. The post-independence political leaders and the language decision-makers who took over from the colonial

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[6]   *Bulletin Administratif des Actes du Gouvernement*, Imprimerie Royale – Paris, 1844 ,137-138.

masters reinforced the stigmatisation and marginalisation of the language of the people. They did not aim at restoring local languages to the place they should occupy in the linguistic situation. The language policy adopted and implemented in the country after independence compounded this situation. For example, legislative decisions regulated the use of local languages in the National Assembly (Senegalese Parliament) and restricted their use in the media (newspapers, radio, and television). As a result, the domains that belonged to these languages shrank considerably in Senegal to the extent that, at a point, Senegalese people started losing interest and respect for their own languages.

In spite of strenuous efforts to impose and maintain French in Senegal over several centuries, its use continues to be fairly marginal and elitist and French continues to be, for many Senegalese, a foreign language. In particular, the use of French remains confined to specific situations such as schools and universities, administration, courts, and parliament. French is also very important in the media. It is dominant in printed media and, to a certain extent, in most programs in the national television. French is spoken fluently by only around 20% of the population and is the mother tongue of a tiny elite of less than 1 % of the Senegalese population (Ndoye 1996). On the contrary, it is Wolof, spoken by more than 80% of the population, which is the lingua franca in most parts of the country and is used widely in all spheres of the society.

5   English in Senegal

In recent years, another language, English, has been added to the Senegalese linguistic repertoire. The arrival of English, in fact with greater power and prestige, further marginalised the languages of the people and impacted a lot on the prestige and the hegemony of French in Senegal. For several reasons, English has gained worldwide prestige. It is an international medium of communication, command of which is also a well-recognised asset in Senegal. Along with French, English has become valuable in Senegal for international communication, greater professional and educational opportunities, and for social prestige. As a result of the growing interest in English in Senegal, there has been a mushrooming of English language centres during the last decade. For example in Dakar, besides the Department of English and the Institut des Langues Etrangères Appliquées (ILEA) both at Université Cheikh Anta Diop, there are least six major language institutes offering English language courses. These are: the Centre de Perfectionement en Langue Anglaise (CPLA), the British Senegalese Institute (BSI), the British Council (BC), the American

English Language Programmes (AELP), the Institut des Langues at Cesag, and Suffolk University English Language Centre. In addition to these language institutes, there is a rapid growth of bilingual (mainly French-English) primary and secondary schools in Senegal. The expansion of English language service providers in the last ten years has made the competition between English languages schools tougher. Though most schools are tight-lipped with regard to their enrolment figures for the purpose of this research, the administration people and teaching staff talked to during the field trip hinted that their schools or centres are doing well and the business is prosperous.

The importance of English in Senegal is not just evident in the schools and the language institutions, it is also apparent in job advertisements, particularly for qualified jobs and most secretarial positions. It is quite common to find job offers requiring "une bonne connaissance de l'anglais: parlé et écrit". Among the 25 jobs advertised in the main daily newspapers between 15 December 2001 and July 2002 ("*Le Soleil*", "*Sud*", and "*Walf Fadjri*"), when this research was underway in Senegal, 19 jobs (mostly secretarial) requested excellent skills in English language.

The local spoken media in Senegal bestows little space to English but some regional FM radio stations (such as Thiés FM and Kaolack FM) offer a one-hour weekly English language program. The national television also offers a one-hour weekly English language magazine. The BBC World Service programs are available in English on FM in the capital and some regions.

Though Senegal continues to play a significant role in the Francophone movement and is often referred to as "*arrière-cours*" of France and "*chasse-gardée*" of the Francophonie (confirmed by the election of the former Senegalese president Abdou Diouf as the General Secretary of the Francophonie in 2002), the growing importance of English and the great enthusiasm to learn the language coupled with the magnetism of the Anglo-American culture among a sizeable fringe of the population have a symbolic significance. It is a message sent to the custodians of French language and culture and Francophonie in Senegal that the importance and the prestige of English in Senegal are not just confined to schools, academics, and business institutions.

Besides, it is interesting to note that English has even crept through the tall grills of the *Palais de la République*[7] and is firmly implanted at the

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[7]   Office of the President of Senegal.

Présidence de la Répubique[8] of Senegal. In many circles close to the *Présidence de la République*, it is rumoured that the Senegalese president himself strongly urged his Ministers to "go and learn English" during a *Conseil des Ministres[9]*. Furthermore, it is no secret to anyone that at the time this research was conducted in Senegal English language instructors were very busy in the *Présidence* delivering intensive English language classes to senior staff members.

6   English for Specific Purposes in Senegal

The second aspect of English language teaching in Senegal has been the development of the teaching of English for specific needs. The accelerated growth of private vocational schools in Senegal whose main foci are economics, accountancy, commerce, management, tourism, and computer sciences has created specific language needs, especially English for the specialists in these fields. To deal with these emerging needs for specialists in these areas, the Institut des Langues Etrangères Appliquès (ILEA) and Langues Etrangères Appliquès (LEA) were created to support English language teaching in the universities in Senegal and to address the language needs in the professional sectors.

7   Interest in Local Languages

In recent times, Senegalese people, in parallel with their interest in learning foreign languages, have become noticeably more interested in learning their own languages and in seeking in their own culture for social, cultural, political, and religious references and patterns. There are at least three significant reasons that may explain this major attitude shift towards local languages and cultures.

First, there are important changes in the political leadership in the country. Leopold Sedar Senghor, the first Senegalese president, retired unexpectedly from the presidency of Senegal in 1981. Although Senghor had a keen sympathy for vernacular languages and African culture, his admiration, veneration, and respect for the French language and culture were far greater and almost incomparable. The maintenance of French as the only official language after the independence of Senegal and the symbolic enactment of "six national languages" is largely attributable to

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[8]   Cabinet of the President of Senegal.
[9]   Council of Ministers is a weekly meeting of all the ministers presided by the Senegalese President.

him. After his sudden withdrawal from politics, the new political leaders introduced a more vigorous policy to "nationalise" the education system of Senegal. The main purpose was that education should mirror local cultures and languages but it should also aim at reinventing a new type of Senegalese people whose identity and personality traits are immersed in their own local cultures. These processes have resulted in new educational orientations after the "État Généraux de l'Éducation et de la Formation"[10].

The second reason that explains the growing interest of Senegalese people in their own cultures and languages can be summed up by the development of a strong resentment towards the previous socio-economic, political and cultural models copied from Europe and imposed upon people immediately after independence and the subsequent years. Indeed, more than four decades after the independence of the country, the expectations and hopes of people have not been met and the economic and social situations of the country have not improved much since independence (endemic unemployment, high school dropout rates, a rampant illiteracy rate, devaluation of the local currency, repetitive strikes in high schools and universities). Further, the general sentiment towards the Metropole has been virtually affected by a series of social, economic and political events over time, namely the imposition of stricter visa regulations, frequent humiliating deportation of migrants attempting to enter the country, rise of the National Front in France and recently the memorable win of Senegal over France during the Soccer World Cup in Japan. The combination of these factors has undermined considerably the prestige, status, and myth associated with education in French. As noted by Tabouret-keller et al in Senegal:

social promotion was until recently obtained through jobs in the public sector, which demanded proficiency in oral and written French, but today in Dakar [capital of Senegal] there is a new class of prosperous merchants who promote Wolof as their working language (Tabouret-keller et al 1997:58).

This social and economic promotion without necessarily education in French has been reinforced by the phenomenal success stories of the

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[10]   Initiated by the Senegalese Government, it was a national forum about the new orientation to be given the Senegalese education system.

"*Baol-Baol*" and "*Modou-Modou*"[11]. As a result, education in French is no longer seen as the only key for social and economic mobility.

The third and last important reason that explains the attitude shift in Senegal is the sudden development of media of mass communication in local languages. Indeed, in the early 1990s, private radio stations have been allowed, thus creating an explosion of FM local private radio stations. They broadcast essentially in local languages and today there are more than twenty local radio stations across Senegal. Henceforth, access to information, knowledge and services are easier and available to a larger number of people.

8   The Status of Local Languages

The colonial language policy advocated the use of French as the sole language and mercilessly developed a strategy to "throttle" local languages (Bokamba 1991). During the colonial period, the design and implementation of language policies were ideological and political in nature, and they were not based on the relevant socio-economic and linguistic needs of people. After independence, the early political authorities – most of them shaped and moulded in the colonial model – did not have any moral qualms or any practical difficulties about maintaining foreign languages, especially French as the only official language, and in relegating to the scrap heap of oblivion their own local languages. Their choice had been made easy by the fact that French already dominated, only administratively, the linguistic scene of Senegal before independence (at least officially).

The real decision to formally organise and manage local language resources in Senegal dates back to the 1970s (DPLN[12], Ndoye 1996). Presidential decree No 71566 on 21 May 1971 organised the status of local languages in Senegal. The 1971 decree admitted Wolof, Pulaar, Serrere, Diola, Mandingo, and Soninke as the six symbolic "national" languages of Senegal. The promotion of local languages in Senegal has undergone various contours. In 2001, the Ministère de l'Alphabétisation et des Languages Nationales was created. Before its creation as a ministry, it was an ordinary directorate attached to the Ministry of National Education for a few years and then was turned into *Ministère Délégué* in 1996

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[11]   These concepts are used in Senegal to designate groups of people with little or no formal education in French, who have built up prosperous financial and business empires in Europe (particularly France, Italy, and Spain) and the USA.

[12]   Leaflet published by the Direction pour Promotion des Langues Nationales. 2001

and then back again to a directorate. These efforts to promote local languages in the 1970s and 1980s were underpinned by political and ideological commitment to study and research on local languages, namely at l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (IFAN) and Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar (CLAD) both attached to Université Cheikh Anta Diop.

The local languages of Senegal did not enjoy any considerable recognition in the formal education system in Senegal. They are not taught at schools and there is an absence of curricula. The scarcity of reading materials and the lack of well-trained instructors in local languages are conspicuous despite the fact that there is greater awareness about the relevance and importance of local languages in today's Senegal.

9   Local Languages Promotion

Recently, there is mounting pressure to give local languages more space and importance. As a result, the Ministère l'Education de Base et la Promotion des Langues Locales was created in 1986 and the Ministère de l'Alphabétisation et des Langues Nationales (MALN) in 2001. The aims for the creation of a ministry for the promote local languages are, among others, to address local language communication challenges, languages communication challenges, and to conduct mass literacy programs as an answer to the weak and inefficient literacy rate in French.

In a bid to bring home languages to a greater height, the current government of Senegal has voiced its intention to create an academy for national languages. The role of the academy for national languages is, according to the Senegalese President, "…de réflexions sur la langue, sur son respect et son évolution [*sic*]"[13]

10   Education and Literacy Programme

According to the Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique (2000), the Senegalese government has set up a ten-year education programme (2001-2010) known as the *Programme Décennal pour l'Enseignement et la Formation* (PDEF) in order to reach universal education and to improve the quality of the education system in conformity with international

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[13]   The Senegalese President, Me Abdoulaye Wade, revealed the information during a live online chart organised by Radio France Internationale (RFI). The internet live chart was reported on http://www. sudonline. sn/archives/1606200.html accessed on 18/06/2001 at 11:00.

conventions and recommendations (e.g. Convention on children's rights, recommendations "Education for All" made at the Jomtien Conference in Thailand). At present, in Senegal, the national illiteracy rate is above 62%. The illiteracy rate is 59.6% for Senegalese people under 20 and it is 67% for Senegalese between 15-49 (Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique 2003: 31).

In the current PDEF, literacy and basic education are key activities aimed at meeting the government's objectives, in particular, a 5% yearly reduction of the illiteracy rate among the 15-49 years age group (including 75% of women) and 5% yearly reduction of the illiteracy rate among the 9-14 years age group by providing "know how" skills. In brief, according to the Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique (2000: 100), the literacy and basic education policies aim at:

1   reducing disparities between boys and girls;
2   reducing disparities between regions; and
3   reducing disparities between ages (priority to be given to the 9-15 years age group).

11   Other Local Language Bodies

There are also other bodies active in the promotion of local languages in Senegal. These include non-governmental organisations (Tostan, ARED), research and training institutions (IFAN, UCAD), and voluntary associations (Association Pour la Renaissance du Pulaar among others). In addition, corporates, mainly located in rural areas such as SODEFITEX, are quite dedicated to the promotion of local languages. The SODEFITEX uses local languages to train farmers on how to spread chemicals, to use modern farming techniques and to promote health care. According to the training staff in the SODEFITEX, the use of local languages to train and communicate with the cotton growers in rural areas has yielded very positive results in terms of the improvement of the crops, the intensification of the production and the improvement of health standards. As a general trend, many development agencies such Agence de Dévelopment Rural (ADR), World Vision International (WVI) and Tostan focus on the use of local languages instead of French in order to reach the majority of people for the promotion local governance (e.g. widening democratic participation as everybody understands clearly the message and people express themselves freely, more transparency in public management, easier access to information on human rights and

other conventions, more awareness of communities on environmental and gender issues) and achieve sustainable development at the grassroots level (massive literacy and numeracy skills campaigns in local languages and improvement of basic health care).

12   Language Planning and Language-in-education in Senegal

It is evident that more than forty years after the design and implementation of language education policy and language planning, new language demands and expectations have emerged. These are the result of internal as well as external needs.

Senegal, similarly to many countries, does not have a single and independent official body that has the responsibility to organise, conduct, and implement language policy matters. Language planning and language-in-education policy are organised at two major levels. On the other hand, there is the Constitution of Senegal and, on the other, there are the Ministry of National Education, the Ministère de l'Alphabétisation et des Langues Nationales (MALN), and non-governmental organisations and other independent bodies.

13   The Constitution of Senegal

The status of languages in Senegal is embedded in the Constitution of the country. Article 1 of the 1971 Constitution stipulated that French is the official language and Wolof, Pulaar, Serrere, Diola, Mandingo, and Soninke are the six "national" languages. In 2001, a new Constitution was adopted after a referendum following the leadership changeover referred to earlier. The new referendum introduced a sea change in language policy matters. It reinforced and expanded Article 1 of the 1971 Constitution and stipulated that "toute langue codifiée est une langue nationale"[14]. Since then, there is an expeditious process to codify as many local languages as possible in order to promote the prestige of these languages and grant recognition to the language promotion efforts conducted recently at the community level. In less than four years, the MALN has carried out the codification of eight languages. These are: Hassaniya, Balant, Mankaañ, Manjaku, Serrere Noone, Bedik, Bassari, and Saafi. The present author was a member of the scientific committee for the codification of Manjaku in Mai 2002.

14   The Ministry of National Education

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[14]   Any language that is codified is a national language [Our translation].

The Ministry of National Education (MEN) has the mission to organise and coordinate the education system of Senegal. It has the responsibility of ensuring a qualitative delivery of all school subjects in secondary schools in Senegal (e.g., mathematics, physics, English, French, and German among others), of designing curricula, participating in the training and recruitment of teachers, maintaining school statistics, among others. The MEN also organises and coordinates the teaching of foreign languages in Senegal. To carry out these important tasks, the MEN is split up into various departments and sub-departments. English has a high level of attention and representation at the MEN. At the MEN there is a Bureau Technique pour l'Enseignement de l'Anglais known as Bureau d'Anglais which is located at *Pièce 228*. Its designated mission is "to help promote English language teaching and learning in secondary schools in Senegal" (Coly 2001:1). It also organises professional development and in-service education for as many English teachers as possible throughout the country. According to Coly, the *Bureau d'Anglais* is "the interface between the Ministry of National Education and the British and American partners or any other country or institution interested in the development of English in Senegal" (Coly 2001:2) and it advises the ministry on issues related to English language teaching in Senegal.

The other major languages taught in Senegalese secondary schools (German, Spanish, Arabic, Russian) are represented at the MEN and the missions of their representations are among others to promote the respective languages they teach by designing high quality language programs and by organising workshops for in-service teacher development.

15   The Ministry for the Promotion of Local Languages

The other major player in language matters in Senegal is the Ministère de l'Enseignement Technique, de la Formation Professionelle, de l'Alphabétisation et des Langues Nationales commonly known as "MALN". This super ministry has the mission, among others things, to promote local languages and basic education. Its basic challenge is to create a favourable condition for a successful introduction of the teaching of local languages in the education system. The school year 2002-2003 officially marked the introduction of local languages to the education system. The MALN is divided into two main departments: the Direction pour la Promotion des Languages Nationales (DPLN) and the Direction de l'Alphabétisation et l'Education de Base (DAEB). The DPLN has the mission to promote local languages in Senegal while the DEAB has the mission to conduct mass literacy programs in local languages. As mentioned earlier, since its inception in 2001, the MALN has already codified four local languages.

16 Conclusion

Current language planning and language issues in Senegal reflect the long historical process that is marked by the imposition of French during all the colonial period. The colonial language policy has persistently aimed at relegating the local languages of the country to the background. When the country achieved independence from France, the early post-independence language policy did not strive at the outset to restore and give local languages full recognition, especially in the education, media and administration.

It is only after 1971 that the first reforms towards greater recognition of local languages have been initiated following political pressure and social demands. In recent times, pressure for more recognition of local languages has intensified, namely at the grassroots level, not only because of political or ideological reasons but because of more pressing reasons such as cultural and linguistic maintenance, educational purposes, and socio-economic reasons. These social demands have received a positive echo at the decision-making level that has realised the weight and power of local languages in today's Senegal. Timid and uncoordinated measures are being taken though a lot needs to be done regarding language in education and the promotion of the prestige of local languages.

Recently, English has been added to the linguistic repertoire of the Senegalese people. It has come with greater power and prestige. As a result, interest in local languages coupled with the prestigious arrival of English is a serious "threat" to the domain of French (Ackers and Matusse 1995). The prestige and the domain of language use of French have both diminished considerably. These are not only challenges for the French language but also for language policy decision-makers in Senegal, in particular, the MEN, the MPLN and other language policy bodies in the country who are expected to meet the language needs and aspirations of the people.

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Section 2

Practices

Teaching Languages for Intercultural Communication

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1   Introduction

The intercultural dimension of language learning has become an important dimension of language learning and much recent work in many countries has focused on this (for example, Bartolomé 1995; Bolten 1993; Byram 1997; Byram and Morgan 1994; Byram and Zarate 1994; Candau 2000; Cerezal 1999; Crozet 1996; Crozet & Liddicoat 1999; Kramsch 1991; 1993; 1995a; 1996; 1998; Liddicoat 1997a; 2000; 2002a; 2002b; Papademetre & Scarino 2000; Terranova 1997.; van Kalsbeek & Huizinga 1997; Zarate 1986). The issues of the cultural dimension of language education has also been a key theme in much of Ingram's work especially in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Ingram 1977a; 1977b; 1980a; 1980b; 1980c). Ingram has developed a number of ideas related to the nature of language learning and personality development and has argued that languages teaching can have a decisive impact on cross-cultural attitudes provided that it was appropriately structured (Ingram 1980a; 1980b; 1980c). This chapter seeks to develop some of these ideas and to examine the role that language learning can play in the development of intercultural understandings and how language teaching can develop these understandings.

Learning another language is more than a simple task of assembling lexical items in grammatically accurate sentences. It involves fundamentally learning to communicate with others in that language and such communication involves an engagement with culture. In this paper, I want to present one particular approach to teaching language and culture in an integrated way with the aim of developing in language learners the ability to understand, reflect on and mediate cultures as a part of their language learning experience. In beginning this task, it is important to

clarify a number of assumptions about language learning, communication and culture, which underlie the thinking in this paper.

Communication is an act of sociality: that is it is not simply the case that information is transferred from one participant to another, but rather language is used to create and maintain social relationships. This means that we cannot view language in terms of a contrast between interactional (social) and transactional (information-exchange) discourse (cf McCarthy & Carter 1994), but rather as a pervading social act in which information exchange may be one of the relevant activities going on (cf Schegloff 1995). This means that in communication, whether in a first or other language, "getting the message across" is only one element of what is involved in language use. In addition, speakers are constantly invoking, interpreting and confirming social relationships through talk. Language therefore is fundamental in creating the social context in which language is used and constructs the ways in which participants understand the social activity in which they are engaged (Liddicoat 1997b; Schegloff 1996). Where participants share the same language and underlying cultural assumptions the social dimension of communication is interpreted on the basis of shared perceptions of the role of language in creating the social world. However, where speakers share different cultural assumptions, the possibilities of communication breakdown, or rather the misinterpretation of utterances in context, are greatly increased (Scollon & Scollon, 2001).

Language is also more than a communicative tool. It is also a marker of identity and to use a language is an act of social identity in that it encodes how the speaker is presenting him/herself in a particular interaction. Language use involves the expression of self, not just the expression of ideas and intentions (Edwards 1985; Hill, 2003; Jayasuriya 1990). Language learning is therefore not simply a question of acquiring a new code, but constructing a new identity and expressing identity through a new code (Byram 1999). This means that language learning presents a potential problem of identity management for the language learner as they develop new understandings of self and other and new modes for expressing such understandings.

These issues of sociality and identity as they relate to language and language learning mean that we have to look beyond the language learning as a cognitive process and reconstruct language learning as a social process (Firth and Wagner 1997). This means giving emphasis to the place of language use in language acquisition. Language learners are

also language users and it is inappropriate to see a dichotomy between these two characterisations. Language learners use language to express ideas and they construct and present their own identities regardless of proficiency. Language learning is therefore an engagement with new modes of (self)expression not simply the acquisition of a code and attention needs to be given to the nature of this expression.

When language education begins to focus on use rather than simply on acquisition, then issues of interculturality become primary in the ways in which language learning is constructed. Second language communication is intercultural communication. This may seem obvious, but it is always important to remember that when a person uses their second language they are encoding ideas in a linguistic system which is located within a cultural context and which will be interpreted as being located within that context. Language learners have to engage with culture as they communicate and to learn the cultural contexts which frame communication and interpretation (Liddicoat 1997a; 1997b; 2002b).

The discussion so far has contained an underlying assumption that the language learner is a developing bilingual. This also seems to be obvious, but the nature of bilingualism and bilingual communication has not usually been encapsulated in language teaching theory. Instead language acquisition and language teaching have focused on the monolingual native speaker as the norm against which language learners are measured. However, the bilingual experience of language use is not the same as that of a monolingual native speaker as the bilingual has by definition two linguistic codes and the possibility of operating in two languages, two cultures and is able to exploit the creative possibilities by them (Kramsch 1999). This means that the communicative resources available to second language users are different from those available to monolingual speakers of the language. Bilinguals need to be able to mediate linguistic codes and cultural contexts as a regular part of their interaction.

These assumptions about the nature of (second) language use raise some questions for the way in which language teaching and learning are conceived:

- what is culture for communication?
- how can intercultural competence be taught?
- how is intercultural competence acquired?

These questions will be taken up in the discussion to follow.

2   What is Culture for Communication?

In searching for an answer to this question in the context of language teaching and learning the are a number of issues, which emerge as important for practice.

The first of these is that culture is practice which is accomplished and realised by members of a cultural group in their daily lives and interactions (Liddicoat 2000). This means that culture in the context of language learning needs to go beyond behaviours, texts, artifacts and information as manifestations of culture and examine the ways in which these things are accomplished discursively within a context of use. This also means that culture learning becomes an engagement with cultural practices rather than exposure to information about a culture and that the cultural competence to be developed through language learning takes the form of intercultural behaviour in an through the language being learned (Liddicoat 2002b).

Viewing culture as a dynamic set of practices rather than as a body of shared information engages the idea of individual identity as a more central concept in understanding culture. Culture is a framework in which the individual achieves his/her identity using a cultural group's understandings of choices made by members as a resource for the presentation of the self. This reflects Sacks' (1984) notion of 'doing being ordinary': who we are is an interactionally accomplished product not an inherent quality and the culture provides a reference point for this interactional accomplishment. Such a view encourages us to this of the individual as a semiotic system, that is, as a set of meaningful choices about the presentation of self. Culture provides a context in which this semiotic is to be read and choices will be understood differently in different cultural contexts (Kramsch 1995a; 1995b). This means that for the second language user doing being ordinary involves presenting the self within a different framework of conventions for reading the individual. Language learning provides a challenge for identity in two key ways. First it raises the question, "who am I when I speak this language?" and secondly, "How am I me when I speak this language?"

When culture is viewed as dynamic practice it gives a way of dealing with culture as variable. We move away from the idea of the national culture and the idea of a monolithic 'French culture' or 'Japanese culture' and recognise that culture varies with time, place and social category and for age, gender, religion, ethnicity and sexuality (Norton 2000). Different people participate in different groups and have multiple memberships of

within their cultural group each of which can and does affect the presentation of the self within the cultural context (Tajfel & Turner 1986). The variability is not limited however to membership of sub-cultures but also to the ways in which the individual participates within his/her cultures. People can resist, subvert or challenge the cultural practices to which they are exposed in both their first culture and in additional cultures they acquire.

A view of culture as practices indicates that culture is complex and that individual's relationships with culture are complex. Adding an additional language and culture to an individual's repertoire expands the complexity, generates new possibilities and creates a need for mediation between languages and cultures and the identities which they frame. This means that language learning involves the development of an intercultural competence, which facilitates such meditation. Intercultural competence involves at least the following:

- accepting that one's own and others' behaviour is culturally determined
- accepting that there is no one right way to do things
- valuing one's own culture and other cultures
- using language to explore culture
- finding personal solutions in intercultural interaction
- using L1 culture as a resource to learn about L2 culture
- finding an intercultural style and identity

Intercultural competence means centrally being aware that cultures are relative. That is, being aware that there is no one "normal" way of doing things, but rather that all behaviours are culturally variable. Applied to a particular language it also involves knowing some of the common cultural conventions which are used by speakers of the language (Liddicoat 2000). The emphasis here is on *some*. Given the volume, variability and potential for change of the cultural conventions, it is impossible to learn them all and certainly well beyond the scope of any classroom acquisition. Because a learner can only ever acquire some of the cultural conventions, an important part of intercultural competence is having strategies for learning more about culture as they interact (Liddicoat 2002b).

3 How Can Intercultural Competence Be Taught?

The discussion so far provides an argument for teaching culture in a particular way. What I want to do in the remainder of the paper is present an approach to teaching language and culture together in the framework

of ILT. This approach has, in particular been developed with my colleague Chantal Crozet in a number of recent papers (Crozet 1996; Crozet & Liddicoat, 1999; Liddicoat 2000; 2002b; Liddicoat & Crozet, 2001). The approach involves opportunities to reflect on one's own culture, to experiment with the new culture and to decide how one wishes to respond to cultural differences.

The approach divides language and culture teaching into four stages:

- awareness-raising
- skills development
- production
- feedback

3.1 Awareness-raising

The awareness-raising stage is where the learners are introduced to new input about language and culture. New input should be introduced through participative tasks, which encourage the learner to compare the new culture with their own practices.

Ideally the learner should have an opportunity to notice differences between the new input and their own culture, with the teacher supporting them in noticing differences. Schmidt (1993) has made the argument that language learning happens most readily when students themselves notice things about the language and this applied equally to language and culture learning (Liddicoat & Crozet 2001). It is especially important that students have the opportunity to think about and talk about what they notice, either in their first language, or if their proficiency is adequate, in the second language.

Students' noticings are followed up wherever possible with an explanation of the function of particular actions in the target language to assist them in developing an explanatory framework for understanding what the speaker is doing. This explanation does not have to be deep, nor does it have to be detailed. Most importantly, it needs to be seen as being a normal way of acting. Some teachers may worry that as non-native speakers, they do not have enough insight into the other culture to teach it. However, being a native speaker is not always an advantage either, because in an intercultural approach, the teacher needs to know something about both cultures. Because ILT is comparative and is based on learning to notice differences, the important element is the exploration of difference rather than teaching difference and this is something

teachers and students can do together. In particular, teachers' experiences of intercultural communication, especially of problems, can lead to insights about language and culture.

For awareness raising authentic video materials are particularly useful, as are cartoons, stories, etc. However some materials designed specifically for language learners may 'edit out' or 'nativise' cultural information in order to focus on language giving students a distorted picture of the culture (cf Kramsch 1987).

3.2   Skills Development

This stage allows students to begin working with their new knowledge and trying out native speakers ways of acting and speaking. This involves short, supported communicative tasks which practise elements of the new knowledge and helps to build towards overall learning for a new speech situation. This work involves picking apart some of the language and cultural needs of the students for focussed practice. Ideally experimentation should occur immediately after awareness raising to help fix their newly noticed knowledge through experiential learning.

3.3   Production

In this stage, students put together the elements they have been trying out in the experimentation phase and integrate the information they have acquired in actual language use. The good way to achieve this is through role plays, preferably unscripted role plays if the students are at a stage to be able to do these. In the role plays, they will need to act out the cultural and linguistics information that they have been practising so far. In essence, they try out being a native speaker of the language. The aim is for them to experience culturally different ways of interacting. In part this involves the students in experiencing the impact of using a different set of cultural rules on their identity and experiencing the comfort or discomfort this can bring. Morgan (1993) also has noted research that showed that role play, in which learners played the role of people in the target culture, was effective in having them understand the other culture.

3.4   Feedback

This is an important part of the activity and involves reflecting on the experience of acting like a native speaker in the production phase. During this phase, the student discusses with the teacher how s/he felt about speaking and acting in a particular way. This allows the teacher to comment on the language use of the student, but also allows the student

to express how they felt. The feedback should allow the student to work towards discovering a "third place": a place of comfort between their first language and culture and their second (Crozet & Liddicoat 1999; 2000; Kramsch 1993)

Some aspects of using a new language and culture are difficult or uncomfortable, others can be liberating. In engaging with a new set of practices, questions of identity are important and even very small cultural differences can produce quite strong emotional reactions. In the feedback, it is important to recognise the positives and negatives students express and to acknowledge the validity of these feelings. Ingram has also argued that it is highly desirable for learners to exteriorise their intuitive responses and attitudes and subject them to consideration (Ingram 1980a; 1980b) and the feedback element in this approach seeks to develop such an exteriorising of experiences as a first step in understanding and modifying behaviour as a result of their experiences.

Negative feelings are particularly important as they have strong implications for future interaction in the language. If a learner is unable to use the culturally contexted practices comfortably, s/he needs to develop ways of facilitating interaction without using these practices. Simple avoidance is rarely adequate as the practices involved are read by potential interlocutors in particular ways and avoidance may lead to unwanted and/or unintended readings of the speaker. One solution is to explain avoidance of uncomfortable cultural practices in terms of the user's first culture. Such explanation requires conscious awareness of the practice and its significance and allows the users him/herself to frame the way in which avoidance should be read. An alternative solution may involve the development of an intermediary practice which is acceptable from both the user's first culture perspective and also from the interlocutor's cultural perspective. Such intermediary practices involve decentring from the first culture but do not involve assimilating to the second culture and reflect a true intermediary 'third' position.

Acting in a different cultural context can be difficult and reactions to such difficulties can be intense and uncomfortable, as the following quote from a tertiary level student of French who had recently returned from a period of time living and working in France:

This was a very hard thing to do. I hated it. It felt like I was violating someone else's space, that I was an invader. I know that's not the way they see it, but that doesn't matter. It still feels the same. This is just not something I can do. I mean I really feel that there's this really important barrier there and I just can't get

through that without permission. That's an invasion. I can't go into another person's space, well I know it's not really their space, it's an open space, but I can't – it's just not – it really is their space for me. I can't change that and I can't be an invader like that. It's too traumatic. I doesn't even matter that no-one seems to mind. I mind.

This quote reflects an almost visceral response to different cultural practices, which are centred on a rather mundane aspect of social life – walking through doors in an office environment. The person involved here is obviously aware of a cultural difference and can articulate, and therefore potentially act on, his knowledge of the difference. However, even the simple act of walking through a door is implicated in his understanding of who he is and how he acts in the world creating a conflict between the cultural frames in which he needs to work. Such views need to be elicited and made available for reflection in order for the learner to understand the nature of participation in a new culture and to provide the grounding on which intercultural learning can be based.

4   How Is Intercultural Competence Acquired?

We can think of the process of cultural acquisition in ways which are analogous to language acquisition processes. The learner begins with a knowledge of the practices of their own first culture and gradually acquires an approximative system of practices (cf Nemser 1971) which vary from the starting position as the result of exposure to new input. The approximative system, like interlanguage, can contain rules which are identical to those of the first culture, rules which are derived from the target culture and rules that belong to neither culture, but which are learner's accommodations to their noticing of and reflection on the input. We can think of these approximative systems as intercultures, with each interculture being a new step in the development of a set of intercultural practices, as in Figure 1.
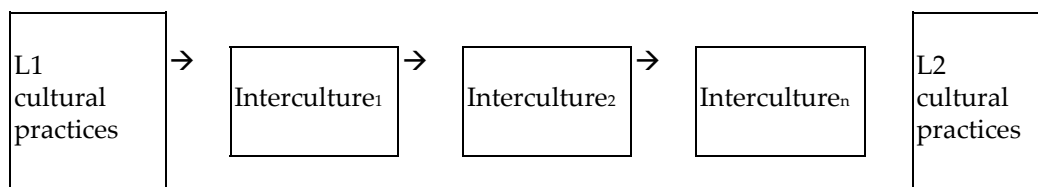

| L1 cultural practices | → | Interculture$_1$ | → | Interculture$_2$ | → | Interculture$_n$ | L2 cultural practices |

Figure 1. Progression in Developing Intercultures

However, such a view of the acquisition of culture is problematic as it assumes a progression towards more native-like ways of behaving and that intermediate systems show both what has been acquired and what

has yet to be acquired. The focus here is an orientation towards a product in acquisition and says little about the process.

The view of intercultural competence, which has been presented here, stands at odds with such a view of acquisition in a number of ways. First, it does not see assimilation to the target culture norms as the goal of learning, rather it is the development of an intermediate position which is the key goal. Any intermediate position is therefore not an approximation to another system, but a potential solution to the problem of mediating between two (or more) cultural frameworks. Secondly, it assumes that the starting point (i.e. the first culture) is somehow left behind as the learner progresses. This view denies the importance of identity and cultural attachment in the process of acquisition and ignores the need to mediate positions rather than to replace one position with another. Thirdly, the progression implies movement from the starting point (first culture) towards the end point (target culture) with progress seen as becoming less like the starting point and more like the end point and this implies assimilation to a culture as the aim of learning and the involvement of only one cultural framework in target language contexts. This denies the multiplicity inherent in bilingual communication. Fourthly, it equates production with acquisition. As the core of intercultural competence is awareness, production is not a good indicator of competence. Learning is shown by the understandings which underlie production of a behaviour or withholding of a behaviour. In fact, non-native-like production may indicate a high level of intercultural competence if the behaviour is seen in terms of mediating two cultures rather than assimilation to a target (Liddicoat 2002b).

In contrast to this, a more process-oriented approach to acquisition sees developing intercultural competence as an on-going process of acquisition and the primary tool for this development is reflecting on one's own linguistic behaviour and that of one's interlocutors.

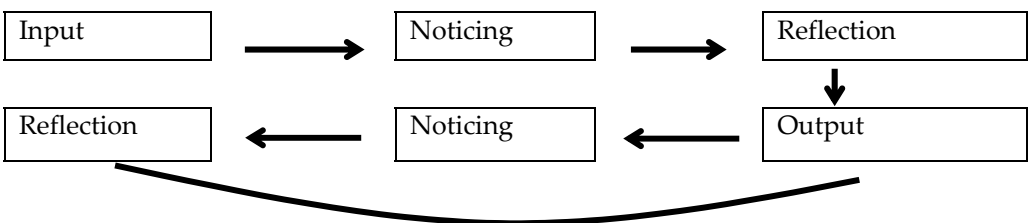The process of developing intercultural competence is cyclical, as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. A Pathway for Developing Intercultural Competence

As with all language acquisition, acquiring culture through language begins with input. For any acquisition to take place, however, particular elements of the input have to be noticed (Schmidt 1993). As mentioned above, our cultural conventions are often invisible to us and noticing a cultural difference can be made more difficult because of this. The promotion of noticing is one of the key tasks of the intercultural language teacher. Once it has been noticed, the input is available for reflection and experimentation. In ILT it is important for the student who has noticed a difference in the input to reflect on the nature of the difference and to decide how to respond to that difference; that is, how far the learner will modify his/her practices to accommodate to this new input. This decision is then introduced and leads to output in the language using a modified set of norms. This initial modification is not, however, the final stage as the output itself provides opportunities for new noticing (Swain 1985). This noticing may be a positive or negative evaluation of the new modified practices by the learner: the new practices may feel comfortable or uncomfortable, or it may be a noticing of a native speaker's response to the modified practices of the learner, which indicate that the modification has been either successful or unsuccessful. These noticings become the target of further reflection, which again becomes realised in the output of the student, and so in a (potentially) continuous cycle of acquisition.

5   Conclusion

Fitzgerald (2002) has argued that access to language in an intercultural perspective is empowering. What is empowering it this is access to the additional load which language carries, not access to the code itself. Empowerment comes through understanding language as practice and understanding the cultural context in which the practice is manifested. As such, teaching which empowers, is teaching which is aware of the additional load language bears, which integrates it into curriculum and which makes it available for the learner. It is also teaching which recognises that the first language is similarly loaded and which respects and validates the practices, which learners bring to the learning of the second language. By introducing language learners to the interculturality involved in second language communication we are developing an active communicative methodology in which issues of identity, culture and communication become central to the act of learning and develop language skills beyond grammatical control of the target code.

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Linguistic Aspects
of Intercultural Communication[1]

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1 Introduction

The paper deals with linguistic issues hampering intercultural communication. These issues are:

- collocational or lexical-phraseological constraints of speech production. This means that any word in any language has its own characteristic only of the language in question, set or reserve of words with which it is compatible
- difference in semantic and stylistic connotation. Words of different languages with the same meaning (that is referring to the same object or phenomenon of reality) may have different connotations determining their use in speech. For example, the English word *crimson* and the Russian word *bagrovy* as colour terms refer to the same part of spectre but the Russian word has strong negative connotations unlike its English "equivalent".
- the sociocultural factor is a great problem of communication because it is invisible and often forgotten. Every nation has its own vision (picture) of the world underlying its language picture which may lead to conflicts of communication

2 Communication

The problem of *communication* in general and intercultural communion in particular have become especially urgent nowadays for very obvious social, political, economical and other reasons.

It has become crystal-clear that the future of mankind depends on the so-called "human factor", i.e., on whether people of different nations, ethnic

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groups representing different cultures will manage to find a common language, figuratively speaking.

Speaking literally, however, language is the main means of communication. Again, I am afraid, this is something well-known and obvious. However, another well-known truth is that the obvious is most easily ignored and forgotten; lying on the surface and therefore remaining unseen and unnoticed, this is one of many paradoxes of human perception.

Therefore I dare draw you attention to such an obvious thing as linguistic aspects of intercultural communication.

3   Intercultural Communication

Now the term *intercultural communication* is extremely popular. However, strangely enough, fifteen years ago it was practically unknown in Russia. The fact is that "the human factor" implies two barriers to human communication: language and cultural ones.

The language barrier is known from the time of the Tower of Babel. The cultural barrier is unseen until a clash between your own indigenous culture and an alien one takes place. At best, these clashes are surprising, but usually they are simply off-putting or shocking – hence, the term "culture shock".

Thus, the cultural barrier is far more dangerous than the language barrier. It is made, as it were, of absolutely transparent glass and is imperceptible until one ends up with a black eye, having bumped into it. It is dangerous too in that cultural mistakes are usually taken much more to heart than are language mistakes and this despite the fact that the former are far more excusable: there are no general rules – no grammars of culture nor dictionaries of culture – to help one avoid cultural mistakes as there are in the case of languages. We all know from our own experience that native speakers are usually very good-natured about the mistakes one makes when speaking their language. But cultural mistakes, as a rule, are not forgiven so easily and leave a very negative impression.

This leads to a conclusion: *all the intricacies and depth of the problems inherent in inter-linguistic and cross-cultural communication are shown up particularly clearly, and sometimes even acknowledged, in the comparison of other languages with one's own mother tongue, of foreign cultures with one's own culture*.

Indeed, only knowledge of at least two languages and two cultures reveals – as distant horizons are revealed from mountain tops – certain concealed characteristics and, accordingly, concealed difficulties not visible from the level of one language. From this an important practical conclusion may be drawn: *native speakers who teach their mother tongue as a foreign language and who do not know the mother tongue of their students see neither the concealed characteristics nor the concealed difficulties*. And this accounts for the great advantage – surprise, surprise! – enjoyed by non-native teachers of foreign languages over native speakers of these languages.

4 Difficulties

What are the main linguistic difficulties hampering international and intercultural communication?

To proceed to resolve this, it is necessary to state the interrelationship between language and culture. They are inseparable. Language is part of culture and culture is part of language.

The interrelationship of language and culture is traditionally expressed through widely-used metaphors: language is a mirror of culture, it reflects the world around us and the world inside us. Moreover, it also reflects a people's collective self-consciousness, its mentality, national character, way of life, customs and traditions, moral standards and values, and world outlook.

Language is a treasure-house, a repository of culture. Cultural values are stored in all its forms – lexis, grammar, idioms, proverbs, sayings, in folklore, fiction and non-fiction, oral and written discourse.

Language is a transmitter, a carrier of culture; it passes on the treasurers of national culture that are preserved in it, from generation to generation. In mastering their native language, children also assimilate the generalised cultural experience of preceding generations.

Language is an instrument of culture. It forms the identity of a native speaker by forcing upon him or her the world-view, mentality, attitude to people, etc, inherent in it – in other words, the culture of a people who use this language to communicate with one another.

As a mirror, language reflects not just culture but the whole world surrounding us. It creates, as we all know very well, a language picture of the world. This picture is nation-specific and it is imposed on native speakers of the language.

Developing this metaphor with a picture, what language reflects can be presented as a *mosaic,* which is made up of little pieces – words and other language units functioning as the equivalents of words.

Thus, learning a language in general and a foreign language in particular begins with learning a word – first the sound (oral form) or the look of it (written form) – and then the meaning. The forms of words of different languages are obviously different (cf the Tower of Babel!) but their meanings must be the same.

One learns another language in order to be able to communicate, but communication is possible only on the basis of *a shared code*. To share a code you must know the meanings of foreign words and the meanings must be *the same* in both languages for if they are different the code is not shared.

However, words of different languages denoting the same things may be different in many ways:

- the volume of semantics (the sizes of corresponding pieces of the two mosaics). The Russian *dom* has a broader meaning that the English *house*: it includes *home*, *building*, *block of flats*, *condominium*, *mansion*
- occurrence in speech (*dom* – in a Russian address: Downing Street dom 10; in English it is: 10 Downing Street)
- stylistic connotations: *bagrovy* and *crimson* coincide semantically but *bagrovy* has negative connotations while *crimson* has positive connotations. (Pieces of the two mosaics differ in colour (or shades of colour))

These are obvious difficulties.

The more concealed are collocational, or lexico-phraseological constraints governing the use of language. This means that any word in any language has its own characteristic only of the language in question, set or reserve of words with which it is compatible. That is to say, it may be a "friend" and harmonises (combines) with certain words or is not a "friend", and therefore never harmonises (combines) with others. Why does the English

verb *to pay* ("give somebody money for goods, services", etc) collocate with such incompatible – from the Russian point of view – nouns as *attention*, *visit*, *compliments*? Why are the Russian word combinations высокая трава (lit., *high grass*), крепкий чай (lit., *firm tea*), сильный дождь (lit., *strong, powerful rain*) translated into English as *long grass*, *strong tea* and *heavy rain*?

There is only one answer to this: each word has its own collocation or valency. And collocation or valency is nation-specific, not universal, in the sense that it is characteristic only of a given word in a given language. The specific character of collocation becomes evident only in juxtaposition to other languages much as one becomes aware of one's own culture through coming into contact (or clashing) with an alien culture. Thus native speakers of a language do not see the problem; it never occurs to them that in a certain language tea can be strong and compliments – paid.

Lexical collocation undermines the foundations of translation and interpretation. Bilingual dictionaries are a case in point. The translation of words with the help of a dictionary that gives "equivalents" of their meanings in another language can lead students astray and encourage them to use foreign words in contexts typical of their own language.

Let us take, for example, the very simple – in terms of commonness) – word книга and its English equivalent *book*. English-Russian dictionaries give this word in its most frequently occurring collocations:

- a book on/about birds   книга о жизни птиц
- a reference book   справочник
- a cheque book   чековая книжка
- a ration book   карточки
- to do the books   вести счета
- our order books are full   мы больше не принимаем заказы
- to be in somebody's good/bad books   быть на хорошем, плохом счету-
- I can read her like a book   я вижу её насквозь
- we must stick to/go by the book   надо действовать поправилам
- I'll take a leaf out of your book   я последую твоему примеру
- he was brought to book for that   за это его привлекли к ответу

When one looks at the translations, only one of these is translated into Russian as книга.

These differences are even more striking in word combinations. One can shock an audience by stating that native speakers of English, as is indicated by the language, do not wash their heads. And, indeed, in the direct sense – with soap and water – they do not. They *wash their hair*, the equivalent to the Russian word combination мыть голову (lit., to wash one's head). It is surprising with political correctness being such an issue today, that nobody has become concerned about hurting the feelings of the bald. The latter also have to say *to wash one's hair* in English although it would come more naturally to them to say, as in Russian, *to wash one's head*. We all have heads, but as for hair . . . The English expression, *to wash one's head*, is used figuratively and here its meaning is close to the Russian – also figurative – expression намылить кому-нибудь голову (lit., *to soap somebody's head*, *neck*, fig., *to reproach somebody severely*).

Thus, the "equivalence" of words of different languages seems to be more and more unrealistic, or, rather, less and less probable. But even in those rare cases when all these purely linguistic moments actually correspond in different languages of the full equivalence of these words, one should not forget about extra-linguistic differences, i.e., the fact that both as concepts can differ.

5　Sociocultural Connotations

At this point the equivalence of meanings turns into a real problem. The problem is that the so-called "meaning" of the word (i.e., a reference of certain complex sounds or letters to a thing or phenomenon of the real world) is actually a thread connecting the world of speech with the world of reality. Or, rather, it is a path leading from the world of speech to the real world. Then every word of every speech community leads to the world where the language-users live.

Talking about words and what lies beyond them we deal with the following three levels:

- the level of reality where objects and phenomena live and function
- the level of thinking where there are concepts and ideas about real objects and phenomena. The concepts and ideals are determined by culture, ideology, mentality, etc
- the level of speech where words lives, collocate, function

At the level of thinking the concepts denoted by "the same" words may differ greatly because they are determined by different cultures, histories, geographies, etc, of different peoples.

In other words, another pitfall, even more concealed than the mysteries and unpredictability of lexical collocation, is the conflict between the cultural ideas held by different nations about those things and phenomena in the external world which are designated by "equivalent" words in these languages. These cultural ideas are usually responsible for words in different languages developing varying stylistic and cultural connotations.

Thus, even the lexical designation of such a universal notion as the colour *green* arouses great doubt at the level of its absolute lexical equivalence and undoubtedly varies from language to language in view of the word's differing metaphoric and stylistic connotations. The combination зеленые глаза (*green eyes*) has poetic, romantic overtones in Russian and suggests an image of bewitching, magical or mermaid's eyes. In English, however, the word combination green eyes is a metaphor for envy and contains explicit negative connotations. These negative associations were "introduced" by Shakespeare who, in *Othello*, referred to jealousy as a green-eyed monster.

Another example: the Russian word combination, черная кошка, just like its English equivalent, *black cat*, denotes a pet, a cat of black colour. But in Russian culture, according to tradition, a black cat brings bad luck and therefore the word combination has strong negative associations.

And one more example. When Russian President Vladimir Putin met English Prime Minister, Tony Blair in St Petersburg in March, 2000 he spoke about the Chechens' insulting attitude to Russians and illustrated this by an abusive slogan in Russian in a Chechen military camp: "Above us is Allah, under us are goats". The British Prime Minister was obviously puzzled as he could not see anything insulting. But the Russian word for *goat* is very rude when it is used about people. Now it is widely used. The English word does have "usually disapproving" connotations when used about a man with the meaning "very active sexually, or would like to be and makes it obvious". CIDE marks it as "dated". No wonder Tony Blair could not see the insult: as Chechens live in the mountains, above them is Allah and under them are mountain goats. It sounds rather poetic than insulting.

The words in the given examples are equivalent in meaning but different in stylistic and cultural connotations.

The socio-cultural factor, i.e., those socio-cultural structures underlying language structures, totally undermine the idea of "equivalency" of words in different languages having the same meaning, i.e., relating to the same things and phenomena in the external world.

All this becomes especially clear in the case of people who are bilingual but monocultural. Of exceptional value in this regard is the information contained in Andrei Makine's book, *Le Testament Français*.

Andrei Makine, a Russian, was born in 1957 in Krasnoyarsk, Siberia, studied at Moscow State University, and emigrated to France in 1987 where be began writing novels. His fourth book, *Le Testament Français* published in 1995, was the first novel in the history of French literature to win two prizes simultaneously: the most prestigious French literary award, the Goncourt Prize and the Medici Prize. All Makine's novels are written in French. Since childhood, he has been bilingual in two languages: Russian and French that he learnt from his French grandmother.

The conflict between the reality of life in the Russian world and the French language becomes evident from the following excerpts from this outstanding work.

Speaking about her birthplace, Neuilly-sur-Seine, Makine's grandmother, Charlotte, refers to it as a "village".

*She had said it in French but we only knew Russian villages. And a village in Russia is inevitably a ring of **izbas**, indeed the very word in Russian, **derevnya**, comes from **derevo** – a tree, wood. The confusion persisted, despite the clarification which Charlotte's stories would later bring. At the name of "Neuilly" we had immediate visions of the village with its wooden houses, its herds and its cockerel. And when, the following summer, Charlotte spoke to us for the first time about a certain Marcel Proust: "By the way, we used to see him playing tennis at Neuilly, on the Boulevard Bineau", we pictured the dandy with big languorous eyes (she had shown us his photo) – there among the **izbas**!*

*Beneath the fragile patina of our French words, Russian reality often showed through. The President of the Republic was bound to have something Stalinesque about him in the portrait sketched by our imagination. Neuilly was people with **Kolkhozniks**.*

With the passage of time, this double vision of the world, the ensuing personality split and the on-going conflict of two languages within a single culture, caused more and more inconvenience for the character. Thus the use of two words – the Russian word царь and the French loan word *tsar* – results in a clash of two images in the boy's mind. Language-wise, the words are full equivalents, but the Russian word царь stands for the bloodthirsty tyrant Nicholas II of Soviet history book fame, whereas the French word *tsar* evokes associations of the elegant young Tsar Nicholas II and his beautiful wife who had come to Paris to attend the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone of the Alexander III Bridge and of the festive atmosphere of balls and banquets given in honour of the royal couple, i.e., it ties in with the image created in the stories told by the boy's French grandmother.

Thus, language is a mirror of both the external and cultural-conceptual world (i.e., the world of culturally dependent concepts); it reflects both of them. This mirror may be said to be distorted, because, rather than an objective, impartial view of the world, it provides a subjective, nation-specific view filtered through the prism of a nation's spirit and mind. It would be more correct, therefore, to speak of language as a creative, even magic, rather than a distorting, mirror. Thus, the negative connotations of the word "distorting" can be avoided and the creative, formative role of language in reference to man – underscored. After all, language does more than passively reflect everything that man obtains through his sensual, creative and cultural experience. It (i.e., the language) simultaneously forms (i.e., in continuous interaction with mind and culture) the native speaker as a member of the given socio-cultural community by instilling and developing in him/her a system of values, morals, attitudes and behavioural patterns.

Using the widely-spread metaphor about the language (or culture) picture of the world, one can say that each nation has its own cultural vision of the world as do art movements. One and the same haystack would be seen quite differently by a realist, impressionist, cubist, or abstract artist and therefore look quite different in their reproduction of it. Language can be compared to an artist who paints from life and creates a model of it, the real-life objects having been transformed by his creative imagination.

The reflection of the world in language is the collective artistic effort of the nation speaking that language. Along with their mother tongue, each new generation is presented with a complete cultural set already inherent

in which there are national character traits, world-view – think about the inner form of this word: world-view, vision of the world! – system of values and so on.

Thus, linguistic difficulties, both open and hidden, are the problems that we, teachers of languages, have to solve.

To avoid the hidden trap of lexical-phraseological collocability, the student of a foreign language should learn not individual words and their meanings but the common and more or less fixed collocations in which these words occur in a given language.

In order to let students understand socio-cultural connotations a new subject has been introduced which we call "the world of a language under study". This subject is given by two parallel courses – one by a native speaker and the other by a representative of the student's indigenous culture.

To find a common language is a difficult task but it can be solved if we are fully aware of pitfalls on the road to peace and cooperation.

Linguists of the world, teachers of languages, unite in order to shatter barriers – linguistic and non-linguistic – separating people!

Learner Independence in Language Teaching: A Concept of Change

Terry Lamb & Hayo Reinders[1]

1   Introduction

The concept of learner independence has gradually emerged over the years to become one of the key terms in language teaching and indeed, in its manifestation as learner autonomy, one of its "buzz words" (Little 1991:3). Various developments both from within and outside the field of language teaching have contributed to this. Below we will briefly discuss some of the earlier broader developments before discussing some more recent changes that have taken place. Next we look at how these developments have influenced language teachers, researchers, and their institutions and how they have resulted in a greater interest in different forms of independent learning.

2   Learner Independence and Learner Autonomy – the Emergence of a Concept

Learner independence is a term that has been used in a number of ways. In part it overlaps with use of the term learner autonomy and may carry a connotation of a learner's *ability* to work independently and to take control over the learning process. However, independent learning in itself can also be just a description of a mode of learning; learning that takes place independently from (usually) the teacher, though not necessarily independent from the *control* of the teacher, such as in the case of highly directed use of CALL (computer assisted language learning) which can merely replace traditional forms of teacher control.

Learner independence can therefore focus on the *learning context* in which the learner operates, though it can also focus on *learning qualities*, which

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are either intentionally encouraged and supported. In order to respond positively to the changes, which will be described, this chapter will suggest that independent learners need to be seen as having knowledge, beliefs and skills which enable them to learn effectively in such contexts. In other words, they need to be autonomous in order to be able to learn independently. The chapter will also, however, largely use the term *learner independence* in order to clarify that the main focus is on independent learning contexts, though occasionally the term *autonomy* will be used where this is more appropriate.

Interest in the autonomy of the individual probably dates back as far as Aristotle and has, mainly through Kant, influenced political developments in the 20th century which have had a major impact on education. Especially after World War II a large number of minority rights movements sprang up that used the concept of autonomy to express their ideas about the right to freedom of choice. They saw education as a tool to empower people and instil in them a greater sense of awareness. As Jane (1977, cited by Holec 1981:3) writes:

Adult education should become an instrument for arousing an increasing sense of awareness and liberation in man, and, in some cases, an instrument for changing the environment itself. From the idea of man "product of his society", one moves to the idea of man as "producer of his society"

This echoes the influential work of Paulo Freire in Brazil. Freire's ideas revolve around the notion of education as empowerment and the development of a critical pedagogy which enables the "oppressed" to fulfil their potential as human beings, "aware of their activity and the world in which they are situated, acting in function of the objectives which they propose, having the seat of their decisions located in themselves and in their relations with the world and with others, infusing the world with their creative presence by means of the transformation they effect upon it" (Freire 1996:79).

In such political orientations, education is perceived as a way of enabling learners to shape their own and others' lives. This would probably involve handing over control to learners over the processes and content of learning. In the words of Collins & Hammond (1991:13) "... it begins with the assumption that the ultimate purpose of education is the betterment of society, and that critical awareness and social action to promote emancipation are desirable results of any educational intervention". Later developments of this thinking are the Language Awareness Movement

(Hawkins 1981, 1984; James & Garrett 1991), Critical Language Awareness (Fairclough 1991) and others (cf. Van Lier 1995). These recognised the political influence of ideas that learners hold about learning, their own and other peoples' language, its use and its consequences. An important aim was to increase peoples' awareness of the political aspect of language.

In addition, globalisation and its impact on society have influenced language education (Block & Cameron 2001). After World War II the demand for foreign and second languages sharply increased (Gremmo & Riley 1995). International trade, easier communication, cheaper transport, international political developments (with the founding of organisations such as the UN), and migratory movements all led to an increase in the teaching of foreign and second languages. These developments influenced the content of what was taught, as communicative skills became more important than ever before. Broady & Kenning (1996:10) link this to a demand for different skills:

Using language effectively for communication involves negotiation of meaning, rather than mere decoding of linguistic tokens, thus requiring the ability to cope confidently with unpredictable information.

Global changes in the availability of information (cheaper print materials, computer databases, the internet) also heavily influenced what is expected from people nowadays in terms of dealing with large amounts of (new) information, relating it to other information and interpreting it (Pemberton 1996). People need skills that allow them to adapt to quickly changing circumstances and develop new skills, for there is no longer a fixed body of knowledge that can be transmitted onto learners.

The impact of globalisation thus means that there are more university students coping with more information. This of course has resulted in rising costs. It is no longer possible to teach all students all they need to know (Trim 1976). Crabbe (1993:443) cites Van Ek (1975):

The economic argument is that society does not have the resources to provide the level of personal instruction needed by all its members in every area of learning. Therefore individuals must be able to provide for their own learning needs . . . if they are to acquire the knowledge and skill they want.

Apart from the political and economic changes in the global context, there have been radical changes in understandings about pedagogy. Pedago-

gical influences largely came from developments in the area of psychology. As a reaction against behaviourism with its emphasis on observable changes in behaviour, many psychologists started to see a more central role for the individual. Constructivism has had a great influence in this respect. It opposes positivist views of the world that see knowledge as an accurate reflection of objective reality. Knowledge, in positivist terms, can be discovered and also taught. Constructivism, however, sees knowledge as a reorganisation and restructuring of experience that cannot be taught, because it is unique to every individual (cf. Candy 1989).

In psychology, humanism as "the study of personality focusing on the individual's *subjective* experience – his or her personal view of the world" (Atkinson 1993:544) becomes influential. It gives a central place to the unique individual. Experiences and insights are more important than behaviour. This can be seen in George Kelly's theory of personal constructs, in which

it is not the events and texts themselves that are ingrained in his memory but the object of his attentions. How he has apprehended the matter and what he has done with it. (Kelly 1955:35)

In his theory, Kelly tried to discover the dimensions that individuals use themselves (and not psychologists for them) to interpret or to construct themselves and their social worlds, believing that individuals hypothesise about and formulate their own theories about the world. In learning, this active and subjective process of construction of new knowledge is central to a person's development. This entails a shift to learning activities that are more *meaningful* to the learner, i.e., related to his or her own personal experience and needs. Awareness of the learning process is a prerequisite for successful learning. Also, if materials and classrooms are considered to be entities separate from personal experience and the immediate application of what is learned, they will not have an influence on overall personal constructs. Individuals must be able to construct their own private learning spaces according to their needs and fill them with personally meaningful learning material.

This is reflected in the humanistic curriculum of Dubin & Olshtain, which has the following goals and characteristics:

- emphasis on meaningful communication
- the learner is the focal point

- learning is a self-realisation experience in which the learner has considerable say in the decision-making process
- the teacher is a facilitator
- the first language of the learner is seen as an aid for understanding the target language

(Dubin & Olshtain 1986:76)

Explicit connections with learner independence can be seen in clearly in the following quotation:

"In concrete terms, the humanistic curriculum puts high value on people accepting responsibility for their own learning, making decisions for themselves, choosing and initiating activities, expressing feelings and opinions about needs, abilities, and preferences." (ibidem:75)

3 Recent Changes – Learner Independence as a Requirement

The purpose of the above has been to explore on a broad level how deeply and widely autonomy and learner independence are rooted in broader political, economic, social and pedagogical developments. All of these developments have had a significant impact on the field of language education and language education research. However, the concept of autonomy has particularly been taken on board since the late 1970s since various additional rationales have been identified for its inclusion into teaching and learning. Many of these changes appear to involve a need for independence of some kind on the part of the learner. Sometimes this has been a positive influence, and sometimes less so, as we will see later. Below we will discuss some of these changes.

4 Changes Related to the Learner

4.1 Research and Developments in Learning

Autonomy has recently been linked to research on individual differences in language learning, such as ability, personality and learning styles, and has indeed been identified as a possible aspect of individual differences in itself (Reinders 2000; Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2003). It has also been linked to affect in language learning; greater autonomy can lead to higher levels of confidence and a more favourable self-perception (Lamb 2001b), which again is linked to research in psychology on approaches to learning, such as proactive versus reactive (Knowles 1975). Another area of research that has strongly influenced the field has been motivation research where autonomy has been found to be related to motivation (Lamb 1997, 1998a)

and, in particular, to intrinsic motivation (Deci et al 1991; Lamb 2004; Ushioda 1996). In addition, although it has been difficult to describe *the* autonomous learner there appears to be a strong overlap with characteristics identified for the Good Language Learner (Rubin 1975; Naiman et al 1978) and this too has been a fruitful area of research with various authors proposing that autonomy should be seen as a continuum in learning from less to more autonomous (Reinders & Cotterall 2001).

4.2   Inclusion and Access to Learning

Learners are increasingly demanding access to education. In the past this applied to minority groups and to women, and currently includes adult learners and learners who previously would not have had an opportunity to complete a tertiary education – witness the increase in the number of polytechnics and the transformation of many of them to universities. Such learners desire to learn languages for a whole range of reasons (Arthur & Beaton 2000). Also, people in developing countries rightly demand more access to education, often overseas. People have become more vocal about their needs and are taking more control of their futures, including their education. This could be seen as a manifestation of independence. In higher education, it has resulted in a greater range of learners learning languages; they may be learning English in order to access the curriculum (Reinders 2004; Reinders forthcoming), or they may be learning a language for a specific purpose in order to supplement their main area of study. The growth of institution-wide language learning schemes in the UK is one example of this, where students of engineering, science, law or any other discipline may be working at a similar level of language but will expect a completely different specialist lexis (Ibarz et al 2002).

4.3   Learners' Need for (Physical) Access to Learning

As more learners from a broader social and cultural spectrum are staying on in education, they are increasingly needing to learn in places other than the traditional classroom. They can now more easily learn from home or work, but also in self-access centres, or obtain other forms of support such as peer-support online or from a language advisor via email. Such changes result in greater flexibility for the learner, more choices and greater freedom as to when and where, and often what to study. These changes frequently also require a greater ability on the part of the learner to make those choices, manage their own learning and sustain motivation.

4.4   Motivations for Language Learning

Language learners are identifying an ever-increasing range of reasons for wishing to study a language. In the UK, for example, there is a reduction in the number of specialist language learners in higher education, but an overwhelming increase in those involved in language learning as a supplementary skill (ALL et al 2003), and these learners are identifying many reasons for language learning, as well as a desire to study a broader range of languages (Kenning 2001). The development of vocational language courses has added to this diversity, but again this demands greater flexibility to cater for a variety of vocational contexts (Wilson & Ibarz 2000).

4.5   Learners' Expectations of Learning Support

Learners are increasingly expecting to be supported in their learning, not just to be given access to information. A good example of this is the large number of students who go overseas for an education and learn a second language. Their knowledge of and demand for different types of support has become increasingly sophisticated. One study (Reinders et al 2003), for example, found that the presence of a self-access centre was now seen by many students as an important factor in choosing a university.

5   Changes Related to the Teaching Institution

5.1   Expansion of Provision

As mentioned above, the number of students in higher education has grown dramatically over the last 20 years. In addition, the student body has changed significantly with many more adult learners and foreign students participating. This has often come as a direct result of the marketisation of education, which means that educational institutions are now having to compete with one another for funding. In addition, in some contexts government funding is allocated on the basis of student numbers. Market forces place great stress on resources and staff, and this, ironically, has in some circumstances led to a reduction in staffing to accompany the expansion in student numbers. Institutions have responded to these challenges in different ways as we shall see below. For example, alternative forms of language support in some cases have led to more individual learning, with a concomitant need for more sophisticated independent learning skills.

5.2   Responding to Changing Learner Needs

The changes in learners' needs outlined above, combined with an increased recognition that it is necessary to see the learner at the centre of the curriculum (Nunan 1987) have led to an increase in an institution's need to offer a diversified provision. This has led to an exploration of new forms of teaching and learning, such as distance education. Many of these require a greater degree of autonomy from the learners.

5.3   Responding to New Technologies

The development of new technologies offers many opportunities for new pedagogical developments as well as for innovation and expansion. Moreover, in a market-driven context, the need to offer up-to-date facilities for learning is paramount in order to appeal to potential students. Learning with new technologies often means learning independently which, in turn, leads to a need to consider the pedagogical and methodological implications of such learning modes (Lamb 2003, 2005).

6   Changes Related to Society

6.1   Linguistic Capital

As the world becomes smaller, there is an increasing need for communication between people. Economic success very often is related to this, and this is being realised by governments and companies around the world. Indeed, some countries, such as Malaysia and China, are promoting new forms of language learning (Lamb 1998b) in recognition of these global trends. Furthermore, English is not enough despite its dominance as a major global language; there is a need to speak the language of the customer both in international markets and, increasingly, in economic and social relationships between communities within a country (Edwards 2001; Graddol 1997, 1998; Lamb 1998c). This has been recognised within the expanding European Community, for example, where "mother tongue plus two" is being promoted as a minimum language requirement (Jones 1998; Phillipson 2003), and a necessary support for European employee mobility. The demand for language learning is consequently increasing around the world. Self-study is promoted by the European Language Council as a viable means of achieving these goals.

6.2   Social Justice and Inclusion

As more and more countries become multilingual as a result of global migration, issues arise regarding the place of the languages of the various

communities in the mainstream curriculum. For a number of reasons which relate to the linguistic needs of the individual and his/her developing bilingualism, and to the development of a successfully multicultural society, it is important that a wider range of languages be offered in schools and universities (Lamb 1999, 2001a).

7   Responses: Independence as a Challenge

Education providers have responded to the above challenges in different ways. Broadly speaking they have led to a) changes in pedagogy; and b) changes in provision of language support.

The increased need for skills for independent learning, which accompanies the recent changes discussed above, has been taken by some institutions and policy makers as a challenge to update current thinking about language learning and the role of educators in facilitating it. This has led to an increased interest in the concept of autonomy and ways of fostering it through classroom teaching, (witness the numerous and growing number of organisations and conferences related to this topic). This has resulted in changes in teaching practice characterised by a more central role for the learner. Learners are given opportunities for reflection and are given responsibility for aspects of their learning that were previously firmly in the domain of the teacher, such as planning and assessment. A description of all the ways in which this has been or can be done falls well outside the scope of this chapter as they encompass such diverse areas as flexible learning, blended learning, metacognition and learner reflection, as well as tools such as learning journals and portfolios, and formative assessment. Suffice it to say that some education institutions and individual teachers have gone down this path further and in different ways than others. Many teachers interested in this topic, however, report constraints resulting from their work environments (Benson 2000; Breen & Mann 1997; Lamb 2000; McGrath 2000). Handing over control to learners may have implications for curriculum design, assessment practices, and a whole range of other aspects of teaching and learning that can only be properly organised at the level of the institution, or sometimes even the national education system (for example if self-assessment is accepted as a viable alternative to traditional testing). Well-meaning teachers often face difficulties when implementing change individually. Several countries have incorporated the fostering of autonomous learning as a goal of language education in their respective national curricula (e.g., the Netherlands, Finland, Hong Kong). However, there remains much work to be done for autonomy to become fully integrated into "regular" language teaching.

Two fairly common tools for the development of independent learning skills have been the provision of learner training either as part of regular classroom teaching (Ellis & Sinclair 1989) or as a separate subject (or sometimes even as short courses; cf. Morley & Truscott 2001), and strategy instruction (Oxford 1990; Wenden 1987, 1991). In particular, focus on learner strategies as a way of making learning more efficient and enjoyable is now more or less commonplace in classrooms the world over. However, an inclusion of learner strategies in teaching does not necessarily equate to the development of independence. There are different types of strategies, some of which are clearly more related to raising learners' awareness than others. Cognitive strategies (such as ways of improving vocabulary retention) are helpful but, without a focus on metacognitive strategies (such as identifying language needs), do not result in autonomy – learners can be excellent vocabulary learners but be unable to know when to learn what type of vocabulary and what vocabulary to learn first.

The other general response from educational providers has been to look for alternative ways of supporting language learning. The provision of self-access centres has been a popular option. Benson & Voller (1997:15) claim that: "Self-Access resource centres are the most typical means by which institutions have attempted to implement notions of autonomy and independence over the last twenty years … " However, self-access centres have also been used with other underlying reasons. One recent study (Reinders et al 2003) investigated 15 tertiary level self-access centres in Australia and New Zealand. It found that in some cases self-access was genuinely seen as a way of individualising learning and of introducing the concept of autonomy into the curriculum. However, in other cases self-access was seen as an economical alternative to the provision of teacher-based learning. Australian national education policy specifies 25 hours as the minimum for accreditation as a full-time language course but allows five hours for "guided self-study" without specifying what that means. Some institutions used self-access time for these five hours but did not provide proper training or guidance. Independence was a prere-quisite for the students here to be successful, not a desirable outcome of a successful language support centre.

Other recent additions to the arsenal of educational provisions include (computer-based) distance education and e-learning. These are responses to the need for greater flexibility and easier access to education. Both require a set of skills on the part of the learner, as well as a reappraisal of the role of the teacher (or facilitator or counsellor) (Crabbe et al 2001;

Pemberton et al 2001; Voller et al 1999). Several authors (cf. White, forthcoming) have pointed out the need for training and ongoing support for these types of learning to be successful and have specifically identified a need for the development of independent learning skills. As with self-access there is a danger that these skills are taken for granted.

The above are only a few examples of where concurrent pressures clash. On the one hand we have seen an increase in the number of people learning languages. In addition we have seen that a number of changes – both inside and outside of education – require a degree of independence from the learner. The different responses by institutions to these challenges have generally involved an increased need for language support provided in a variety of ways. However, the support offered does require additional support. Unfortunately, as educational providers have not all yet come to terms with the implications of this, the right kind of support is often not available, or support is inadequate. One reason for this is the increased corporatism of education: language support is subjected to a careful cost analysis, which sometimes leaves the benefit for the learner out of the equation.

8 Conclusion

We chose the term "learner independence" for the title of this chapter with a reason. The concept of autonomy, which has been implicated by much of what we have described above, has a qualitative connotation. Autonomous learners are more motivated, more aware, more proactive, etc. However, the types of learning offered by many institutions do not necessarily result in such learning, even though they nonetheless require the learner to possess such qualities if they are to be successful in their learning. Independent learning is thus broader than autonomous learning: independent learning can be autonomous but is not necessarily so. This is where it becomes clear that the ways in which the changes discussed above have been responded to in quite different ways.

The diagram below (see Figure 1) offers a conceptualisation of the different levels of response. In some cases the challenges have not been responded to at all. In other cases only cosmetic changes are taking place, such as in the example of some self-access provision given above. Many institutions are merely coping with change, reacting to challenges as they come along. Others are on the way to anticipating them and finding ways of dealing with them ("consolidation"). Yet others initiate changes and are fully proactive. These responses can take place at different levels.

Sometimes individual forerunners are the first to notice change and find ways of dealing with it. At other times it is one department in a university, or a professional organisation, and, as we have seen above, in several cases it has been the government.
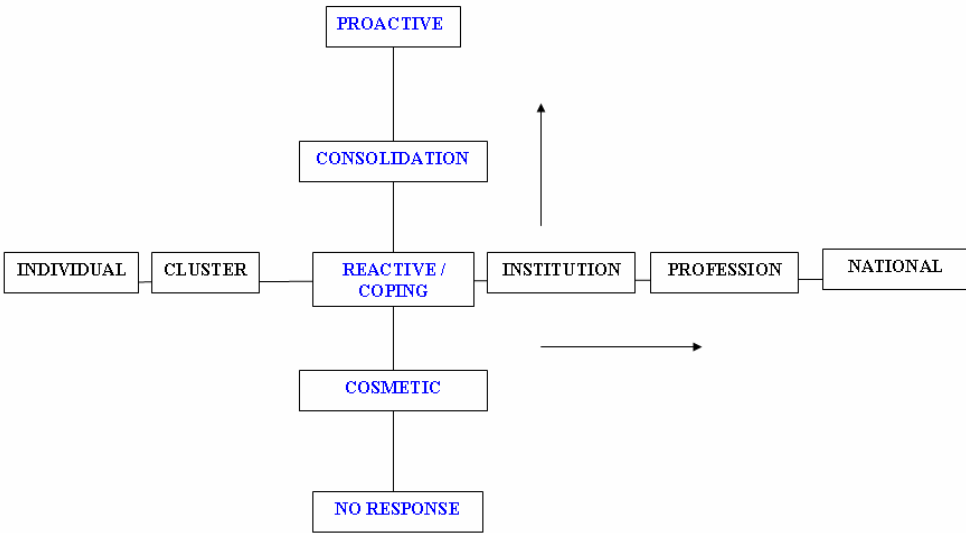

Figure 1. Response levels to educational change

Such models tend to appear static but they in fact represent a dynamic reality. The context of this model is one of rapid change, which is building on shifting foundations. Education has seen and continues to see a number of profound changes, many of which are the result of major changes in global society. We have shown that a common consequence of these has been the need for, even demand for, learner independence. How this is addressed varies widely, is ever developing and is itself in turn influenced by broader changes. One major implication of this is that we need to understand in a comparative sense what learner independence means in different contexts, what is driving it, and how the changes are manifesting themselves. Only then will we be able to evaluate such changes in order to ensure that learners are being prepared and supported adequately.

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Teaching Communicate Peace in the Second-Language Classroom[1]

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1   Introduction

More than fifteen years ago, in January 1987, a group of dedicated foreign-language educators from fourteen European countries came together in the Russian city of Kiev in order to discuss content and methods of teaching foreign languages and literatures for peace and understanding. The meeting was initiated and organised by UNESCO, and it ended with a declaration, which became known by the term of LINGUAPAX. It contained a plea for the integration of peace education into foreign-language instruction from the curriculum level down to everyday classroom activities. The philosophy behind the LINGUAPAX program was – and still is – to make strenuous efforts to increase the effectiveness of teaching foreign languages with a view to enhancing mutual understanding, respect, peaceful coexistence and cooperation among nations[2]. Follow-up conferences took place in Spain in 1988, two years later in Germany, in Spain again in 1994 and in Melbourne in 1995. The Australian event was organised and sponsored under the auspices of the Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes (Cunningham & Candelier 1995). Ever since LINGUAPAX was introduced to the profession I wondered why language teachers seemed to be very reluctant, if not negligent in dedicating more attention to that subject. A few years ago I offered a workshop on peace education at a regional institute for the in-service training of language teachers in Germany. There was only one out of about 200 participants who wanted to attend that workshop. When I asked him why he was interested in the topic he said that he had never heard before of peace-related foreign-language classroom activities and that he wanted to learn what it was all

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[2]   "Foreign Languages and Literatures for Peace and International Understanding", in *FIPLV World News*, 44, 1987, 1.

about. The same holds true for university seminars in initial training for future language teachers. When I first held a seminar on the role of peace education in the teaching and learning of foreign languages at my university I had only three students who showed interest. One of them was a future teacher of Latin. He wanted to find out how he could avoid the reading and translation of texts by Julius Caesar on fighting and killing in wars, which had taken place more than 2000 years ago. At the same time, I had over sixty students who attended a seminar on "Computer Use in the Language Classroom" and even more on "For and Against Grammatical Rules in Language Instruction".

Looking at today's global situation, we should have more than one reason for dedicating instructional efforts to issues of war and peace. In the last century, we have experienced the most dreadful wars in the history of mankind. They have brought death and suffering to millions of people. One would have thought nothing like that would ever happen again. But according to information from the International Red Cross, more than 200 wars have been fought since 1945 in which at least 40 million people were killed. After the turn of the century, a new wave of terrorism resulting in more wars brought renewed anxiety and fear to mankind. After the German LINGUAPAX conference in 1991 a book was published which was given the fitting title, *Language Teaching in a World without Peace* (Raasch 1993). It still holds true today. As the world copes with the aftermath of 11 September 2001, the destruction of Afghanistan, the war in Iraq, the ongoing fighting in the Congo, the waves of terror in Israel, Palestine, Spain and Ireland – to mention just the most spectacular ones – it is more than timely that we focus squarely on the role that languages can effectively assume in the fostering of peace. Therefore, it is both justified and necessary to emphasise the notion of peace whenever and wherever possible, including in the foreign-language classroom. It was Pope John Paul II who phrased the slogan: "If you want to reach peace, teach peace".

In the history of foreign-language teaching, learning a new language has always been more than just a question of acquiring linguistic skills. Communication is the overall objective generally accepted throughout the world, and communication automatically includes subject matter because it usually takes place in meaningful situations. The contexts of such situations have been described by curriculum designers not only in the form of everyday events or interesting stories, but also in the form of general statements and universal goals. It has been stated, for example, that foreign-language teaching should promote friendly relations between

the people of various countries. Classroom activities should encourage the understanding and appreciation of other cultures, especially those that are different from the learner's own social environment. In particular, the teaching of English as a world language should contribute towards the development of tolerance as a basis for mutual recognition. This list could easily be enlarged. Peace, however, has so far not been given a prominent place on such lists of general statements. It might well be that the idea of peace is supposed to be included implicitly. It might well be that it is simply taken for granted that learning another language and living peacefully together with speakers of other nations go hand in hand. But in a world that has become increasingly aggressive, peace as an educational objective should be given a prominent and explicit place in all aspects of foreign-language instruction. Peace education and the teaching of foreign languages are to be inseparably combined both in official documents and in classroom activities. There is an important reason for this. Pupils of today have to learn how to master the challenges of the 21st century. The most demanding challenge will probably be to live in a globalised world with a fast-growing population. People who have different ideas, beliefs, interests and goals will have to accept each other. In a social context like that the only chance for survival is to live together peacefully. And one of the prerequisites for peaceful coexistence is the ability to communicate with others in a civilised, friendly, humane and caring – in short – in a peaceful manner. Thus, "communicative competence" – internationally accepted as the most important objective in the teaching of foreign languages – should be expanded to "communicative peace" – a phrase to be understood as the overall concept for everything connected with the teaching and learning of foreign languages. The phrase was first coined by the Brazilian linguist, Francisco Gomes de Matos about ten years ago, and he has promoted it in many ways ever since. In order to achieve "communicative peace", basic changes in educational thinking must take place.

In the past, there were changes in foreign-language policy, and some of these have had considerable influence on the instructional process. One of the most spectacular ones over the last fifteen or twenty years has been an increasing awareness of the selection and treatment of content areas that should be covered in the foreign-language classroom. Many aspects of modern life that have previously been disregarded or misrepresented in traditional teaching materials have now received specific attention. A good example is the role of women in foreign-language textbooks. In the 1970s, it was the Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes that initiated a worldwide survey on this subject (Freudenstein

1978). Since then, the discussion about the place of women in society and their representation in schoolbooks has brought about enormous change. It was not only that learning materials were revised; equally important was the fact that the awareness of the teaching profession became focused on a problem which was and still remains a social challenge. Let me give you an example which shows how a new orientation of traditional concepts can lead to basic changes in everyday communication! My example is the use of the words "pupil" and "teacher" in German discussions of educational issues. In the past, we simply used to say "Schüler and Lehrer". This is not possible any more; it has become common practice to refer explicitly to the female forms of the words as well, and so today you have to say "Schülerinnen und Schüler" and "Lehrer und Lehrerinnen". The same holds true for similar vocabulary items like "Kollege" and "Kollegin" or "Professor" and "Professorin". On such a basis of a new orientation in educational thinking other deficits in the contents of foreign-language materials have been identified and criticised; for example, the situation of old people, the problems of the handicapped, the treatment of social minorities or the protection of the environment. The main reason for the fact that they have been either misrepresented or are even non-existent in textbooks or learning materials is that the teaching of foreign languages in all parts of the world still concentrates more on formal aspects of grammar, translation and vocabulary than on educational concerns. We know that such a foreign-language strategy no longer serves the interests both of pupils and society; it cannot even be justified by modern linguistic research any longer. Most of the traditional formal aspects of language teaching have been criticised as being superfluous, useless or even harmful and could easily be replaced by elements of alternative methods. Along these lines we should therefore see to it that new forms of how to teach should go along with a change of new thinking in what to teach. This is where peace education can play an important role.

2   Achievements in Peace Education in the Past

Classroom activities aimed at promoting peace are more or less non-existent. But the idea is gaining ground. In 1990, the world congress of the International Association of Applied Linguistics (AILA) was devoted to the topic, "Applied Linguistics, International Understanding and Peace Education". In the United States of America, the annual National Foreign Language Week in 1991 concentrated on "Peace through Understanding". Particularly in America, peace education in the foreign-language classroom has advanced well beyond the slogan level. For example, in the

state of New York, a group of foreign-language educators is trying to integrate materials on nuclear disarmament and international security into everyday teaching. In Germany, several papers have been published with recommendations for making the foreign-language classroom a place for peace education (cf Thürmann & Weber 1989; Reisener 1990). In addition, the German UNESCO Commission has supported a project for the promotion of peace through English teaching materials for beginners, intermediate and advanced pupils (Classen-Bauer 1989). In South America, Francisco Gomes de Matos is one of the foremost fighters for linguistic rights of students and the most prominent representative of peace education in the foreign- and second-language profession. In numerous papers he has demonstrated why the teaching of peace should become the most important task for modern-language teachers (Gomes de Matos 1990:2; 1992:1; 2002a). In Japan, the Global Issues in Language Education network is a special interest group of the Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT) which has gained international repute. It is a forum for language teachers from all over the world who share an interest in peace-related matters such as global awareness, social responsibility and world citizenship[3]. The British Ministry of Defence and the British Council work together in a Global Conflict Prevention Fund; this program concentrates on teaching English to soldiers, police and border guards of 24 countries in Europe so that they may better be able to communicate. In Latvia, a project called English for Military Purposes (EMP) has worked since 1995 to form positive attitudes, overcome prejudices, change of mindsets and raise intercultural awareness (cf Lucas 2002:8). These are hopeful signs. But they are still like little islands in a vast ocean of meaningless everyday episodes in the life of happy textbook families that still dominate the teaching process in the beginning years of foreign-language learning.

Gomes de Matos has repeatedly pointed out that peace-related items should not just be interspersed with other material and become only one topic among others. It ought rather to be accepted as an underlying philosophy, as a form of thinking from which all classroom activities should profit. Gomes de Matos promotes a humanising pedagogy, an atmosphere of ethics in the school environment. In other words: the notion of peace deserves to be integrated into the foreign-language curriculum as an all-embracing leitmotif. In order to achieve this goal,

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action has to be taken at three levels: (1) at the level of curriculum planning; (2) at that of textbook writing; and (3) at the level of classroom activities. As these levels indicate, three groups of foreign-language educators are challenged by the new task: firstly, administrators and people responsible for state, local or private school planning and development, secondly textbook-writers, and thirdly the millions of foreign- or second-language teachers around the globe.

2.1 The Curriculum Level

So far, curriculum designers have concentrated too much on formal aspects of the language-learning process. Their main interest seems to be to see to it that each and every grammar point is fully covered. But pupils should not only – if at all – learn about language rules and language patterns. They must primarily be prepared for communication across cultural and ideological barriers. This can only work if pupils are willing to meet and accept each other as well as other human beings in a truly humanistic way. They should be guided towards talking with others on the basis of equal partnership. It follows that the dimension of peace be included as a regular and explicit objective in curricula of foreign or second languages.

At this point, I cannot specify in detail which peace-related subjects could be embedded in an official course of study prescribed by ministries or curriculum designers. But I can give a few ideas along which lines people responsible for educational objectives should try to concentrate their thinking. They should, for example, not only write a list of how to read, understand and interpret literature in another language; it is much more important that pupils learn how to tolerate different opinions. They should propose ways and means in which pupils can be made aware of the fact that they are individually responsible for their environment, for their social contacts and for their communicative behaviour. They must guide teachers as to how they can equip pupils with the knowledge, skills and commitment necessary for becoming fighters for peace. It is not enough to mention peace education as one general objective among others; this has been done with comparable curriculum items in the past and resulted in nothing but paying mere lip-service to the idea. Content areas must be identified specifically and described in detail: the relationship between peace and social responsibility, the role of peace in international understanding, the context of peace for justice and human rights, and many more. These areas need to be exemplified in such a way that their relevance can be shown both for people as individuals and for community life. Specific methods of teaching peace topics must be

developed in order to get the message across to the language learners in a stimulating, interesting and motivating way. On the administrative side everything should be undertaken to merge peace education into a unique concept in which language learning and striving for peace are regarded as different parts of the same concern. In the future, administrators should pay attention first and foremost to what subject matter is being communicated, and only then look out for the language forms, which need to be learned in order to express a message adequately. It might well be possible that the overall goal of peace education could lead to a new definition and evaluation of the role of linguistic elements in the instructional process once they serve an educational rather than a grammatical purpose. On such a basis "communicative peace" could well be accepted in the same way as "communicative competence" has become the leading objective in the teaching of foreign languages. Wherever the notion of peace is excluded from communication one is left with a restricted competence unable to contribute towards a peaceful world. Thus, "communicative peace" is the challenge of the future.

2.2 The Textbook Level

Because future teachers have not experienced how peace education can be put into practice in the foreign-language classroom during their own school days, they will have to be familiarised with examples, which demonstrate just this notion. There is no better way of doing this than by providing a new generation of textbook materials. A systematic analysis of the most popular English textbooks used in German schools has shown that peace as a learning objective is not covered at all. The same holds true for textbooks in other foreign languages, and the situation in other countries is not very much different from that in Germany. No chapter, no lesson, no unit, no specific reading text or exercise in textbooks, workbooks, grammar guides or on cassettes, CDs and videos deal with the question of how to avoid war or with the challenge of how to achieve peace. Learning materials devoted to this goal are not only missing in textbooks for beginners, but also in readers for the advanced student. In this respect, textbooks recently published are not at all different from older ones, which means that there is no awareness of the need for change. There is no reason for neglecting peace-oriented texts and exercises because of vocabulary or grammar problems. Such texts could be studied and discussed by foreign-language learners in just the same way as they have up to now dealt with texts about going shopping, asking the way or going to a party. There is a wide range of possible topics, and here again Gomes de Matos has made a lot of valuable suggestions on how to do this. One of them is the so-called THRIL

technique in the service of humanising vocabulary use (Gomes de Matos 2002b). THRIL stands for "threefold repetition of an initial letter". This is a probing of the well-known device of alliteration, which involves a sequence of words beginning with the same sound or letter for achieving some communicative effect. Take AAA, for example, where you can come up with "Avoid aggressive assertions" or "Advise and advocate rather than admonish". BBB can result in "Be a peaceful bridge between persons", CCC in "Consider conflicts constructively" or "Convince through cooperation rather than competition". In this way one can go through the entire alphabet and end up with, for example, WWW as in "Weigh your words wisely", XXX as in "X-in cultural and linguistic diversity and X-out xenophobia", or YYY as in "Yearn for permanent peace in your yard". Once one has started to think and talk about subjects like these, pupils will most certainly provide a multitude of examples, which could be integrated into the foreign-language learning process.

Even if one has to use traditional materials, the idea of peace need not be neglected. If peace is regarded as an integral part of language learning, one can easily discover many places in textbook chapters and other teaching materials where the idea of peace can be suggested, added or even become a central focus of attention. For example, if pupils are asked to replace dehumanising uses of vocabulary in a boring traditional text, such a text could often be turned easily into an interesting and meaningful story. I hope that textbook authors will become aware of the need for "communicative peace" in the foreign-language classroom and devise their materials accordingly. In this regard, textbooks for the learning of English could play a leading role. In the history of foreign-language teaching it has always been the textbook writers of English who have brought about innovations in the teaching process. This is why they should once again forge ahead and lead the way into a new world of peace-related materials so that other foreign and second languages can follow.

2.3   The Classroom Level

Finally there is the classroom level. The classroom is where the real action takes place. Teachers should be guided towards means and methods of including both the spirit of peace and peace activities in their daily teaching. Here again, it is not the occasional inclusion of an exercise or a text, which can easily be identified as a peace item. It is what I call the spirit of peace, which should become the basis for the entire teaching process. In dealing with their pupils, more than ninety per cent of foreign-language teachers all over the world practise a so-called authoritarian

approach, a question-and-answer instructional method where strict rules of command and obedience guide the instructional process. Questions are only asked to find out whether pupils know correct answers, and not what they really think or believe. Teachers know that a democratic, a so-called "socially integral" teaching style is educationally preferable, but so far they have time and again found reasons for not following this approach. Excuses which are given are large classes, a pressing teaching load, too much content to cover, classrooms not suitable for group work and other pupil-centred activities, students becoming increasingly more aggressive, and many more. All this might well be so. But to teach peace starts with a peaceful educator. An eight year-old girl in primary school in my neighbourhood was recently asked what she didn't like about her English lessons. She said: "I don't like my teacher shouting at me". This is where peace education can begin to change teacher behaviour.

From there it almost automatically follows that peace-related topics should be dealt with as something that goes without saying. There is almost no topic, which could not be used in the service of peace. Just take a regular textbook and look at it with the concept of peace education in mind! You will immediately come up with a lot of useful ideas on how to include the dimension of peace in the instructional process. Be it a role-played family conversation, a discussion on environmental conservation, a debate in which opposing parties try to compromise, be it dictionary or even grammar work, there is nothing that can be left out when concentrating on how to integrate the peace dimension into the foreign-language instructional process. It can be put into practice from the very first lesson. Specific aspects of "life and institutions" – "the German Landeskunde" – or topics of intercultural interest are an integral part of every existing language program; once they are placed in the context of peace education, a new dimension is added to them. Activities of this kind can open the door of the classroom and connect the outside world with the teaching process. I very much like a relatively simple exercise, which Gomes de Matos has suggested. It shows how peace education can be integrated into slogans, statements and proverbs and contribute towards forging general wisdom into a new direction. "Thus", he says, "Two heads are better than one" could become "Two peaceful minds are stronger than one"" (Gomes de Matos 1990:2). Along these lines "Drive carefully" could become "Drive peacefully", "Nobody is perfect" could read "Peace is perfect", "Early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise" could be changed to "Early to bed and early to rise makes people healthy, peaceful and wise". Pupils are very imaginative once they are given the opportunity to come up with similar

ideas. Just ask them to paraphrase peaceful quotations, to find or create sayings of peace or to look for peaceful proverbs across cultures!

3   Peace Education is a Form of Thinking

Peace education in the foreign-language classroom should reflect a state of moral conviction; it is something to be permanently pursued. It is a form of thinking which originates in the teacher's mind. Language instruction and peace education ought to be regarded as one and the same concern, otherwise the challenges of the twenty-first century cannot be adequately met. Teachers must be willing to dedicate time, effort and professional skill to their work if they wish to contribute towards peace in tomorrow's world. They must learn to teach peace in such a way that it is not the topic of special exercises, which have been particularly selected for that purpose and which are occasionally added to other classroom activities. They must learn that it is not sufficient merely to talk about peace, but that there are close links to their individual behaviours and their personal teaching styles.

Benjamin Franklin is supposed to have said: "Tell me and I forget. Teach me and I remember. Involve me and I learn." In peace education, we are still on level one: we – at least some of us, not necessarily all of us – tell our students about the importance of global issues, and they forget. Some teachers have reached level two: they occasionally teach about peace by using materials that have been published in order to promote international understanding through language teaching, and their students hopefully remember what they have been told. What we should aim at and work for is involving our pupils in all kinds of activities in the context of peace education so that they learn what to do in order to build up a peaceful world. This can and will not happen within a short period of time. There is an old saying which is very relevant to peace education. It says: "If you make plans for a year, plant rice! If you make plans for ten years, plant trees! If you make plans for a hundred years, educate the people!" Peace education is a long-term process. If we want to be successful we must start today by trying to change a world without peace into a peaceful globe. Foreign- and second-language teaching cannot achieve that goal on its own but it can contribute considerably by adjusting its educational context to this purpose from the selection of teaching materials and the way of presenting them to the students, to a cooperative teacher-student relationship in a relaxed classroom atmosphere. In this way, language teachers can help to prepare the young generation for a better world.

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Teacher Professional Development for Cooperative Learning

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There were dramatic changes in the twentieth century for some professions and working places. For example, a physician trained in 1900 would not have been able to function in the hospital of Year 2000. However, change in the twentieth century was not so crucial for teacher education and schools – lectures, chalkboards and the rows of desks dominated the entire century.

As education continues to increase in importance, so too will teacher education. Teacher education in the twenty-first century will be influenced by continuing reforms and it will not only be an extension of the present.

Unpredictable events can change the very nature of society, education and teacher education. In addition to technological changes, social changes can also cause dramatic changes in teacher education. Social traditions can also be an obstacle for the application of technological innovations to education and teacher education.

On the one hand, the Internet makes home schooling available to parents and children, but on the other hand most parents do not currently wish to spend all day at home with their children. So schools will not disappear as physical places until those attitudes change. Besides, school is now very often the only place of socialising for the majority of children.

Students will not always learn by "taking in" what teachers tell them. The teachers will not be necessary to "digest the information" for students to swallow.

According to the philosophical framework of Habermas (1971) and one of his followers, Mezirow (1991) people have three basic interests:

• first, to control and manipulate the environment

- second, to understand each other and existing social norms
- third, to develop oneself

The first interest – to control and manipulate the environment – is connected with gaining instrumental knowledge, i.e., foundational and basic knowledge, socially justified beliefs all people agree on. *Instrumental knowledge* is scientific and cause-effect information accumulated in primary school.

When going to high school or college, the needs and interests of people change. College and university education should be mostly non-foundational as it should not address the questions with widely agreed-upon answers, but answers that require well-developed judgement.

In primary school, most children are happy with the teacher's authority and they openly acknowledge it. High school students in most cases resist their teachers' authority, but they acknowledge the authority of know-ledge taught by teachers.

But college and university students should not take their teachers' authority and the authority of what they teach for granted. The authority of knowledge taught in colleges and universities should always be subject to doubt. And the teachers' task is to teach students to come to terms with that doubt. It is time for them to obtain *communicative knowledge,* which is mutual understanding and social knowledge.

According to the third interest, every person is interested in self-development, "including freedom from the constraints of not knowing" (Cranton 1996:26). This interest leads to *emancipatory knowledge* – increased self-awareness and transformation of our perspectives, which are gained in the last years of university and in-service education.

Long & Riegle (2002) are convinced that school is and will be primarily a social institution and experience is and will be education. Students learn by joining communities in which people construct knowledge as they talk together and reach consensus. What teachers do is set up conditions in which students can learn and one of the most important ways teachers can do that is by organising students into learning groups.

In schools, classroom management has changed, the students' tables and chairs are no longer arranged in rows, but organised into the so-called "learning stations" that make it possible for students to discuss and share

materials. This traditional group work is usually done in a very informal way, to give the children some sort of "break" from the prevalent lecturing situation.

The term "group work" is used whenever a teacher decides to organise the activities in small groups. The nature of these activities depends on the knowledge the students acquire in these small groups.

In order to organise learning together, the teacher can choose among four different groups. They are traditional, cooperative, collaborative and transformative learning groups (see Table 2).

Traditional groups work together in order to complete the group's task that is given by the teacher and is usually connected with checking what students have learnt and remember. Usually the students join the groups by chance or at random. The groups compete against each other and strive to get the best mark – the assessment given by teacher. The main focus is on task and foundational knowledge. The experience students get is chaotic – some of them like working in groups, some hate it and so it goes on; nobody really cares about it. The teacher's role can be very active – like interfering with the group's task all the time or passive – leaving them alone with their task. No-one is aware of social skills. If they exist, they help to complete the task more easily; if not, the group can even end up in conflict situation.

Cooperative learning may be group work, but not all the work done in groups is cooperative learning. It differs from group work in several aspects:

- heterogeneous grouping
- active involvement of all the participants
- guaranteed individual accountability
- face-to-face interaction
- intentional development of social skills
- the evaluation of the process and the outcome

Cooperative learning is non-competitive learning, in which the reward structure encourages students to work together to accomplish a common goal. The *Cooperative Learning* method, known as Learning Together and Alone, centres on the integrated use of cooperative, competitive and individualistic learning (Johnson 1970; Johnson & Johnson 1999, 1978). Learning Together and Alone is a conceptual system teachers can use to

structure any lesson cooperatively, in any subject area, grade level or educational setting. Learning Together and Alone has its roots in social interdependence theory, in the works of Kurt Koffka, Kurt Lewin and Morton Deutsch (1949). Practically the roots of cooperative learning are in Experiential Learning Theory (Rogers).

Rogers (1969, 1994) distinguished two types of learning: cognitive (academic knowledge) and experiential (applied knowledge). Experiential Learning was considered as significant because it addresses the needs and wants of the learner. To Rogers, experiential learning is equivalent to personal change and growth. Rogers feels that all human beings have a natural propensity to learn and the role of the teacher is to facilitate such learning. This includes:

- setting positive climate for learning
- clarifying learners' purposes
- organising and making available learning resources
- balancing intellectual and emotional components of learning
- sharing feelings and thoughts with learners, but not dominating

According to Rogers (1969, 1994), learning is facilitated when: the student participates completely in the learning process and has control over its nature and direction; it is primarily based upon direct confrontation with practical, social, personal or research problems; and self-evaluation is the principal method of assessing progress or success. Rogers also emphasises the importance of learning to learn and an openness to change.

Taking all this into account cooperative learning has a clear connection with experiential learning theory. Referring to the experience of having used cooperative learning for over seven years and according to many authors (Bennett 1991; Cohen 1994; Ellis & Whalen 1990), the cooperative teacher is responsible for at least four phases in both planning and implementing cooperative learning in lessons (Table 1).

Cohen (1994:39) notes that cooperative learning changes a teacher's role significantly: "No longer are you a direct supervisor of students, responsible for ensuring that they do their work exactly as you direct. No longer is it your responsibility to watch for every mistake and correct it on the spot. Instead, authority is delegated to students and to groups of students. They are in charge of ensuring that the job gets done, and that classmates get the help they need. They are empowered to make mistakes, to find out what went wrong, and what might be done about it."

No.	Phase	Things to do
1	Planning phase before the lesson	• determine academic and social objectives • decide about the appropriate group size • assign the students to groups • create the appropriate roles • arrange the room • prepare the materials • decide about the evaluation
2	At the beginning of the lesson	• set the stage • describe the tasks (explain the academic task and specify desired social behaviour) • explain the criteria for success • move students into groups • assign their roles
3	Working process during the lesson	• monitor students' interaction • intervene when necessary (to provide task assistance, teach collaborative skills, analyse the situation, help to solve the conflict, etc)
4	Reflection at the end of lesson or after lesson	• evaluate the academic work • process the social skills

Table 1. The Teacher in Planning and Implementing Cooperative Learning

Organising cooperative learning, the teacher is no longer giving the information, instead he or she is organising the acquisition of the information. This new way of things makes the teacher develop new skills, attitudes and fulfil different roles.

In short, cooperative learning is the first stage where individuals share information and expertise in order to acquire instrumental knowledge. The experience is fairly structured as the teacher coordinates the content and process, decides about basic social skills necessary for classroom work. The students are made aware of missing social skills; they practise them according to a strict structure.

Besides, it is a kind of platform for *collaborative learning* where individuals work together to construct their own understanding of each other and their social world – to obtain communicative knowledge. The emphasis is on the process and the interactions among the people involved. The teacher establishes the atmosphere in which such inquiry is possible and participates in the shared exploration (Cranton 1996; Farquharson 1995; Imel 1991; MacGregor 1992).

Collaborative learning is always cooperative, but it takes students one step further. It takes both the student and the teacher "into enemy

territory"; cooperative learning generally maintains traditional authority structures. Students in collaborative settings learn specific social skills that could prepare them for "living in community" and of being helpful to others. They also learn the meaning of civic responsibility, and they consciously practise social skills necessary not only in the learning environment, but also in life.

Finally, *transformative learning* (Cranton 1996) occurs when people critically revise their underlying expectations, assumptions or perspectives. The goal is increased self-awareness and empowerment through consciousness-raising that leads to emancipatory knowledge. The teacher, being at the same time equal participant, establishes, stimulates and supports critical reflection. The participants demonstrate higher level thinking skills the so-called life skills unconsciously in their behaviour, talk and actions towards self, others and work.

Group	Traditional	Cooperative	Collaborative	Transformative
Goal	To reach teacher's goal – to complete the group`s task	To share the information and discover objective truth	To work together, construct knowledge, understand each other and social world	To raise self-esteem, revise underlying assumptions
Focus	Task	Process and task	Interpersonal process	Critical self-reflection
Knowledge	Created by others	Instrumental scientific, cause-effect information	Communicative – socially constructed knowledge	Emancipatory – self-awareness, transformation of perspectives
Experience	Chaotic, non-personal	Structured	Constructed	New
Teacher	Leader and controller	Coordinator	Co-learner	Equal participant
Social skills	Un-conscious incompetence learners are not aware of social skills	Conscious in-competence basic classroom skills are structured	Conscious competence interaction skills are practised	Unconscious competence higher level skills – life skills are demonstrated

Table 2. Four Kinds of Learning Together

Many authors (eg Cohen, Kagan, S Sharan, Y Sharan, Slavin, D Johnson, R Johnson, etc) have researched the benefits of cooperative learning methods. Panitz (2002) has summed up 67 benefits created by cooperative and collaborative learning (CL) and presents them in four major categories. They are:

- *academic* (CL promotes critical thinking skills; involves students actively in the learning process; classroom results are improved; models appropriate student problem solving techniques; large lectures can be personalised; CL is especially helpful in motivating students in specific curriculum)
- *social* (develops a social support system for students; builds diversity understanding among students and staff; establishes a positive atmosphere for modelling and practising cooperation; develops learning communities)
- *psychological* (student centred instruction increases students' self-esteem; cooperation reduces anxiety; CL develops positive attitudes towards teachers)
- *assessment* – CL alternates student and teacher assessment techniques

Conclusion

Learning together complies with the current policy of education in Latvia and its aim is to develop personality, socialisation and to educate the citizens to help them live and work in a democratic society.

There can be distinguished four kinds of learning together in four different groups, based on the nature of knowledge (instrumental, communicative or emancipatory) acquired in the groups. However, traditional group work has turned out to have more drawbacks for the teachers than benefits. Cooperative learning is appropriate for primary school children, collaborative learning for college and university students and transformative learning for teacher in-service education.

Implementing learning together in different groups requires teachers to learn new concepts and behaviours not just new "techniques". Learning cooperative learning strategies and implementing them successfully is a very hard task that requires much time, commitment, repeated practice, support, motivation, and constant feedback.

Besides, teaching is too often a lonely profession as teachers seldom plan together and discuss teaching strategies together if it has not been insisted upon by some teacher development programmes or are not in the frame of some project.

That is why teachers have to experience all the levels of learning together themselves, building their learning philosophy on the pitfalls of traditional group work, turning them into payoffs by a very structured cooperative learning, getting confidence in collaborative learning and continuing their professional development by transformative learning.

Teachers' social skills should be gradually developed and improved starting with the simplest and basic social skills and proceeding to a higher level – personality development social skills. Teacher professional development should take place in an appropriate learning environment – as close as possible to real life and work situations. Other important criteria are systematic reflection on one's action and sustainability of professional development activities.

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Asian Student Exchange Program (ASEP): Students' and Teachers' Perceptions of English Language Learning in the Global Collaborative Context

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1 Background, Aims and Purposes of the Program

The Asian Student Exchange Program (ASEP) involved Taiwan students and their teachers from the Advanced Joint English Telecommunication (AJET) Project (http://ajet.nsysu.edu.tw/) in collaborative project work with Japanese university students and teachers. The AJET project was established in 1998 to help students practise their English skills. Learning experiences emphasise development of students' multiple intelligences through different student-centred activities. The integration of new designs into AJET resulted in the establishment of the AJET Digital School, a Cyber University platform. The AJET Digital School (AJDS) facilitated the implementation of ASEP since it incorporates many of the services on the Internet which students are already familiar with, including mailing lists, forums, on-line chat and communication through multimedia. In addition, many on-line cooperative activities may be facilitated and coordinated thus allowing students and teachers in ASEP to work collaboratively. The four months of working together between Taiwan and Japan through AJDS concluded with the Japanese students and teachers visiting their Taiwanese friends for a short, intensive culmination program.

The program aimed to motivate students to use English as a tool to communicate in their daily lives, use information technology for self-education and life-long learning, and promote multicultural understand-

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ing and sense of global community. It also aimed to change students' perceptions of English language as an examination-oriented, difficult academic subject to appreciating it as a valuable tool of communication. Similarly, the program was expected to let students have the opportunity to see another country and its people through their own eyes rather than through the messages of the mass media and the like. The program was also expected to impact on students' and teachers' Internet skills and cultural knowledge as well as influence their motivation to learn English and promote their power to learn and observe.

2 Pedagogical Considerations

The AJET Digital School adopts a collaborative team teaching approach, typical of the approach encouraged by Bonk and Cunningham's (1998) work. It is not necessary to have a specific leader as the teams' affairs are decided by the interactions of members in relation to the particular special conditions. The approach aims to complete both the long-term and short-term course design based on program activities. These activities help achieve the coherence of the syllabus, control the learning pace of students and encourage interactions between teachers and students as well as students and students. As noted by Bailey, Dale and Squire (1991) the cooperative nature of this approach involves teachers collaborating prior to teaching, during teaching and after teaching. This collaboration includes team teaching (Curtis 2000), planning together, integrating teaching materials, designing activities, monitoring, categorising and comparing student interactions, formative and summative assessment and evaluation. In AJDS web-based teaching teachers discuss on-line, discuss via video-conference, answer questions using email, implement on-line assessment, and provide learning support. Teachers and students participate in discussion forums and students discuss through participating in an email list, chat and discussion board, and also surf the web for topics and review their experiences using Media Master.

With regard to teaching English, the Program fosters students' communicative competence and cultural knowledge and application. It provides them with authentic communicative, language-learning activities, which reflect a real communicative purpose for listening, speaking, reading and writing. This is in contrast to the traditional approach to language learning which focuses students' attention on English as a subject with a set text book, memorisation of model dialogues which do not apply to real communicative needs, and a tight teaching-testing cycle. The AJDS approach to learning (Shih & Chen 1999) may also be described as project-based and learner-centred where learner interaction is considered very important. Students become involved in teamwork where they may

organise and set their own agenda. For example, when they work on 'Cyber Fair', they communicate on various discussion topics and interact by sharing information in small groups (Tolsby 2000).

The way AJDS works demonstrates the huge potential which technology has for learning in general and, language and cultural learning in particular (Cubberley & Skrzeszewski 1999). In fact, technology has created the opportunity for English as a second/foreign language learners to communicate with each other as well as with native speakers of English, more intensively than ever before. Under these circumstances it can be argued that English language learners' horizons have enlarged dramatically from the point of view of opportunity to apply their skills. It is therefore not surprising that within this globalised education context more and more language teachers and learners are taking the advantage of communicating via the Internet and email to support the essential communicative components of their programs (Soh & Soon 1991; Sayers, 1993; Warschauer 1995; Son & O'Neill 1999). Learning through technology in this way has also been shown to facilitate students' independent learning (Warschauer, Turbee & Roberts 1996) which is well recognised as essential to lifelong learning (Kearns 1999). Similarly, designing learning tasks that challenge students' thinking, such as encouraging them to solve problems, is expected to facilitate knowledge construction (Billett 1994) in the knowledge economy of the 21st century. In addition, as Merrill (1992), cited in Chang (2001:231) states "teachers can help students promote their heuristic and metacognitive awareness through learner involvement in tasks and projects".

Current research outcomes and discussion on the application of the Internet and email to language learning clearly demonstrate its usefulness. It has been successful in enabling students learning English to actually communicate in English with native English speakers (Son & O'Neill 1999) and with other learners of English as a foreign language (Lin 1997; Li & Laurence 1998). Similarly, Chang's (2001:231) research demonstrates how a homepage-based problem solving technique may also be used to facilitate authentic communicative language learning. In this case, students were engaged collaboratively, receiving responses as well as responding to the problems of others through hypertext. Positive outcomes included increased self-esteem because of strengthening of skills in technology and teamwork, creation of friendships, improved skills in critical thinking and improved skills in writing. It was concluded that the program was overall very beneficial but students needed more time to develop their writing skills using this approach along with better software for composing homepages.

For the purposes of ASEP it was hypothesised that, while these students would be interacting and collaborating in their mutual second language of English for a substantial term of four months, the incorporation of a visit at the end of the program would facilitate cross cultural attitudes and the acculturation process. This is supported by the research of Mosher (2002), who found that through participation in the Saratov-Wyoming Exchange Program students learned the importance of acculturation and such activity is likely to facilitate more positive outcomes. However, it is acknowledged that in the end any program must comply with the financial, educational and time constraints that make it feasible or not feasible. With that in mind it is important to note that as Kohlmayer and Schindehutte (2001) report that too short an exchange visit may confirm participants' worse fears about the target culture rather than create or enhance positive attitudes.

3   Methodology

A sample of nineteen adults who represented the range of roles involved in implementing ASEP and a sample of sixty-three students were surveyed by email approximately two months after the completion of the exchange program trip to Taiwan. The samples were representative of both Taiwanese and Japanese participants. The response rate for adults at 56% (14) was fair, with representation of participant roles and both countries. The response rate for students was 40% (25). This was limited to Taiwanese students except for one from Japan. Further investigations showed that the majority of email addresses had changed in the interim for the Japanese group and in the light of time constraints for the researchers the data collection could not be delayed.

Two parallel surveys, one for students and one for adults, were deve-loped independently of program collaborators. Since it was not possible to carry out pre- and post-program surveys on this occasion, a strategy to gauge participants' opinion of the worth of the program, its strengths and ways in which it could be improved was adopted. This was in keeping with similar approaches to post curriculum program evaluation (O'Neill, 1996). Each survey comprised questions to collect data on basic demo-graphic information, respondents' access to computers over the previous year and currently, purposes for computer use, perceived ASEP outcomes, strengths and weaknesses of ASEP, ideas for how ASEP could be improved and ratings on forty-five attributes related to Program outcomes using a six point agreement scale. These items were randomly ordered within the survey.

4   Results

4.1   Percentage positive ratings on program outcomes

Respondents were asked to rate how much they agreed they had achieved each of forty-five educational outcomes because of their participation in ASEP. Although there is some overlap, the items related to the following six program goals: learning the English language, valuing the English language, learning computer and information technology skills, expanding cultural knowledge and experience, developing social skills and self-esteem and relating ASEP to general school achievement.

Comparison of students' and adult's percentage positive ratings for the overall set of survey items is shown in Figure 1.
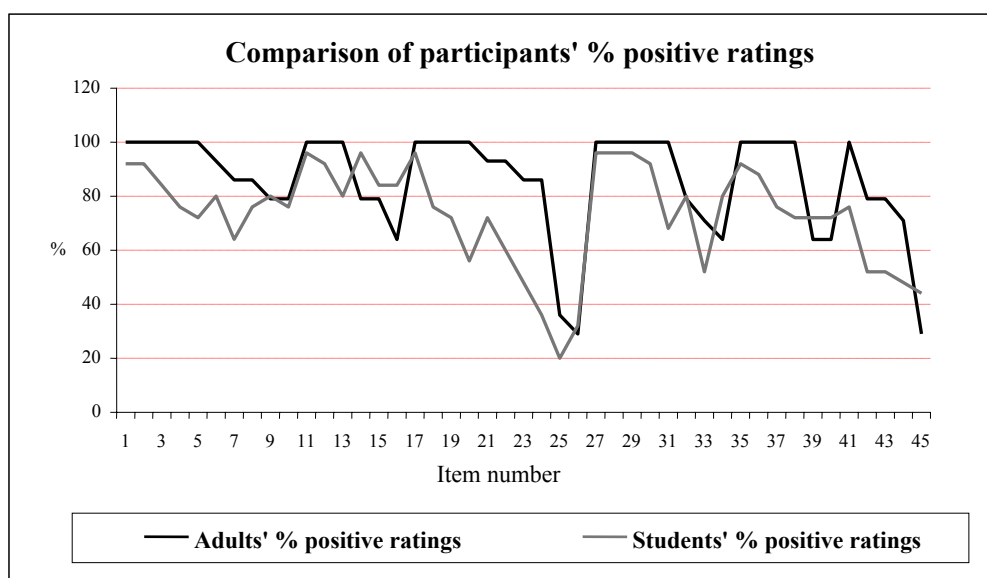

Figure 1. Comparison of Adults' and Students' Positive Ratings of Educational Benefits of ASEP

Students' and adults' overall percentage positive ratings were compared for the set of program outcome items. Statistical analyses were conducted using *t*-tests for independent samples (alpha levels set at 0.5). The results showed that the adult participants in the program were significantly more positive about the program outcomes than were the students (p < .01). But this is not to say that the students were not positive. In fact, students were still substantially positive about the program. This is reflected in the fact that the mean positive response

rating for the students was 72%, whereas the adult mean positive response rating was 86%. However, it is to some extent expected that those responsible for the program (the adult group) would tend to be most positive (O'Neill & Gish 2001). The differences in these results are illuminated further when the various outcome response categories are examined in Figures 2 to 7.

Figure 2 compares adults' and students' percentage positive ratings on the educational benefits of ASEP.
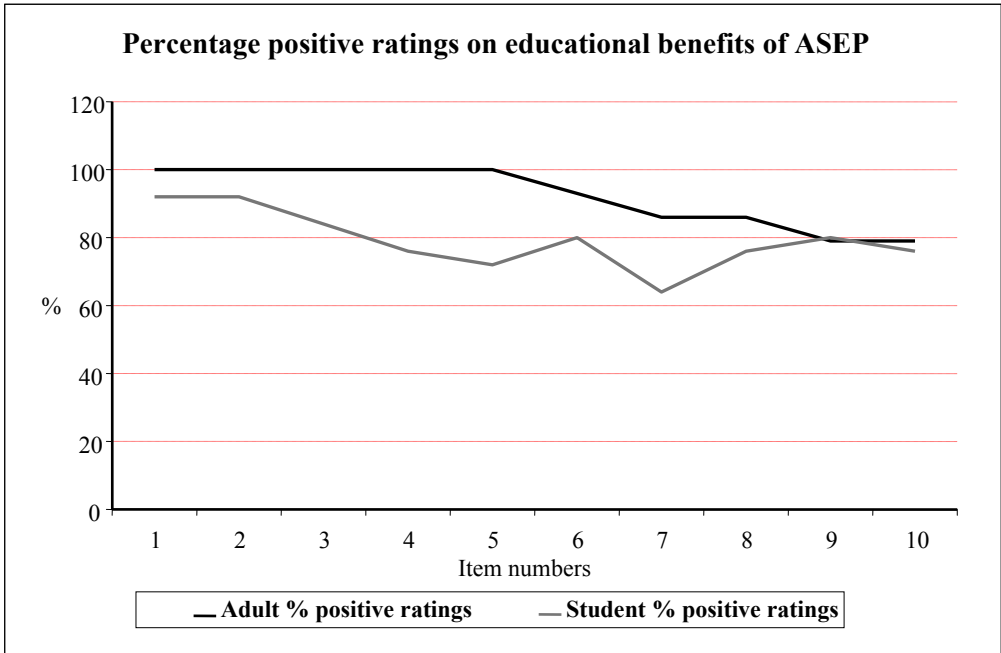

Figure 2. Comparison of Students' and Adults' Percentage Positive Ratings of Educational Benefits of ASEP

1   26 Write in English to foreign friends.
2   10 Use English to offer suggestions to others.
3   2 Communicate better in English.
4   29 Improve my English language skills.
5   22 Write in English in e-mails.
6   43 Use English to ask questions.
7   45 Use English to find out answers to my concerns
8   8 Understand English on the Internet.
9   16 Read in English.
10   44 Talk in English to fellow students.

Consideration of these percentage positive ratings shows that both adults and students viewed the program very positively in its capacity to be educationally beneficial in terms of communicating in English. The lower percentages for students reflect the higher level skill demands, such as, using English to find out answers to concerns, improving English skills and the most demanding skills of 'off-the-cuff' reading and writing. It must be acknowledged here that a short term program could not be expected to significantly improve higher level skills.

Figure 3 compares adults' and students' percentage positive ratings on the valuing of learning English in ASEP.
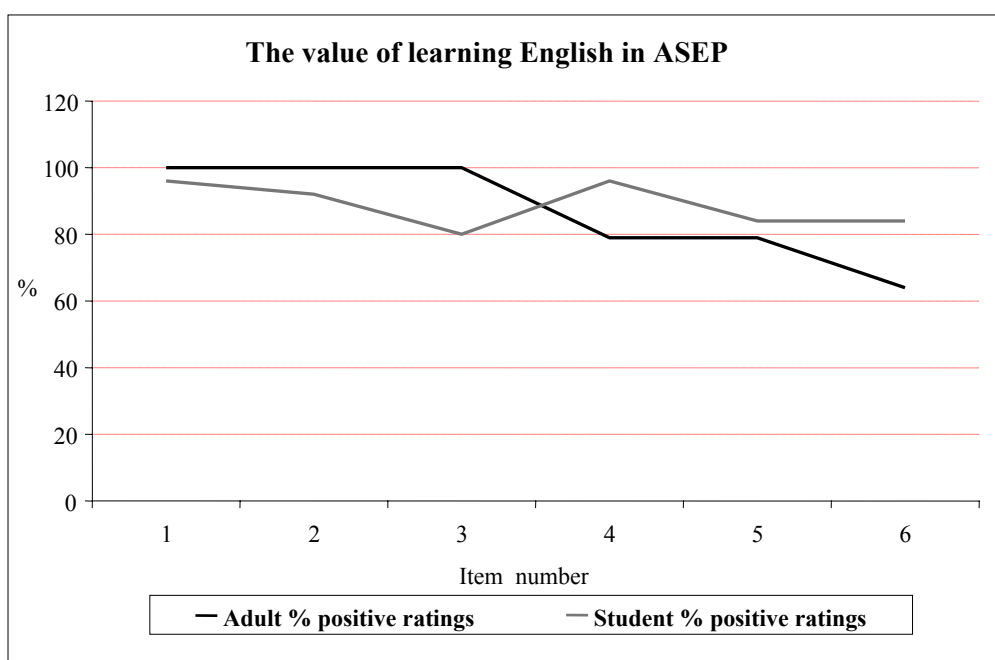

Figure 3. The Value of Learning English in ASEP

1   15 Realise that English lets me find out more information.
2   39 Realise English will let me talk to people in other cultures.
3   35 Enjoy learning the English language.
4   25 Realise I need English to get a good job.
5   9 Realise English is good to do business.
6   7 Enjoy reading in English.

There was a consensus of positive opinion with regard to participants' perceptions of the value of learning English in ASEP. This was particularly evident in relation to the questions 'Realise that English lets

me find out more information,' 'Realise English will let me talk to people in other cultures' and 'Enjoy reading in English'.

Students were much more positive than adults towards ASEP being valuable for enjoying reading in English and for realising English is needed to get a good job. By contrast, adults were much more positive (100%) about the value of ASEP in helping students to enjoy learning the English language. Obviously, from the learner perspective their response, although very positive (80%), is most likely to be tempered by the pressure to learn and achieve in the examination system.

Figure 4 compares adults' and students' percentage positive ratings on learning computer and information technology skills
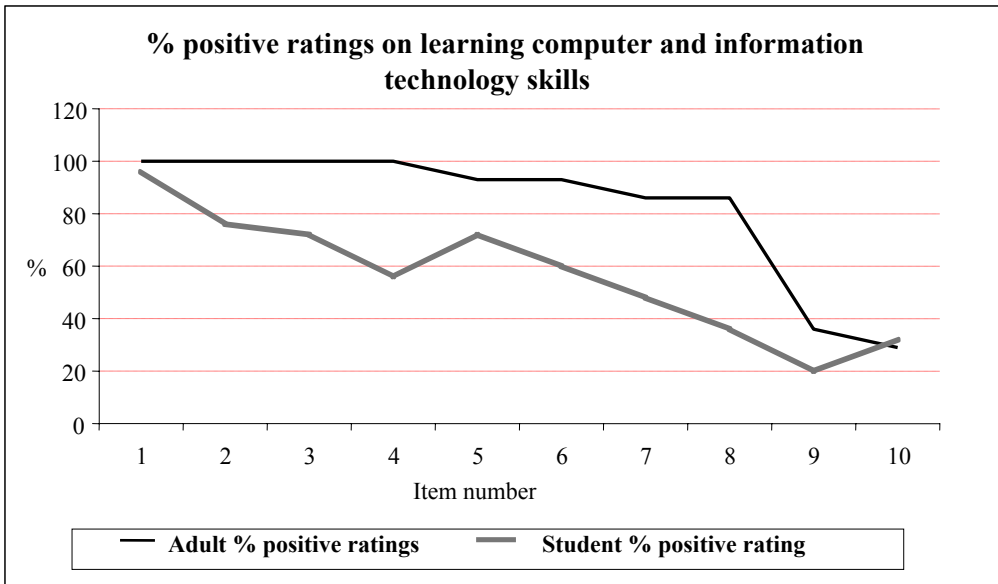

Figure 4. Comparison of Students' and Adults' Percentage Positive Ratings for Learning Computer and Information Technology Skills in ASEP

1   33 Find out about another culture.
2   34 Use computers for writing.
3   19 Present information on line.
4   12 Improve my skills to use e-mail.
5   37 Use computers for information.
6   3 Use the internet to find information.
7   13 Improve my skills in constructing web pages.
8   1 Improve my computing skills in general.
9   23 Use computers for games.
10   6 Use computers for music.

Adults' and students' responses suggest that both groups viewed the use of technology in ASEP enabled them to find out about another culture. When asked about ASEP's impact on improving skills in technology adults were much more positive than students with regard to using email, constructing web pages, using the internet to find information and using computers in general.

It is noted that students had been taught these skills beforehand which could account for their less positive responses, however, in the open-ended questions some students stated they needed more skills and time. These skills are also some of the more demanding skills and students being required to apply them in the short term is not so easy in spite of training, particularly when the language in use is a second or foreign language. Similarly, students were subsequently less positive than the adults with regard to ASEP's impact on their ability to present information on-line, use computers for writing and use computers for information.

Participants were also asked to rate the impact of ASEP on students' use of computers for games and for music. Since ASEP didn't involve students directly in either of these uses the low positive response rate for both adults and students makes a useful contribution to validating participants' overall pattern of responses.

Figure 5 compares adults' and students' percentage positive ratings on expanding cultural knowledge and experience.

When participants were asked about ASEP's contribution to expanding students' cultural knowledge and experience, there was strong positive argument that it facilitated students enjoying working with foreigners, meeting people from a different country, finding out about another culture, and motivating students to find out about other cultures and their festivals. Although adults were equally positive about the program's ability to foster students finding out about the different countries' different traditions, students were substantially less positive here. While adults were substantially positive about the program helping students find out about the countries' pop stars, students were only moderately positive. However, with regard to ASEP helping students find out about the countries' taboos, students were more positive than the adults compared with general positive agreement with regard to festivals (80%).
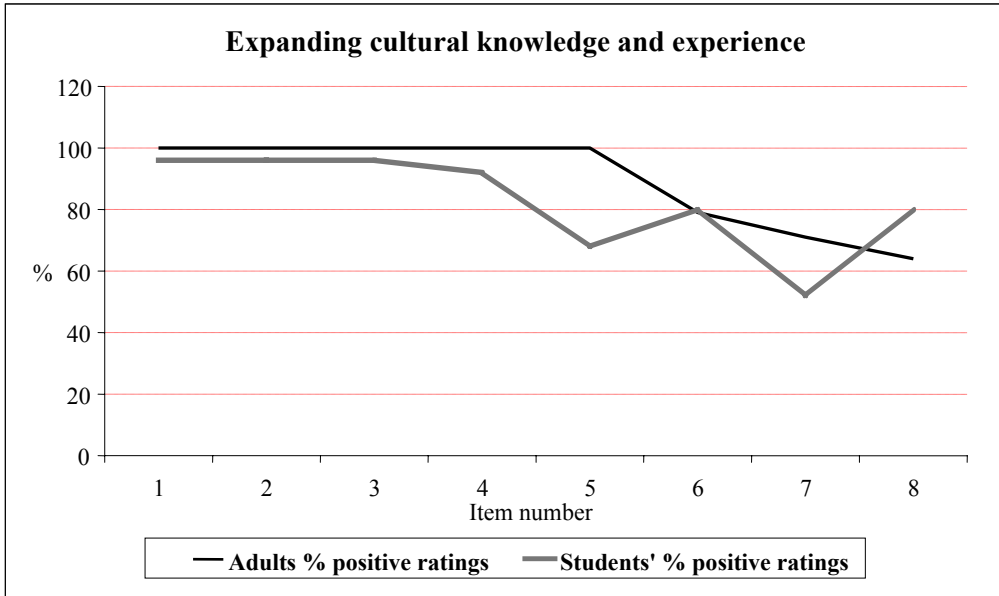
Figure 5. Comparison of students' and adults' percentage positive ratings for expanding their cultural knowledge and experience in ASEP

1   20 Enjoy working with foreigners.
2   27 Enjoy meeting people from a different country.
3   33 Find out about another culture.
4   14 Become more interested in finding out about other cultures in the world.
5   30 Find out about their/my own country's traditions.
6   5 Find out about their/my own country's festivals.
7   36 Find out about their/my own country's pop stars.
8   41 Find out about their/my own country's taboos.

It is noted here that it would be expected that such cultural awareness would largely reflect the curriculum embedded in the collaborative tasks e.g., festival were more prominent since students visited Taiwan at Christmas and celebrated this festival.

Figure 6 compares adults' and students' percentage positive ratings on developing social skills and self-esteem.

Making friends and teamwork were viewed as strong positive outcomes of ASEP by both adults and students. While adults were also strongly positive about ASEP facilitating students' self-confidence and confidence

to perform to an audience, the student group was only moderately positive. Again students' responses may reflect more conservatism and a tendency not to be seen to be "blowing their own trumpet" with regard to confidence and performance in front of others.
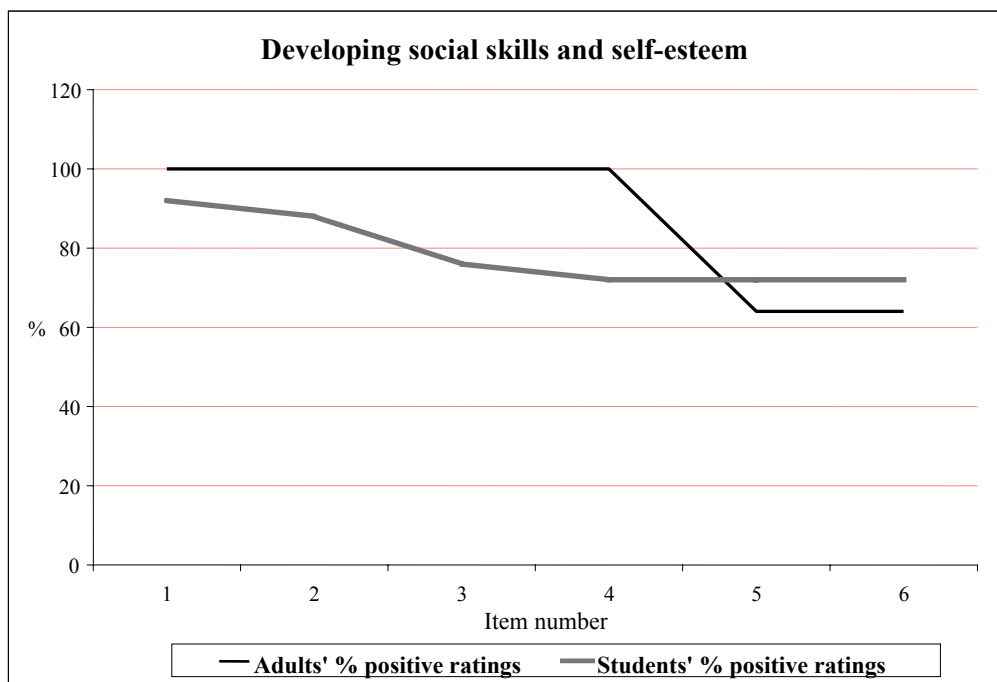

Figure 6. Comparison of Students' and Adults' Percentage Positive Ratings for Developing Social Skills and Self-esteem in ASEP

1	28 Make friends with people better now.
2	11 Work together in a team.
3	40 Develop more self confidence.
4	24 Gain confidence in performing to an audience.
5	17 Feel happier about their/my appearance.
6	32 Be happier about their/my way of life.

Students' responses as to whether ASEP contributed to making them feel happier about their appearance and their way of life showed them to be only moderately more positive compared with the adults' opinions. Since other ratings would suggest a more positive response to these items (finding out about foreigners and a different country and making friends and working together were perceived as very positive outcomes for students by both groups) it would seem pertinent to investigate such aspects more comprehensively in future research.

Figure 7 compares adults' and students' percentage positive ratings on potential impact on students' schooling in ASEP.
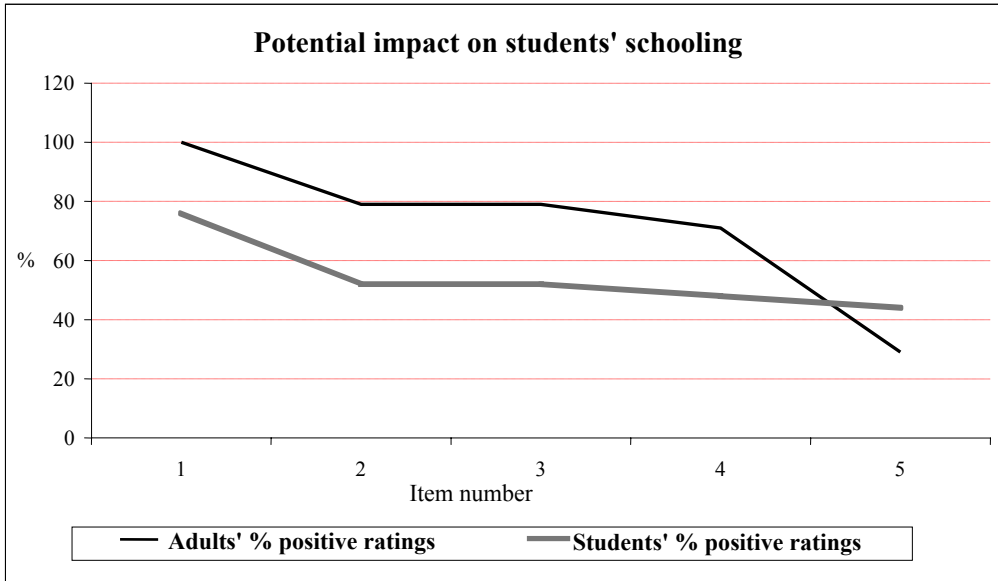

Figure 7 Comparison of Students' and Adults' Percentage Positive Ratings on ASEP's Potential Impact on Students' Schooling

1	29 Improve their/my English language skills.
2	4 Receive more praise from their/my parents.
3	42 Receive more praise from their/my teacher.
4	38 Get higher grades in English.
5	31 Feel more satisfied with their/my school grades.

The potential impact of ASEP on students' schooling needs to be considered in relation to the education background context of mainstream schooling of the participants. Although the adults in the program may be described as working at the cutting edge of computer assisted language learning (CALL) and educational technology in general, it is important to note that the traditional values and beliefs as well as the reality of the regular school learning program must be considered. Most positively, adults and to a lesser extent students, viewed the programs as improving students' English language skills.

With regard to ASEP facilitating parents and teachers giving more praise to students and students getting higher grades in English, the adults were moderately more positive (average 76%) with students being on average only 54% positive. These responses suggest that participants tempered

their response with the knowledge that parents and teachers focus on examination grades. In addition, 'a trip' abroad and 'sitting at a computer' may be seen as activities which encroach on the 'real learning' of English in school and after school traditional study.

Finally, both adults and students gave low positive ratings (less than 50%) when asked to what extent ASEP made students feel more satisfied with their school grades. In this case students were more positive at 44% compared with adults' ratings of 29% positive. These responses tend to reflect the teachers' practical knowledge that students could not be satisfied with their grades unless they were high, and students' knowledge that grades relate directly to formal examinations.

5   Participants' Comments

Students were asked to list the things which they enjoyed most about ASEP. All the students reported that they enjoyed being able to make friends with their Japanese exchange partners, meet face-to-face and talk about their different cultures and lifestyle. Comments included the following:

> *Talk to the host student with little difficulty.*
> *Let friends from other countries know more about my own country's culture.*
> *Working with foreign teachers and students in team is truly a wonderful experience!*
> *With ASEP, I made a lot of new friends, and I have much improvement in English.*
> *We made a good friendship, and still kept sending each other emails until now.*
> *To practise my English.*
> *Make friends with foreigners, gain more courage to speak in English.*
> *Improve my English language skills.*
> *Realise English will let me talk to people in other cultures.*
> *During making the web pages, we met a lot of problems of computer skills. Especially, we were supposed to make it in English. It is a challenge for us. We overcame the difficulties together. I enjoyed the cooperation and this experience.*

Students were also asked to list the things which they enjoyed least about ASEP. One quarter of the students stated that there was nothing that they could say they least enjoyed while approximately one third of the students' comments suggested that they were concerned that they did not have enough time to do a really good job when it came to their group

work, which required them to construct a homepage. Other individual comments ranged from the whole exchange period being perceived as happening too fast, to a tour of one's own home town not being very interesting, to (1) understanding English on the Internet and (2) using English to find out answers to my concerns, being least preferred activities. The Japanese respondent also wanted to finish his/her presentation at home in Japan.

The main improvements suggested by students (80%) was to lengthen the exchange program. They wanted more time for the program activities, more time to spend getting to know each other, more time to show the visitors around, and more time to interact with their guests. After this, individual suggestions focused on trying to make the use of time more effective by building in more free time and more preparation for projects such as designing web pages. Comments included:

> *The time of the activity was too short.*
> *When we got used to the situation, it came to an end.*
> *I think the exchange between the students and the host families was not enough.*
> *I hope that the time for the activity can be longer.*
> *Give us more time to learn each other's cultures.*
> *I think it would be better if this kind of activity is held in summer vacation.*
> *We need more preparation before the project is performed.*
> *Better and more detailed schedule.*
> *Use "Net meeting" Online chat*

A third of the students responded to the opportunity to make further comments about ASEP. These comments were positive except for one student who was concerned that s/he lapsed into speaking Chinese for much of the time because there were more Chinese students involved than Japanese. One student suggested that the Program be held with additional countries such as Australia. Another student stressed that the Program should be held every year because participants benefited greatly from it. A third student wanted the Program to continue in such a way that s/he could make contact with the Japanese guests again in the future. A fourth student, who had been a delegate to the World Youth Meeting in Nagoya in 2000, noted that on comparison ASEP was very successful.

Students were asked to describe the three most important benefits they attributed to ASEP. Their responses related to practising and improving their English language skills (80%), making friends internationally (80%),

learning more about each other's cultures and countries (75%) and other singular positive outcomes. English language skills included learning how to express oneself more clearly, understanding English that is not spoken by a Westerner, English skills practice, learning to prepare for an international meeting and discussing students' leisure activities. Students also viewed the experience as motivating, as making them realise the usefulness of learning English and as improving their ability to converse with others in the group. The opportunity to make friends with Japanese students was highly valued as was the memory of the exchange experience and learning about each other's cultures. Individual students' comments noted that ASEP allowed them to develop teamwork skills and to present and compare their project work with that of Japanese students. Students valued being able to 'learn something new', gain a 'brand new experience, a whole new feeling', have 'a lot of chances to practise English and computer skills' and broaden their horizons. One student valued the opportunity to 'be a tour guide to introduce our local scenic spot in English to Japanese friends' (contrasting with the one that found this not so challenging).

Of the fourteen adults who responded to the survey, six were from Taiwan and eight from Japan. They comprised the Director of AJET, two teacher/coordinators, an usher, and two administrators from Taiwan and three teachers, one university researcher, two coordinator/student support persons, one software engineer and the Program Director from Japan. All but two (86%) had their own computer at home, had access to the Internet and had used email at home since June 2000. Table 1 shows the percentage of adult respondents who currently used English in their computer usage for seven typical activities.

Activity (number of respondents)	% respondents	Activity (number of respondents	% respondents
Writing (11)	79%	E-mail to international friends (14)	100%
Internet search for information (14)	100%	E-mail for information (12)	86%
Internet search for fun (8)	57%	Chat (5)	36%
e-mail to local friends (10)	71%		

Table 1. Percentage of Adult Respondents Using English for Computing[2]

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[2] Students also responded to these questions with all but two using English for all of these purposes.

Overall, these respondents were responsible for a range of activities which included: supervising students, managing and coordinating program activities/learning experiences e.g., bus hire, restaurant visits, setting up homestays, teaching English skills on the internet, organising meals, acting as tour guides, organising social events, setting up homepages, presentations, computers and video use, maintaining server and mailing list etc., carrying out Program leadership duties including speeches, conducting research for the improvement of English education in Japan, improving the system for more effective exchange on the internet, monitoring and taking photographs of activities for reporting, helping students collaborate in English, using computers and email exchange.

Adult respondents were also asked to list the three most important things that ASEP had done for them. All comments were positive with respondents referring to a range of benefits. These included the importance of making new friends, experiencing and appreciating another culture, realising the importance of English language learning, the opportunity to communicate in English, the opportunity to develop skills in using technology, developing interpersonal skills and teamwork, and finding out about education and language learning in another country and gain feedback on one's own English language skills. Comments included the following:

Making friends both internally and externally.
It showed how successful the English teaching in Taiwan is
I really understood the importance of English
Experiences of cooperating with teachers of other schools, and other countries
I could really understand cultural difference.
I am convinced that an international exchange is a most important subject for education
Get more chances to speak English.
How to cooperate with others
That virtual exchange and face-to-face meeting are important to achieve an international exchange in education
I myself learnt a lot of cultural information.

Adult respondents were equally positive and identified the same Program benefits when asked to list the three most important things ASEP achieved for the students. The following comments reflect their enthusiasm for the Program for students:

They have been engaged in real communication beyond boundaries.
They got foreign friends.
They formed a cohesive group.
The Program created international understanding and cultural exchange.
ASEP provided a great example to the Japanese students (and teachers).
Experiences of being in an environment where English is used as the common language.
ASEP offered chances to learn different things.
Gain confidence in using English.
To speak English without hesitation.
Gain a global view of the world.
Opportunity to organize, to coordinate and to cooperate with partners.
More concretely, the English command and high computer skills of the Taiwanese students amazed the Japanese students (and teachers).

Adult respondents were asked to list the things, which they enjoyed most about ASEP. Their responses were very positive and in the main mirrored what they had identified as benefits. Responses highlighted the importance of having the opportunity to use English with one respondent stating: *I have studied English for many years and I could use my English. It made me very happy.*

When asked to list the things they enjoyed the least, the adult respondents raised the same major items as the student group. These were the lack of time for both Program activity preparation and leisure, although they were very happy with the way the Program had been conducted.

Adult respondents offered a number of ways for improving the Program. These ways included:

I think the trip could be arranged more flexibly. The time for the trip should be lengthened.
I hope the visit may extend to three days in KH. Then the students may have more time to work or play together.
We should have a longer time for communication to discuss not only familiar topics but also e.g, social problems.
Almost everything was better than I expected. But when we make homepage, I think there may be more effective way.
To involve other grade of schools, not even high schools and universities but junior highs and elementary schools' students.
In December we'll have ASEP program again. I do hope that more students and teachers will enjoy the coming events.

Another comment provided by an adult respondent stated:

An international project is very good for the students to make foreign friends and enhance the mutual understanding of the two countries. I do believe we should have more opportunities to conduct this similar project with other countries.

6   Further comments:

The Japanese Program Coordinator collected students' writings published them in a book as documentation. I hope some of those writings will be uploaded on the Intent someday in the future and similar pages will be added to the AJET, ASEP website.

Biggest problems with us, Japanese are; (1) English is not taught as a communicative tool; (2) English is not regarded as the best international language to introduce our culture and our ideas to the world;, and (3) Students are not taught the way of critical thinking.

I'm a high school teacher. But I can not use English very well. Since I came home from Taiwan, I study English every day. Before I will go to Taiwan again, I want to become a good English speaker.
By seeing this kind activity, I hope to get ideas to make really a good platform for us to communicate with each other on the Internet. I hope you welcome me again.

7   Discussion and Conclusions

It is acknowledged that this research is investigating a small sample of adults and students, thus limiting the generalisability of the results. Nevertheless, the survey content and these results serve as a strong foundation for the future. They prepare the way for more in-depth evaluation of ASEP and AJDS and long term investigations of participating students' and adults' opinions and attitudes towards 'extra' curriculum project-based collaborative learning *versus* the narrow, traditional examination-oriented teaching-learning cycle.

While the background formal education context of the students and teachers is highly disciplined and authoritarian based, ASEP was viewed as exceptionally worthwhile for linguistic, cognitive, attitudinal, and affective reasons.

The findings highlight the value of implementing such programs in terms of mutual benefits in building friendships, applying and valuing English language learning, gaining feedback on one's English proficiency from a foreign mutual learner, sharing and understanding of different cultural backgrounds and motivation for future learning and teaching.

The opportunity for participation in such programs is also of great value in terms of students acquiring, learning and applying technology skills, which create a further authentic purpose for English language use. Students not only build positive interpersonal relationships through their mutual learning of English but they are left with authentic purposes to continue to use English in this way both at home and abroad

In the survey, most of the adults were teachers involved in the project from the beginning. As such, they were not representative of the mainstream teachers in the education system, but were those who appreciated the opportunities made available by the advances in technology and the goals of 'learning for life' as opposed to 'learning for exams'.

On the issue of ASEP's relationship to formal school learning the emphasis is on the education of the 'whole' person within a collaborative, communicative context where English is chosen as the most 'common' language for international communication. ASEP is concerned with improving cultural knowledge, and interpersonal skills of participants. Although none of the activities directly related to 'school' assignments or examinations, it is hypothesised that successful participation in the Program should impact positively upon experience, confidence and motivation with respect to learning English.

The results of this research go a long way to demonstrating that the major aims of ASEP were met. Findings suggest that adults and students gained a quality of feedback on their English proficiency otherwise not available to them and that they developed their interpersonal skills as well as information technology skills. Participants' overall positive outlook and recommendations for more time and follow-up communications as well as some individual comments contributes to arguing ASEP was a motivating experience for those involved. In addition, while the visit itself was relatively short, the positive outcomes suggest that having a lead time of four months with strong collaborative involvement of all concerned (coupled with good management and coordination) would have contributed significantly to this positive phenomenon. It is argued here that the success of the cultural exchange benefited greatly from the

experiences that went before such that there was an eagerness and excitement for the culmination of the teamwork, thus confirming the hypothesis that the timing of the visit would facilitate cross-cultural understanding. With regard to developing a sense of global community both adults' and students' responses suggest that ASEP contributed greatly to such an outlook and also fostered behaviours underpinning the road to lifelong learning.

In conclusion, while ASEP may be described as very successful in meeting its aims, much can be learnt from this experience. Based on participants' feedback, it is suggested that consideration be given to extending the length of time of the stay so that participants have more time for discussion, for strengthening their project work, for assisting students in their project work and for leisure activities. The suggestion to collaborate with other countries, including those where English is the first language, is at the planning stage in the state of Queensland, Australia. The suggestion to facilitate students' ongoing communication after the program also has merit to ensure students increase their confidence and continue to practise and develop their English language skills in a communicative context. It is therefore recommended that this research should continue and be extended to more longer-term goals where in the light of these findings the demands of information literacy and English language proficiency can also be investigated from the perspective of English as an international language and second/foreign language learners.

Acknowledgments

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Developing Students' Research Competence

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1   Introduction

The Faculty of Modern Languages aims to educate students who are linguistically and culturally equipped to communicate in the global society of the 21st century. The students' purposes of studying English are diverse. Some students study the language in hopes of finding a career either in the domestic or international marketplace or government service, most of which nowadays require the knowledge of at least one foreign language. Some others are interested in the language itself, the people and culture of the country the language of which they study. However, some might wish simply to fulfil a graduation requirement.

Whatever the learners' purposes of studying are, our aim is to develop competences that would enable the students to successfully apply and further develop their competences in the domains they have chosen.

2   Research Context

The English language is both a target and medium of learning and teaching since the students are not only learning the language, but they are also learning in it and through it. Thus, the students not only learn English for practical purposes in order to carry out specific communicative tasks, where the language becomes an instrument, but also study it as part of a discipline. It is argued that in the former case well-developed communication skills in the target language are enough, however in the latter case a high level of language competence is required, which is impossible without a profound knowledge of the target culture (Lodge 2000:114). It is also claimed that the students studying linguistics are in fact aiming at bilingualism, and that they have to acquire theoretical knowledge about the language and receive systematic training in the analysis and description of the target language (Lodge 2000:119). Lyons (1968:434) argues that "true bilingualism implies the assimilation of two cultures". Thus, it is obvious that a high level of language competence is

required. The students at the Faculty of Modern Languages are involved in the studies of the English language both as a discipline and as an instrument. They attend lectures and seminars on Culture and History of Great Britain, Linguistics, Literature, Theoretical Grammar, Theoretical Phonetics, History of the English Language, Translation, ELT Methodology, etc. They also have more practical classes where the theoretical courses find practical implementation, e.g., Functional Communication, Academic Writing, etc. Thus, any new theoretical knowledge is not only added to the existing theoretical knowledge, but by applying it practically, also serves to supplement and modify the overall language communicative competence.

However, doing research is not only cognitively difficult, but also linguistically demanding since the students have to manage both content and form in a foreign language. Moreover, the students have little prior experience in doing research in their mother tongue, Latvian or Russian, and even less experience in carrying it out in the English language.

As the subject of the present article is research competence, it is necessary to discuss the issues of competence, communicative competence and research competence in particular.

3   Communicative Language Competence

According to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*, *competences* are the sum of knowledge, skills and characteristics that allow a person to perform actions (2001:9). The concept of communicative competence was first developed by Hymes in 1972: "rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless. Just as rules of syntax can control aspects of phonology, and just as rules of semantics perhaps control aspects of syntax, so rules of speech acts enter as a controlling factor for linguistic form as a whole" (Hymes 1972: 278).

Although he refers to a person's ability to use the linguistic knowledge in effective spoken interaction, nowadays this notion refers to written communication as well. A number of researchers (Kramina 2000; Bachman 1995; Hymes 1972) consider that the ability to use language communicatively entails both knowledge (competence) in the language, and the ability of using this competence in communication. We would use the definition of communicative competence suggested in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching,*

Assessment, which seems to be the most comprehensive one: *communicative language competences* are those which empower a person to act using specifically linguistic means (2001:9).

COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE
1) lexical competence
2) grammatical competence
3) semantic competence
4) phonological competence
5) orthographic competence
6) orthoepic competence

PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE
1) discourse competence
2) functional competence

SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPETENCE
1) linguistic markers of social relations
2) politeness conventions
3) expressions of folk wisdom
4) register differences
5) dialect and accent

Figure 1. Based on Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment. 2001)

As it can be seen from Figure 1, each competence consists of several categories. For instance, linguistic competence entails lexical, grammatical, semantic, phonological, orthographic, orthoepic competences. In its turn, each competence consists of sub-competences, e.g., semantic competence, which deals with the learners' awareness and control of the organisation of meaning, consists of lexical, grammatical and pragmatic semantics.

In order to carry out research and write a successful research paper, the students have to draw on a number of communicative language competences. For example, they should have good knowledge and control of grammatical, lexical accuracy, as well as fluency and coherence.

4   Research Competence

Research is an integral part of academic university education. Regardless of the field of study, researching, writing, and learning are interconnected. Most of the assignments carry a research character, i.e., the stu-

dents have to seek out facts and opinions, identify and read relevant literature, hypothesise, gather data, interpret and analyse the gathered data. However, the present article deals with the research competence expected of an undergraduate student when writing a research paper.

Firstly, it is important to find out what research implies. Hart stresses that "research for all disciplines involves an understanding of the relationship between theory, method and research design, practical skills and particular methods, the knowledge base of the subject and methodological foundations" (2002:5).

Hussey and Hussey (1997:20) consider research to be "a systematic and methodical process of enquiry and investigation which increases knowledge". Likewise, Nunan asserts that "research is a systematic process of inquiry consisting of three elements or components: (1) a question, problem, or hypothesis, (2) data, and (3) analysis and interpretation of data" (1992:3).

Nunan mentions three main parts, however the research process itself involves several other stages, which can be seen in Figure 2 below:
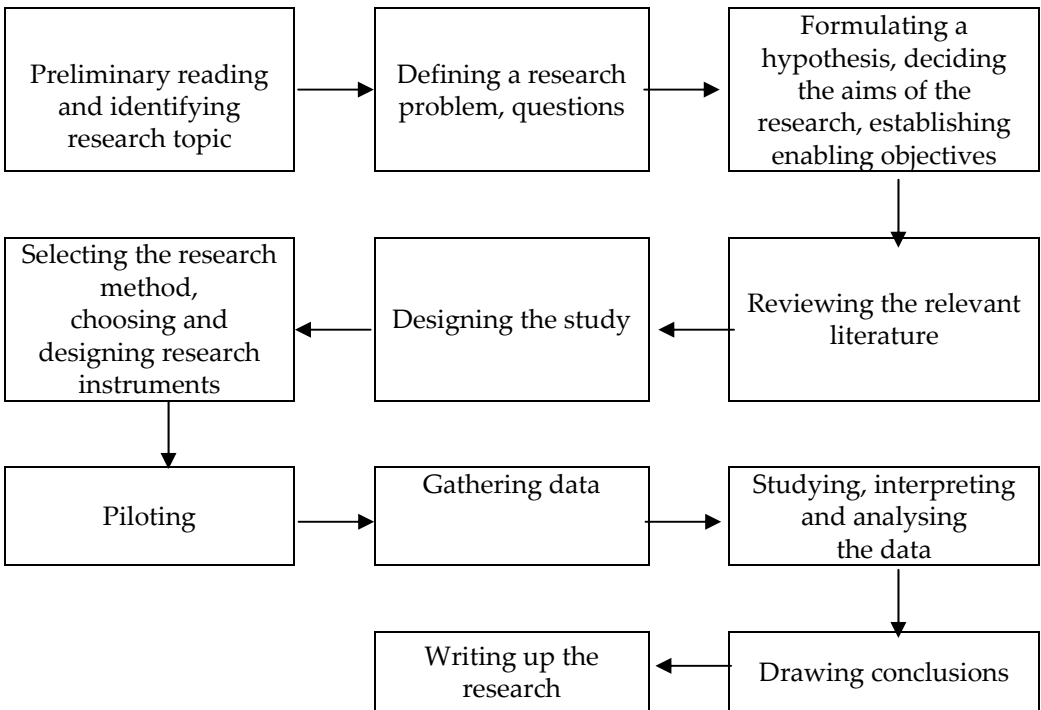
Figure 2. Research Process

Research competence could be defined as "a sum of knowledge, skills and characteristics that allow a person to carry out research". Research competence cannot be acquired automatically, but it can be developed by activating a range of relevant competences in order to carry out research in the academic domain. Thus the students should be provided with and made aware of the necessary linguistic elements, e.g., how to state the aim and objectives of research, word a hypothesis, how to use and incorporate in the text appropriate quotations, how to paraphrase; socio-cultural knowledge, e.g., institutional conventions regarding report and research paper writing, plagiarism, etc.

In carrying out research, the students select, activate and coordinate the appropriate components of those competences necessary for the stages of research process. However, the successful result of research – i.e., a research paper meeting academic requirements – may differ since it is connected by a number of interrelated factors arising from the students' competences and individual characteristics of a cognitive, affective and linguistic nature that need to be taken into account in selecting and sequencing the content of the program.

5   Focus of Research

The course "Introduction to Academic, Professional Studies and Research" – which the students have to take in the first year, aims at bridging the gap between their studies at school and at university, and gives an insight into the essence of academic and professional studies. The students are encouraged to develop a better awareness and knowledge of their competences including research competence so that they may extend and refine them during their studies at the university, and later in their professional lives. The course is delivered in lecture mode, however it involves considerable interaction since there is also a lot of group mode. The students are expected to be able to relate new information and ideas to their previous knowledge and to apply theoretical knowledge in practice. At the beginning of the course, the students are supposed to acquire some academic study skills, e.g., taking lecture notes. Further, the focus is on academic speech, reading for research and academic writing. The course aims at helping the students to discover and develop an ability to write academic papers (e.g., course reports, term papers, BA papers) according to the writing conventions established by the Faculty of Modern Languages. They are made aware of the conventions of academic writing style, plagiarism and means of avoiding it, i.e., how to use and incorporate in the text appropriate

quotations and how to paraphrase. They are also able to develop these skills practically. The students are asked to do a small-scale research, which might lead to further research activities manifested in term papers, bachelor papers and diploma papers. On completion of the course, the students have to take an examination, to present the findings of their research project orally and in writing.

6   Procedure of the Research Project

The students worked in research teams. First, they are introduced to the research process in general and have explained what the final report would look like. Next, within their teams the students choose a topic from the themes in the course syllabus. Then, they are encouraged to do preliminary reading by finding information relevant to the issue or problem in libraries or on the Internet. The next step is to formulate a research problem, to set the aim and enabling objectives, and to word a hypothesis of the research. At the end of the course, they report on the results of their research in a group presentation and submit individual reports according to the academic paper writing conventions.

7   Results and Conclusion

At the end of the course, the students were assessed. In a recent study, forty-five students' reports and written examination results were analysed. In the written examination, they had to answer a number of questions based on the course syllabus. The results of the recent study showed that the course objectives had been met, as only two (out of the 45) students failed the examination. However, in order to evaluate the acquisition of competences developed during the course, it is important to evaluate it not only by means of testing, but also by other means, since success in the examination cannot be the only criterion for the success of the course. Therefore, the students had to complete a questionnaire (anonymously) which, among other questions, asked whether the course had helped them to develop their research competence. The students had to tick either "yes", "no", or "don't know". As a result, out of 45 students taking the examination and completing the questionnaire, 34 students or 75.5% considered that the course had helped them to develop research competence, five students or 11% claimed that it had not and four students or 8.9% felt that they did not know, but two students or 4.4% did not complete the questionnaire. However, the analysis of their reports revealed that not all the learners were able to apply the acquired theoretical knowledge practically. The main flaws were:

- wrong referencing in texts and in bibliographies or absence thereof
- plagiarism
- failure to comply with the academic style of writing
- lack of linguistic competence (mainly grammatical and spelling errors)

The flaws were discussed with the students. It is expected that other courses in the BA program, in particular Academic Writing, which the students study for two years, will further develop their research competence since they will receive further training in writing direct quotations, paraphrasing, summaries and will be able to develop the academic style of research paper writing.

Awareness of academic conventions, language appropriate to the academic spoken and written genres developed at the very beginning of the academic studies, helps the students not only to study at university, but also to write successful research papers. Despite the above-mentioned flaws in the students' reports, the course can be evaluated as successful since its main aim – to introduce the students to their academic, professional studies and research – had been achieved. Moreover, it had fostered the development of the students' research competence.

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Creating Equity in Languages on the Web[1]

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> "All languages are equal but some
> languages are more equal than others"

1 Linguistic Diversity

There were around 6000 languages in 2000 (Crystal 2000:11). In an ideal world, 6000 languages spread evenly across 6 billion potential speakers could lead to 1 million speakers of each, ensuring the continuity of all languages ... but the world is not like that, is it?

The world is not ideal, with a continuum of language strength stretching between English at one end and, at the other, the next language to disappear from the globe. The vitality of a language depends not only on the number of speakers but on a range of factors that impact on language choice. There are more native speakers of Chinese across the globe, for example, but one still speaks of English as the global language.

1.1 Global English

One could postulate that the biggest current threat to linguistic wealth globally is English, but it is not alone. In the centuries of European colonialism, England fared as well as any other. While the initial inroads historically were military, the emergence of English as the global language in the second half of the twentieth century was underpinned by more than military might: prosperity, commerce, industry, technology, media, (electronic) communication, the Internet, the arts, cinema and popular music – and a seemingly unbridled desire to associate with

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whatever is American. And with this widespread trend came the wish to espouse English.

In some countries, the value of languages and the belief in multi-lingualism are integral to the ethos of the nation. This is less evident in some Anglophone countries where the promotion of linguistic diversity has been countered by retorts like "why should I learn another language (in Australia) as I'm never going to travel anywhere else?" and "the whole world speaks English!" We know, however, that everyone does not speak English. Crystal places the figure at one quarter (Crystal 1999).

At the same time, we witness the evolution of a variety of "Englishes", to the point where Crystal notes that "no-one owns English any more" Crystal 1999). As the stress-timed English continues to confront more syllable-timed languages across the globe, one can attest to the likelihood of even more varieties of English in the coming decades.

1.2   Other Languages

Holding firm to the adage that there is strength in numbers, the continuity and potential growth of several languages appear assured.

David Graddol made some salient predictions about future growth – while acknowledging fully the dangers of crystal-ball gazing. He identified English and French as the major world languages in 1997 (Graddol 1997a:13), before foreshadowing future trends, somewhat tentatively to 2050. His assessment of the dominance of world languages in 2050 revealed the following as the 'big languages': Chinese, Hindi/Urdu, English, Spanish and Arabic (Graddol 1997a:59).

What has happened to French, for example? It has been argued that French policy emphasised "protection" rather than pursuing "promotion" as the priority (Freudenstein 2001:204). One has only to look at the edict of 1993 for evidence of this where, if a French expression existed, it was mandated that this be used rather than the foreign term. While trying to retain the purity of French against the onslaught of English, the international status of French has declined.

One can cite other examples: the surge for English in the CIS and former states of the communist bloc and the resultant decline in the number of students and teachers of Russian, among other languages; the choice of English in Uruguay at the expense of other languages, such as French.

The emergence of an international lingua franca has had an unhealthy, limiting impact on linguistic diversity. It is clear that the battle for multilingualism must be fought on many fronts, as not even some of the 'big' languages are assured of retaining their current status.

The above focuses primarily on the major global languages, but let us recall Crystal's telling comparison: 96 percent of the world's population speak 4 percent of the world's languages. Put another way, 4 percent speak 96 percent of the world's languages (Crystal 2000:14). What of these others, which constitute the multitude of tongues used by an inordinately small number of speakers?

Their future is less assured.

1.3   Language Death

While the acts of imperialistic nations have had a detrimental effect on languages historically – in all areas of the globe – a decided threat to indigenous languages everywhere has been the dominance of the linguistic preference of the conqueror. This has often been underwritten by policy designed to marginalise or eradicate the languages of minority groups. In some cases, genocide has been the order of the day, but government policy to ban the education and usage of minority languages has also been effective.

Historically, we have seen the decimation of nations, of tribes, of languages in the wake of colonialism. While the genocide witnessed previously – and the resultant eradication of hundreds of languages – came about through acts of colonialism, the current threat to linguistic diversity arises from other factors. But the net result, linguistically, will be the same. Between 50% (Crystal 2000:165) and 90% (Crystal 2000:18) of the globe's 6000 languages could disappear during this century.

Further, the stark reality is that some of these languages remain 'alive' only as long as the sole remaining speaker of the language lives. Put another way, in some cases the death of an individual will constitute the death of yet another language. This was the situation for 51 of the world's languages, with 28 being in Australia (Crystal 1999). According to Crystal's data, one language is disappearing on average every two weeks (Crystal 2000:19). This is tragic and underlines the fragility with which some languages exist.

Immediate action is required at the humanitarian level and this should have ramifications for languages and the use of technology in a context of globalisation.

2 Web Perspective

2.1 Context

We have witnessed waves of technological variants and/or configurations come and go, some of these used for education. Several did not involve the computer (eg audioconferencing or telelearning, radio, television or broadcast television, videotext (or teletext), talking book, videoconferencing, videophone, photo-CD, satellite television and interactive satellite television).

The second wave of technologies incorporated the computer in some way. It may have involved software or authoring packages, simulations or games, wordprocessing or databases. The computer may have been coupled with other media, audio or video, to improve efficacy, but the application of the computer to linear presentation denied it one of its greatest strengths: randomness. Over the last twenty years, we have seen developments – and, in many cases, used them in languages – such as multilingual wordprocessing, synthetic speech and digitisation, speech recognition, laser disc and interactive video, audiographics, the interactive book, bulletin boards and email, computer conferencing, desktop videoconferencing and machine translation.

Some of these had short life spans, while others have been compatible with or have entered the next level of interactive multimedia. Some examples of this which we enjoy personally or professionally might be CD-ROM, electronic texts, CD-Interactive, touchscreen, multimedia authoring shells, laboratories, and DVD.

2.2 Past

While many of us have used computers for some time for word-processing, databases and spreadsheets, the emergent technological phenomenon of the 1990s was the Internet. This phenomenon, invented in the same year as the pill (1961), has proceeded through four "ages":

- 1970s: *scientists' playground*
- late 1970s – circa 1987: Internet as a *community*
- circa 1987 – 1993: *general academic resource*
- 1993 – : *commercial information infrastructure* (with the availability of the Web)

(Wyatt 2001b:45)

It now provides those of us who can access it with a wealth of information, almost instantaneous or synchronous electronic communication, the potential for entertainment and the challenge of tackling technology. One could argue that both 1961 discoveries have had a similar impact on the birth rate!

English emerged as the language of the Internet (and Web), a direct reflection of its birthplace and growth.

2.3   Present

This preponderance of English on the Web is under threat, and should be. While an estimated 80 percent of Web content in 1997 was in English (Graddol 1997a:50; www.soc.org), this was expected to halve by 2003 (*GEN-Global English Newsletter* 5 1999: 2). This has already occurred, as English content is currently between 40% and 50%, depending on where the information is sourced.

2.4   Future

It has been predicted that English will become a minority language on the Web in the foreseeable future. This is taking longer than expected.

The languages where Web usage is increasing are far less the other languages of Europe – except Spanish, largely because of Latin America – than some of the languages of Asia. Chinese, in particular, and Japanese are occupying larger Web content as wordprocessing packages for ideographic languages become more sophisticated and newspapers come online. It is predicted, for example, that by 2007 Chinese content will exceed that of English.

2.5   Small Languages

At the same time, it is estimated that around 500 languages currently have an Internet presence (Crystal 2000:142). This means that around 90% of the world's languages are not represented on the Web, and many never will be.

3   Information

An increasing number of individuals use the Web to access information for professional, educational, entertainment or personal purposes. One would expect this trend to continue, despite the lack of quality control, censorship (in many areas) and the comparatively small amount of quality material available. But there is some quality there and, for

research in particular, a degree of currency reminiscent of the microfiche systems (e.g. ERIC) of the past, now under threat. As a result, one would expect Web usage to further increase, with the encouragement of business, education and finance.

3.1   Websites

Crystal tells us that " ... with the Internet, everyone is equal" (Crystal 2001:142), but this is only true if those wishing to use and publish on it have access to the infrastructures of electricity, telephony and relevant technology – and have the essential skills to surf and/or create on the Web.

3.1.1   Languages of Use

We must remember that the content of English on the Web has not decreased. It has increased. It is just that the use of other languages (collectively) has increased disproportionately. And, to parallel developments for the Deaf, "electronic multilingual networks is a very relevant topic with the Deaf community, a very exciting time for them to explore how they can put sign languages on the Web" (Mannington 2001:1). Markets drive economic decisions, so we could well see dramatic change towards multilingualism in the face of a significant increase in internet usage by non-English speakers (560 million) compared with English speakers (230 million) later in 2003 (McKinsey 2001:38).

Access to multilingual programs is a question of equity, not only in the context of having the technology available, but also in being able to use current hardware and the most recent software packages.

3.2   Initiatives

Despite the emerging balance of Web content between English and all other languages combined, we must recall that this does not constitute equality. As a result, we would like to suggest that:

- the issue of equity of access be addressed effectively
- the greater diversity of languages used on the Web be encouraged
- access to multilingual shareware upgrades be encouraged and publicised

A passing thought: how many websites (or URLs) have you seen which use a language other than English, include accents or use a script other than Roman?...

3.2.1   Multilingual Navigation

Far from English-only websites and at a higher level than those in other languages, we encounter increasingly a range of sites which accommodate navigation in a range of languages.

3.3   Recommendations

Consequently, on the subject of multilingual access, I would like to recommend that:

- linguistic diversity on the Web be seen as a priority by all, with the desirable outcome being to see all languages represented
- quality websites be developed and publicised in languages other than English
- language-specific websites in languages other than English – such as TennesseeBob's Globe-Gate for French and other languages (http://globegate.org/french/globe.html) – should be publicised and recommended
- a critical database of quality language specific websites be created and publicised, not only for information but also to provide examples of good practice
- groups, such as language specific language teacher associations, be resourced to develop websites for their languages, as has been done in Australia with LOTElinx which includes 21 languages (www.lotelinx.vic.edu.au)
- websites be created for minority and endangered languages and that these be publicised as focal points for the expansion of these languages on the Web
- websites for sign languages, including dictionaries, (e.g. www.handspeak.com) also be developed and publicised
- the developers of all language specific websites be encouraged to establish hyperlinks to other quality websites of the same language
- catalogues of language specific resources be created and housed on accessible websites of associations, libraries, etc, and that the sources of these be identified, possibly through hyperlinks

In the more specialised area of multilingual websites, I would like to recommend that:

- multilingual websites, which offer navigation in several languages, should be encouraged and created
- wherever relevant, websites of libraries, universities, organisations, international conglomerates, etc, should be made multilingual

- a critical database of quality multilingual websites be created and publicised, not only for information but also to provide examples of good practice
- groups be encouraged to undertake the critical role of filtering quality websites from those that are bad and that this information be made available and hyperlinks be established as relevant, such as has been done by Department of Education and Training (Victoria) in Australia (www.sofweb.vic.edu.au/resource/reslote.htm)
- initiatives, such as those of UNESCO (www.unesco.org) and Babel (www.isoc.org), be publicised and encouraged to expand multilingualism on the Web and facilitate the development of websites in a range of languages

Are there other sites you would like to identify or recommendations that we should make?

4 Communication

4.1 Email

Electronic mail (or email) has been a godsend for effective communication. "Data traffic, it is claimed, has now overtaken voice traffic in the developed world" (Graddol 1997b:16). The benefits of email – when the messages arrive, if we know – are obvious, but a by-product of this technological advance threatens the linguistic diversity which we hold so dear. In other reports, however, we read of email burnout and a decline in the enthusiasm for email

4.1.1 Languages of Use

We know that we can use languages other than English for electronic communication, but what confronts us is not equitable. Why do native speakers of Chinese and Japanese sometimes use pinyin or romaji – or English! – to communicate electronically, if they know at least two of the three "languages"? Does your email software package accommodate composing and/or receiving Cyrillic characters? accents? the German "ß" or umlaut?

4.1.2 English

As with the Web, English remains the easiest and preferred option for many, reflecting the history of the technology, the priorities of software development and the hegemony of English.

4.1.3   Addresses

As further reinforcement of this view, how many email addresses have you seen which use a language other than English, a script other than Roman, and include accents? . It has been suggested that this is because the software is based on ASCII and limited to 126 characters.

4.1.4   Linguistic Culture

As with most fads or fashions, a culture emerges. With email – and the related phenomenon of "texting" through SMS (i.e. Short Message System) – we witness the emergence of a new linguistic culture. Coupled with a response to the curse of the 21st century – time! – we try to cope with being extremely busy by developing time-saving strategies.

Let's do a little test! I would like you to:

- translate the following into English
- give the equivalent in another language you know or are teaching
- provide ten such items in the language other than English
- give the English equivalents of these

SMS Item	English translation	Other language	LOTE Item	English equivalent
M8				
2MORO				
TTYL				
L8A				
LOL				
XLNT				
THX				
GR8				
VBG				
BCNU				

Predictably, glossaries for such trends in the linguistic culture of emails and SMS have begun to appear. Some sites include:

- http://members.aol.com/nightomas/source/html
- http://www. nhyrvana.com/help.html
- www.tangled.com/acronyms.htm
- http://www. thepageofstuff.com/Main/abbreviations.html

4.2 Chat

Another aspect of electronic communication is synchronous or asynchronous interaction through bulletin boards, chat programs, discussion groups, etc, such as NetMeeting, ICQ ("I seek you") and others.

In this area also, one encounters the dominance of English and the evolving linguistic culture mentioned above.

Again, assistance is forthcoming for the Deaf community, in that "the Web has been a wonderful bonus for Deaf people with the necessary literacy skills – some Deaf people cannot read and write so the Web can't help them as much – as it allows them to communicate with other people (deaf or hearing) on the Web without the barrier of not being able to communicate orally ... hence programs like ICQ are very popular with the Deaf community and some specific Deaf chat rooms have also been set up by some enterprising Deaf people (e.g. MSN Deaf Cafe, Deaf Universe, etc)" (Mannington 2001:1-2).

4.3 Recommendations

Consequently, it is recommended that:

- individuals at all levels be given access to education and training in the uses of email, where possible
- multilingual communication platforms, such as ICQ (www.icq.com) with a choice of languages, be publicised and replicated as required
- such platforms be used and encouraged to expand the choice of languages available
- a qualitative and annotated database of such programs be created and publicised with recommendations for usage
- pressure be brought to bear on the providers of all such programs to ensure the highest degree of multilingualism
- a common platform for encoding standards for multilingualism in email be explored

Are there other sites you would like to identify or recommendations that we should make?

5 Hardware and Software

While we anticipate the convergence of television, telephony and computing in the imminent digital era, this will not help those who have none of these.

For those who do, we echo the need for increased bandwidth to facilitate speedier access to more voluminous items, graphics, images, music and sound, with the emergence of video mail. One acknowledges the futility of these recommendations in the face of the millions across the globe unable to access computers.

5.1 Evolution

While computers are soon superseded, generations of new software occur more frequently, leaving users with the aggravating need to upgrade their packages. Driven by mega-conglomerates like Microsoft, this appears to be an unending spiral as the interrelationship between programs necessitates further spending – and increased profits to the makers. The increasing complexity of software packages ensures the challenge of keeping abreast of developments.

5.2 English

A key issue for both hardware and software is the characters used for a language. With English being the dominant language of software development, the coverage of accents and non-Roman alphabets is less rigorous. Multilingual software packages (e.g. Accent) have existed for some years, including a wide range of languages, different fonts and ready transfer across Roman, Cyrillic and others, as well as ideographic scripts.

Should I also have been surprised during a recent visit to a technology centre in Moscow to find the same qwerty keyboard, with Cyrillic characters printed on some keys, or a keyboard for Arabic in a classroom of the Victorian School of Languages, following the same pattern? ...

5.3 Chinese

In an experiment two years ago with a native speaker of Mandarin, I gave her a short text in Chinese. I then asked her to wordprocess this text. It took her ten minutes, laboriously pronouncing the Chinese characters, transferring these to pinyin on the qwerty keyboard, which gave her a series of options of Chinese characters, from which she chose the correct one by clicking the appropriate number on the keyboard. This was done for every character. I then asked her to write the Chinese text by hand. This took her 50 seconds. The resultant equation: it took her 12 times as long to wordprocess a three line text in Chinese as it did for her to write it!

More recently, I challenged another colleague to undertake a similar experiment using Richwin software produced in China. Compatible with Microsoft products, it covers the options of simplified and traditional characters. As expected, there have been advances in the software, but some of the steps of two years before – for example, pronouncing the sounds, converting to pinyin, entering on the qwerty keyboard, clicking the appropriate number for the correct character – but shortcuts have appeared, such as entering the initial letter with a choice of the remainder of the "word" available. Another approach is to consider stroke input, based on the four "quadrants" of the character, thus requiring entering on up to four keys to produce one character. A snag is to remember which keys represent which sets of strokes, as characters have between one and 12+ strokes. Have you ever wondered what a keyboard looks like in China? ...

5.4   Implications for Equity

With keyboarding skills, using computers in English and similar languages can be quite easy and time-effective. With the increase in the number of characters, whether Roman, Cyrillic or other, the task becomes more difficult, more time-consuming. And when we turn to ideographic languages, what may be an easy task in English becomes an onerous chore.

5.5   Recommendations

On the issue of hardware, it is recommended that:

- access to up-to-date computers be assured for students in those countries where machines are available
- wherever possible, compatibility of powerful machines be guaranteed
- the use of writing tablets and/or wands be explored fully as a potential time-saving means of wordprocessing in ideographic languages
- voice-activated computers – as they become more accessible, less expensive, more powerful and accurate – be explored to facilitate a greater spread of languages and simpler use

For software, it is recommended that:

- software developers (...) become more multilingual (Crystal 2000:142)
- we control, formalise and place the user before the software developer to increase the potential for multilingual usage
- attention be given to the development of software packages which are less time-consuming and labour-intensive for larger alphabets and for script languages

- writing recognition software programs be explored for the potential they may have in reducing the time to wordprocess in ideographic and other languages
- sophisticated software packages be developed for non-Roman alphabet languages in rigorous consultation with speakers and users of these languages
- more comprehensive coding conventions for non-Roman alphabets be implemented (Crystal 2000:142)
- versatility of cross-language programs be recognised as a priority for action by software developers
- the further potential of HTML be explored with a view to eradicating the challenges identified above
- quality multilingual software packages be identified, publicised and used

6   Websearchers

As the use of languages on the Web diversifies, we already witness the introduction of multilingual access through search engines.

6.1   Monolingual

Most websearchers fulfil the task with limited scope in one language (exploring up to 4 percent of Web content).

6.2   Multilingual Access

AltaVista, for example, provides search potential in many languages, while Google, Yahoo and others allow for searches in an increasing number of languages.

6.3   Metasearchers

The current wave of search engines or websearchers is likely to be supplanted by upgraded multilingual versions and more powerful meta-searchers, such as www.dogpile.com, which search through existing search engines, and www.wal.hello.com, which does the same in forty languages.

6.4   Recommendations

As these trends in multilingual access evolve, it is recommended that:

- we ensure that the multilingual facility not only continues to exist but is expanded to become more powerful, more efficient and more egalitarian

- of the dozens of search engines available, we recognise and encourage those which have a clear facility for searching in languages other than English, such as AltaVista which offers a range of many languages and includes access to Babelfish (www.babelfish.altavista.com)
- a hierarchical database be created and publicised of websearchers which offer quality access to a range of languages, and that these services be recommended
- the potential of powerful search engines with quality assurance – such as the Education Channel (www.education.vic.gov.au/ch/other_languages.asp), with hyperlinks to sites in 22 languages – be explored across languages
- global multilingualism be retained in the context of technological advance, that they are integrally interrelated so that any future successes in technological development carry with it the linguistic diversity we are promoting

For students, it is further recommended that:

- wherever possible, access to technology (ICT) be available to students at all levels of primary, secondary and tertiary education
- courses in keyboarding skills continue to be available at all levels of education above the lower primary level
- strict quality controls be placed on the content and delivery mechanisms of online courses at whatever level of learning
- a critical evaluation of website content is conducted before students are referred to any websites
- the notions of appropriateness and suitability are carefully examined before students are referred to websites
- children, to enhance future prospects and be flexible lifelong learners, should acquire not only skills in literacy and numeracy but also in technology, before the end of primary education.
- initiatives, such as the Global Classroom (www.sofweb.vic.edu.au/ gc) of the Department of Education and Training in Victoria (Australia), be publicised and replicated to improve student collegiality and learning internationally

7   Translation

Translating packages have been around for some decades, housed on immense mainframes or consolidated in hand-held contraptions. We have all heard of humorous results of translation – such as "out of sight, out of mind" being rendered as "blind drunk" – as the quality of the translation

has been a challenge – and still is – but we can be confident that, with the customary speed and certainty of technological advance, these programs will become more sophisticated, increasingly accurate and readily accessible. The costs will decrease, the number of such programs will increase and more and more will turn to them.

7.1   Sites/Tools

It was to be expected that such programs emerge on websites over the recent decade, but my attitude to them remains wary and ambivalent. While being a further threat to linguistic diversity and the teaching and learning of languages, such websites render a service, which is linguistically diverse. Among computerised or Web-based translating packages, Systran-powered Babelfish (www.babelfish.altavista.com) and Systran (www.systranlinks.com/systran) offer translation in a wide range of languages.

7.2   Human Translators

A recent challenge to machine translation is the use of human translators through websites such as FreeTranslation (www.freetranslation.com), Systran (www.systranlinks.com/systran), and WorldPoint (www.worldpoint.com), offering translations in several languages.

7.3   Recommendations

I have recorded above my ambivalence to availability of translation packages on the Web, but they are a reality. Personally, I am still more convinced of the quality of human translators, even when these are available through the Web. But the question of the quality of software programs which fulfil this service, is likely to be somewhat temporary.

As a result, it is recommended that:

- information on translation websites, such as Babelfish, be made available
- priority be given to websites that have human translators available, such as Systran (www.systranlinks.com/systran), WorldPoint (www.worldpoint.com), and FreeTranslation, (www.freetranslation.com),
- the practice of free Web-based translations be encouraged and publicised
- a qualitative database of such websites be created and publicised, with recommendations that the best and most comprehensive be used

8 Implications

8.1 Language Choice

We have seen the international trend towards English ahead of other languages in choice, practice and policy.

Clearly, the languages of websites, of data sources, drive language usage on the Web – and will probably reinforce this effect on language policy, both on and off the Web.

8.2 Equity

The languages scene internationally is not equal, as the imbalance continues to be magnified. Again, the above recommendations on linguistic diversity come into play.

9 Reality

The above considerations appear to presume the widespread availability and inalienable prevalence of technology in our lives. Those of us in the developed world may take for granted ongoing access to increasing technological advances in a range of media, but let us reflect for a moment on the global reality!

9.1 Technology

We must remember that, in the context of electronic networks, access is reliant upon the availability of the infrastructures of electricity, telephony and computing.

9.1.1 Telephones

The reality is that many people across the globe do not have access to electricity and, in 1997, half the world's population had never used a telephone.

What does this tell us? First and foremost, it emphasises the inequalities of existence as the chasm between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' broadens. This chasm often reflects the other existential injustices of food and famine, wealth and poverty, health and disease, education and illiteracy. We are among the fortunate, the educated, the technologically rich, whatever our nationality. For most of the world's population, this is not so. A salutary thought, isn't it?

Where does this leave us? It certainly informs us that the technologies we enjoy place us apart from the majority of the world's people. While many others will join this technological evolution, it is likely that we will continue to advance within the spiral, further widening the aforementioned chasm.

It also underlines the magnitude of the task before us all, as we try to bring about a more egalitarian global society.

9.1.2   Computer Access

If half the human race has not used a telephone, what percentage would have never used a computer? 50 percent, 75 percent, 90 percent, more?

It wasn't until recently that I learned the answer to this question. According to an article published in the *UNESCO Courier*, the number accessing the Internet was 385 million (Wyatt 2001b). Now, with a global population exceeding 6 billion, this constitutes only 6.42% – but there may be others who use computers without accessing the Internet ... A contemporary report places the figure much lower at 240 million (or 4%) (UIS 2000:31).

10   Conclusion

10.1   Action

There are many arenas in which we must adopt a gladiatorial stance in the defence of global linguistic pluralism. These may be existential and/or technological, but there are parallels where the fight on one front supports the other confrontations. Let us use this as a strength!

10.2   Equity

"UNESCO has a duty to promote access for the greatest number to information belonging to the public domain, be it scientific, cultural or educational, as well as to strengthen intercultural understanding" (Matsuura 2000:3). This is a bold statement, but I don't believe that is the responsibility only of UNESCO.

It is recommended that:

- all humanitarian and economic steps be taken at the global level to alleviate the social injustices which beset many individuals not only in less developed countries (LDC's) but also in developed countries

10.3 Affirmative Discrimination

Clearly, the major challenge facing us in the context of technology is equity of access.

I would recommend that:

- a concerted effort be made to increase access globally to the infrastructures of electricity, telephony and computing
- steps continue to be taken at the international level to enhance the possibility of egalitarian access to Information (and) Communication Technology (ICT)
- serious consideration be given to wireless and/or microwave access to the above technologies, especially where the infrastructure is not (yet) in place
- any "national strategy for languages should plan for full exploitation of the potential of new technologies and the explicit inclusion of languages in emerging key national ICT initiatives" (Nuffield 2000:96)

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Section 3

Proficiencies

Towards More Authenticity
in Language Testing[1]

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1 Introduction

The history of language testing is, at least in part, a history of attempts to bridge the gap between tests and real-life use of language. The three central goals of language teaching are, in the present writer's view, the development of language proficiency, the development of cultural knowledge and understanding, and the fostering of more positive cross-cultural attitudes (cf Ingram 2000/2001; 2000, 2000a; Ingram, O'Neill & Townley-O'Neill 1999). There are many purposes for which one tests and many different approaches to language testing to try to achieve those different purposes but, in this paper, the focus is on the measurement of language proficiency or the ability to use language for practical purposes. In fact, the very definition of language proficiency is fraught with difficulty.

The present writer has discussed alternative approaches to defining and measuring proficiency in other papers (e.g. Ingram 2000; 1985). However controversial academic definitions of language proficiency might be, the practical reality is that "proficiency" is an everyday, intuitive concept and there are many practical situations where it is useful to know how well or how effectively someone can use a language for practical purposes. The language tester's task is to develop instruments that let us do that and to state the results in ways that are meaningful for those practical purposes, in other words, in the context of proficiency assessment, the aim is to

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develop tests which will inform us about the candidates' ability to use the language in real-life situations.

This paper will consider how various tests in widespread use attempt to bridge the gap to real-life language use and then will briefly outline attempts that are being made to increase still further the authenticity of one of those assessment procedures, that based on the *International Second Language Proficiency Ratings*, which already has probably a higher level of authenticity than most other tests.

2   The Gap Left by Most Tests

The inherent irony of language testing (indeed, of most academic testing) is that one tests one thing generally in order to say something about something else, one assesses one component of a skill or one aspect of knowledge of a field in order to say how much of the skill or the field the student has mastered, or one tests in one context in order to say something about a person's ability in other contexts. So teacher education courses test students' knowledge of educational theory, methodology or psychology to see whether they are likely to be capable of teaching effectively in the classroom and maintaining a beneficial learning program for the students over an extended period; such tests are at best minimally supported by observation of the students' teaching ability in limited periods of classroom practice. By testing candidates' language knowledge or their ability to apply that knowledge in specific language tasks in tests in the formal context of the testing room, we assume that the results will give us information on the candidates' ability to use the language in other contexts, not least in real life. Yet we know as teachers and as testers that there is often a large gap between students' ability to perform in tests and their ability to use the language in everyday real-life situations: the gap between the language tests and real-life language experience is rarely bridged.

There are many ways by which to classify language tests. These have been outlined elsewhere (e.g. Ingram 2000b; 1985) and, here, reference will be made to just one classification, which illustrates clearly the problem of bridging the gap between language tests, on the one hand, and how learners might perform in real life, on the other. The classification of language tests into indirect, semi-direct, direct tests (and beyond) reflects historical changes in our understanding of the nature of language and language learning; in language teaching, it reflects the movement from more formal to more communication-oriented methodo-

logy; and, in language testing, it reflects a growing interest in and progression towards more authenticity in language use.

When language learning was seen as a process of learning grammatical rules and vocabulary and "rewriting" from one language to another, language proficiency was measured by tests of grammatical knowledge and translation; the gap between such tests and the way in which the language is used in everyday communication was considerable. In the days of behaviourist psychology and structuralist linguistics, language was seen as patterns learned by stimulus-response habit formation and tests focussed analytically on individual patterns or "discrete points" using, typically, multiple choice tests of knowledge of elements of the language. In proficiency assessment, such tests are commonly known as *indirect tests* since they essentially test one thing, characteristically knowledge of grammar or vocabulary, in order to say something about something else, in this case, proficiency or the learner's practical language ability. Indirect tests are characteristically analytic and focus on discrete-points of language knowledge or behaviour with the assumption being made that, if learners have mastered or internalised those discrete points, they will be able to perform similarly when using the language as a whole. With indirect tests, the test results are related to some notion of proficiency usually by psychometric or norm-referencing procedures in which the results are distributed over a normal distribution curve and cut-off points are identified for different proficiency levels. The major limitations of indirect tests arise from two facts: first, language performance and hence language proficiency are more than the sum of a multitude of discrete bits and part of the skill of language use and involves being able to put all the pieces together and comprehend them when received together. Second, interpretation of the results on direct tests is fraught with difficulty: a score such as 4 out of 7, 80% or 525 says nothing about the level of the learners' practical skills or what they can do unless such scores can be related either to performance scales in which actual language behaviour is described or to the learner's subsequent performance in some activity involving the use of the language, e.g. success in an academic program or the ability to carry out some vocational task. Thus, the difficulty of interpreting the results of indirect tests further increases the gap to real-life language ability and lowers the level of authenticity of the test.

Subsequently, in the history of language testing, when the complex, integrated and redundant nature of language was noted, language tests emerged that used the principle of redundancy, deleting items by various

means and assessing the extent to which learners could replace them using the redundant features of the text to identify what was deleted. With regard to proficiency measurement, such tests are commonly known as *semi-direct tests*. They are a step nearer to real use of language since they are integrative and, though they also focus on discrete items, they integrate those items into a total language event (e.g. listening to an oral text or reading a written text) and they test knowledge of, or ability to use, the items in that total event. Typical semi-direct item types include cloze, dictation, white noise and interlinear tests. Such tests resemble both indirect and direct tests in that they focus on discrete items, the results are processed and interpreted psychometrically but they occur in the context of a total language event, which puts them somewhat closer to real-life language performance, i.e., the language text is somewhat more authentic but the gap-filling task is limited in authenticity, i.e., the language behaviour remains remote from real-life. In addition, the outcome of the test, like that of indirect tests, is, generally, a numerical score with the same challenges for interpretation of the results and for authenticity as we noted for indirect tests. In other words, a considerable gap remains between semi-direct tests and real-life language performance.

In recent decades, methodology in both language teaching and language testing has focussed on the communicative nature of language while language tests, especially language proficiency assessment, have come to focus on the learners' ability to use language communicatively, using tests that range in form from those that focus on the discrete tasks that learners can carry out through to approaches that focus on the learners' total language behaviour as they use the language for normal communication purposes. The last approach has often included the use of scales that describe how language behaviour develops and are used either to explicate the results on other types of tests or are directly matched against the learners' observed language behaviour. Such tests, where the focus is directly on the learners' language behaviour, are known as *direct tests*.

Direct tests, even more than semi-direct tests, are "integrative" and focus on actual language behaviour. They are characteristically used to measure proficiency by having learners perform actual communication tasks while their behaviour is observed and rated against proficiency descriptors that form a scale. Scales may take many different forms, which the present writer has discussed in other papers (e.g. Ingram 2000), but the most authentic such as the *International Second Language Proficiency Ratings* (ISLPR), describe the language behaviour (essentially the tasks and how they are carried out) that can be observed as the learner uses the language

(see Ingram & Wylie 1979/1999). There are, however, many contexts in which direct tests are difficult to use though many proponents of proficiency in language education (including the present writer) would assert that direct tests give the most accurate and readily interpretable results, i.e., they invoke the most authentic use of language and go further than indirect or semi-direct tests to bridging the gap between the tests and real-life language ability. Nevertheless, there are serious limitations on their widespread use, which a current project, to be referred to later, seeks to overcome.

3   Attempts to Bridge the Gap

It is evident from this brief description of some approaches to language testing that the gap between language tests and real-life use of the language arises from at least three sources: first, the focus of the test is on elements within the language rather than on the whole language and real language performance; second, the results of the test are presented in such forms that it is difficult to interpret them in ways that inform the user about the learners' ability to use the language in real-life, authentic tasks; and, third, the contexts in which the language occurs during the test are very different from the contexts in which the language will be used in real life. Testers have characteristically directed their concern to various forms of validity and reliability but, for the most part, these have tended to focus around issues of test procedures, the design, construction and performance of item types and items, while their relationship to real language performance or real language behaviour has been accorded less significance. There are undoubtedly good reasons why this has been so, not least the difficulty of observing learners in real-life situations, and the difficulty of the tester in controlling the language in such situations, and the impracticality of observing large numbers of candidates using the language in real-life. The result is, again, that, in most language tests, we essentially test one thing in one context in order to say something about something else or, at best, about the same thing in a different context. Intuitively and popularly, we would be more convincing and the tests more immediately informative and interpretable if we could observe the candidate performing in real-life situation, control the situation so that we make sure that we observe the full extent of the learners' ability, and so assess the adequacy of their performance in the actual situations (or samples of the actual situations) in which they will be using the language. However, to do so, has, until recently, been impracticable.

Consequently, testers have focussed on the sorts of tests that they have been able to manage in the testing room and have sought to relate either

the items or the results to real life performance in a number of ways through various forms of so-called validity. This paper will not discuss validity in general but consider some of the approaches used in major tests of English as a second or foreign language, especially approaches used in tests with which the present writer has been associated.

The International English Language Testing System, commonly known as the IELTS Test, was developed in 1987-88 by a joint Australian-British team, which included the present writer as the Australian representative. On the test's release, the present writer became Chief Examiner (Australia) for ten years, supervising the regeneration of the test in Australia. The test was designed to be administered *en masse*, anywhere in the world, with minimal control over the quality of the assessors. Consequently, though direct assessment approaches are used in Speaking and Writing, other parts of IELTS favour semi-direct and psychometric approaches. To try to bridge the gap to real-life use of the language in academic and training contexts, the test developers sought information from academics and trainers receiving overseas students on the sorts of tasks that students in academic and training programs in English-speaking countries are commonly required to do and test specifications and hence itemtypes were developed to reflect those tasks as closely as possible, i.e., the itemtypes were developed to reflect those tasks possible by resembling the activities in which students engage in academic or training programs. The results of the tests are also expressed in terms of simple performance scales whose descriptors are intended to inform the end-users about what learners can do in real-life use of the language.

Despite the efforts made in IELTS to bridge the gap between the activities undertaken in the testing room and real-life use of the language, the gap remains considerable. First, the contexts within which the language occurs in most language tests are unavoidably limited and lack the richness and distracting features of normal academic activity. The conversation that is held between the Speaking assessor and the candidate is unavoidably dominated by the assessor despite the efforts that have been made in various versions of IELTS to throw some onus onto the candidate, and the range of topics that are discussed and the relationships between the interlocutors are limited by the test situation. In addition, the level of the test is pre-determined and, even though the test is designed to cover a span of the proficiency scales rather than focus on a single level, it is inevitable that, for some candidates, the test will be too hard, for others it will be too easy, and, for some, the topics that happen to be chosen will be either very familiar or very unfamiliar: in all cases,

the actual proficiency of the candidates as it would appear in real-life usage will probably not be accurately identified.

It is also noteworthy that IELTS was designed specifically to measure the English language skills of candidates intending to study in academic or training contexts in English-speaking countries and the test specifications and itemtypes were designed to reflect as closely as possible the sorts of language task encountered in such circumstances. Where the test is used for other purposes (e.g., as a measure of general language ability for immigration purposes, as a measure of proficiency in vocational contexts or, still worse, as a test of the English language ability of native speaking medical practitioners wishing to work in Britain), obviously the test becomes even further removed from real-life and so the gap between the test and real-life is wide, i.e., authenticity is low. In addition, even though IELTS presents its results in terms of simple performance-related scales, the actual outcomes of the Listening and Reading tests are translated onto the scale with its performance descriptions, not by matching observed behaviour with the descriptors but by a statistical or distributional process, i.e., the sub-tests are statistically matched for difficulty with previous versions of the test and cut-off scores are assigned for each proficiency level in order to obtain the same distribution of results as has been established over the life of IELTS.

Nevertheless, IELTS narrows the gap to real-life usage, i.e., to authenticity, considerably more than does TOEFL with its analytic approach to test design. In TOEFL, the actual itemtypes are further removed from real-life language use than are those in IELTS. TOEFL is analytic, focuses on small elements of the language or, at best, on small language tasks, rather than on the whole language as it is used in real-life. Even in Listening, the focus is on small exchanges that necessarily lack, for instance, the extended context and discourse structuring that occurs in real-life listening activities while the use that is made of texts tends to be very different in real-life from the sorts of responses made to small oral exchanges that occur in the TOEFL Listening test or even in the more extended IELTS Listening tasks. In addition, TOEFL's use of a numerical scale unrelated to behavioural or performance descriptions removes the test even further from real-life language use or the ability of end-users to interpret the results in terms of candidates' likely ability to use the language in real-life academic (or other) situations.

In order to bridge the gaps that these limitations in test design impose, other approaches are adopted. Commonly, the results on new tests are

compared with the results on other tests whose relationship with real-life is supposedly known. Cut-off scores may also be allocated as a result of experience with candidates who have previously taken the test. So, with TOEFL, it has become known over the years that students require a certain score in order to cope with academic study and that score or those scores then acquire some vague (and largely unreliable) relationship to real-life abilities. This is, itself, at best an unreliable procedure but it is made still more unreliable and the test further removed from authenticity, by virtue of the fact that it has been demonstrated over the years that TOEFL test scores can be increased by practising the itemtypes that are used and, indeed, TOEFL cram schools where the focus is not on developing real-life language ability but on how to "do" TOEFL tests are "big business" in all countries where TOEFL is taken.

More systematically and formally, predictive validity studies may be undertaken to relate tests results to real-life performance. However, predictive validity studies are notoriously difficult to structure and to analyse not least because, at best, language tests measure ability in language whereas performance in real-life situations invariably involve many other variables which, even in the best designed predictive validity studies, are impossible to control or to measure accurately. Consequently, it is difficult, if not impossible, to reliably relate language test results to real-life abilities through predictive studies no matter how adequate the test design might be. What studies there are tend to illustrate the relatively low correlation between results on tests such as IELTS and TOEFL and subsequent success rates in academic study, for instance.

In an internal (confidential and, hence, unpublished) study at Griffith University, the success rate in first year of more than 2300 overseas students was related to their entry path via bridging programs without a language proficiency test, and via TOEFL, IELTS and a direct assessment scheme, the ISLPR (Sefton & Wylie 2003). Though the differing global availability of the tests and the consequent intrusion of cultural differences made interpretation of the results difficult, the success rate of students who entered via the ISLPR, an observational approach to proficiency assessment which attempts to focus more closely on real-life language performance, seemed to be somewhat higher than for students who entered via other pathways.

There have been a number of predictive validity studies of IELTS in its intended use to assess the adequacy of overseas students' English skills for university studies. These have taken many forms but the more

adequate tend to move away from merely statistical correlations to try to establish, often through introspection, the contribution of language ability to the students' subsequent academic performance or failure and the extent to which they themselves feel that IELTS had identified their real ability. In a study by de Prada & McVeigh (2000), students were asked the extent to which they felt, now that they were in university programs, that their English was adequate and the extent to which IELTS had accurately identified their language skills. No student expressed faith in IELTS as a measure of their English ability, most commented that they had believed that, if they scored 6.5 (the level many institutions set as a prerequisite to graduate study), they would be able to cope with university study but they found that they couldn't write an essay, speak, or keep up with lectures. In retrospect, many students felt that they would have been better served to have focussed more on EAP Study (i.e., practising the sorts of tasks they would encounter in their academic program) than to strive to reach the specified IELTS level. The study summarised the results in these words:

... (students) are aware that there are major differences between items on the IELTS test and the academic requirements of a university course ...

... they suggest further that an IELTS result alone does not indicate readiness for tertiary study (de Prada & McVeigh 2000:152)

Rosen examined the success of students who entered through a particular preparation program at Monash University. In relation to IELTS, Rosen identified the limitations that exist with IELTS, despite the fact that it seems to bridge the gap to real-life language performance more adequately than TOEFL and other analytic tests, when she stated:

There is no comparison between IELTS writing – 150 and 250 word tasks – and the reports, the literature reviews and the writing assignments of (the Monash preparation program). ... in the IELTS writing there is no requirement of referencing, no requirement to read relevant discipline-specific academic texts, and no requirements to write a sustained, well-mapped and integrated academic paper. ... A student could reasonably do well in ... (the IELTS) tasks and still be quite unprepared for university study. Similarly, the IELTS speaking test is an interview – an excellent indicator of everyday proficiency and even ability to speak about one's future plans – but lacking in the focussed academic requirements of tutorial and seminar participation and presentation. The IELTS Listening and Reading tests vary in range of topics and may be good indicators of general skill, but certainly cannot predict ability to follow lectures or discipline-

specific reading material. Research has shown that students often do badly at a one-off test. Each test is different and a student may strike a topic which is familiar on one occasion and one which is very unfamiliar on another. (Rosen 1998:191-192)

Clearly, no matter how carefully they might have been designed and, like IELTS, no matter how thoroughly the designers might have attempted to match the itemtypes with the tasks to be performed in subsequent real-life language use situations, most tests have difficulty in predicting candidates' subsequent performance, even when the focus of that evaluation is on the candidates' ability to use the language. Some of the reasons for the failure of tests to bridge the gap have been mentioned previously. The reasons (all of which point to a lack of authenticity and a serious gap between the test and real-life language use) include inter alia:

- the impoverished contexts within which the language exists and operates in traditional approaches to test design, yet language is known to be heavily situation-dependent
- the limited range of situations which it is possible to include in tests that are largely constrained by pencil-and-paper presentation and response modes
- the disparity between the test situations and real-life authentic language situations
- the pre-determined and limited content of tests that have been statistically "standardised" in order to ensure statistical validity and reliability: the content and language elicitation modes of such tests are commonly limited to those that can be controlled and adjusted in accordance with statistical requirements
- the inability of pre-determined tests to match individual candidates' needs, interests, experiences, proficiency levels, and other personal characteristics, i.e., the lack of adaptiveness of such tests, and hence their inability to accurately identify the particular skills or lack of them that individual candidates present, and
- the failure of most tests to present their results in ways that allow their ready interpretation in terms of candidates' real-life language ability with the result that, for most tests, there is a double gap between the test and real-life ability: first, the gap between the test items and real-life use of the language and, second, the gap that the end-user has to bridge between how the results are expressed (e.g., in a numerical score or an abbreviated behavioural description) and the language demands of real-life language use situations

One of the reasons language proficiency tests do not necessarily correlate with real-life performance and why predictive validity studies are generally unsatisfactory is that there are many other variables besides language proficiency that determine the success of a learner in using the language in real-life situations. One approach to overcoming the limitations of language assessment alone has been the emergence of the concept of competencies, specifically language competencies particularly for the workplace. Since the focus of this paper is on language proficiency assessment, competencies will need to be discussed here though they have been in other papers (e.g. Ingram 2000c).

4   The International Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ISLPR)

Largely in response to the limitations of language tests just discussed, the present writer and Elaine Wylie developed the *International Second Language Proficient Ratings* (ISLPR) in the late 1970s, they have researched them ever since, they have developed versions for many different purposes, and they are now about to launch an approach to assessment using the ISLPR which enables it to be readily administered worldwide and, potentially, in situations that will enable candidates' language ability to be observed in virtual situations that approximate more nearly to real-life language use than occurs in any other approach to assessment. At this point where, it is hoped, the level of authenticity is about to be raised substantially, it is worth remembering the steps that had been taken previously to make ISLPR assessment as authentic as practicable.

Motivation to develop the ISLPR came from three sources, in all of which, finding ways to bridge the gap between language tests and evidence of real-life language ability were critical. First, during research in the mid-1970s (Ingram 1978), the present writer wanted to be able to specify the foreign language skills students brought to university after five years of secondary school foreign language study but he found that the results on matriculation examinations in Britain and Australia gave no indication of what students' practical language skills were, i.e., the gap between the examinations, the examiners' reports, and evidence of the learners' practical language skills was unbridgeable. Second, about the same time, the present writer was involved in developing new national ESL courses for recently arrived migrants in Australia and the project team wanted to be able to specify the sorts of language abilities that learners had on entering or exiting from their ESL classes, they wanted to be able to specify the language skills that the new courses should aim to develop, and they wanted a broad framework within which to systematically develop a series of courses progressively graduated through proficiency

levels. Third, the present writer was also involved in advising on the development and assessment of new "proficiency-based" foreign language programs for Queensland secondary schools. As a result of these three necessities, the present writer, together with Elaine Wylie, developed the *Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings* (ASLPR) subsequently re-named the *International Second Language Proficiency Ratings* (ISLPR) in recognition of the scale's growing use internationally (Ingram & Wylie 1979/1999). In the ISLPR and its approach to assessing proficiency, attempts are made to bridge the gap between assessment and real-life language ability, and to elicit and measure real-life language performance. Language proficiency is considered, in the ISLPR approach to assessment, as encompassing the tasks that learners can carry out and how they are carried out and, as far as possible in a test situation, the focus of the assessment is on real-life tasks.

Since the ISLPR is well known in Australia and has, in any case, been described in detail in other papers, it won't be described again here; rather the focus of this paper is on what has been done to bridge the gap between language proficiency testing and real-life language use, i.e., the focus is on what steps have been taken to enhance the authenticity of the assessment procedure and the scale itself.

First, the ISLPR is a scale that essentially describes how a second or foreign language develops from zero to native-like proficiency. It seeks to capture the intuitions that speakers have about language ability but, through the descriptors, to constrain the intuitive judgements that people make in order to achieve some commonality in the judgements and in how the levels are stated.

Second, the ISLPR provides performance descriptions couched in terms of the practical tasks that learners can carry out and how they carry them out along the continuum from zero proficiency to native-life proficiency, i.e., its focus is on the actual tasks that learners can carry out and how they carry them out, not on artificially contrived "itemtypes" that generally bear little resemblance to what people do in real life with language.

Third, the ISLPR seeks to describe the way in which a language learned as a second or foreign language develops so that, not only are the tasks identified and used authentic but the developmental path described is as authentic as current research into language development can make it. Since the psycholinguistic evidence is that different languages develop

over broadly the same developmental path, the scale is readily applicable to any language even though it was considered useful for illustrative purposes to provide a number of versions of the scale in other languages beside English.

Fourth, language is situation-dependent and pre-determined tests often break down because a learner has simply not experienced a particular situation or the test is set at either too high a proficiency level or too low a level of the learners being assessed. Consequently they are unable to demonstrate their actual ability and, again, the authenticity of the test suffers. The ISLPR approach, on the other hand, constitutes a highly adaptive test; because different languages develop similarly in different specific purpose registers, the basic scale and the basic assessment procedure can readily be applied to the assessment of any language, for any specified purpose, in other words, the ISLPR and its characteristic application constitute a highly adaptive approach to proficiency assessment.

Fifth, in many ways, the best informed assessors of peoples' language ability are the people themselves, i.e., since they know intimately what they can or cannot do in a language, their assessment of their own ability should be more authentic than judgements made by others so long as they have had the experience of using the language for real-life purposes and so long as they approach the task of self-assessment honestly. In recent years, several different versions of the ISLPR, of differing levels of complexity, have, therefore, been produced for self-assessment purposes.

Sixth, one effect of the long and varied research effort that has surrounded the ISLPR as different versions have been produced, as it has been used for many different purposes in many different contexts is that the authenticity of the descriptors has been continually re-examined, the basic scale and its various versions have been continually re-evaluated, the reliability of the assessment procedures have been tested, and the assumptions underlying the scale and the assessment procedures have been continually tested. This has been done through formal evaluations and observationally in the course of extensive usage (see Ingram 1985a; Lee 1993).

Seventh, few scales have adapted such a long and detailed process for their development and on-going re-development and validation as has the ISLPR. Even the most elaborated scales are, at best, partial descriptions of how a language develops and their validity, i.e., the

authenticity of their descriptors, depends heavily on the processes by which they had been developed. In the case of the ISLPR and its various versions, the original and ongoing development process consists of the following:

- a notion of proficiency related to the language tasks that learners can carry out at different proficiency levels and how they are carried out was adopted and evolved as the scale developed.
- drawing on the intuitions and experience of the authors and others (including the authors of other scales) to provide insight, Ingram & Wylie sketched descriptions of language behaviour and how it develops.
- the initial descriptors were then tested, elaborated and refined in interviews with learners throughout the proficiency span. The aim of these interviews was to elicit the features of the learners' language so as to evaluate whether the evolving descriptors were comprehensive, coherent and consistent, i.e., were they authentic descriptions of how a second or foreign language develops, the tasks that can be carried out at various proficiency levels, and how they are carried out. This process has continued over the years in the course of developing and using the different versions of the scale so that the latest versions and editions are the product of empirical studies involving many thousands of learners of English and other languages, including their use in specific purpose contexts.
- at the same time, the emerging scale was compared with evidence from psycholinguistics to assess whether it was compatible with those general findings.
- the scale has, several times, been formally trialled using adult and adolescent learners, especially of English but also of other languages (e.g. Ingram 1985a). This formal trialling essentially assumed that, if the series of descriptors making up the scale really did reflect second or foreign language development, if they described features of the language that generally do co-occur, and if they were comprehensible and manageable, teachers trained to use the scale would be able to interpret the descriptors consistently and apply them reliably. This has always proved to be the case though the authors insist that the reliability of the assessment system depends heavily on the quality of the training of the assessors, their regular calibrating and re-calibrating of their interpretation of the scale, the regular monitoring of assessors' interview technique, and the moderation of their ratings.
- statistical processing has also been used to check the scale and the validity and reliability of the ratings (e.g. Ingram 1985a; Lee 1993). In

one study, Lee analysed the results of more than 300 ESL assessments of each of the four macroskills to establish whether the levels in the scale actually do represent a progression from zero to 5 along a common dimension, whether the four macroskills do form a reliable measurement variable, and whether the ordering provided the basis for construct validity. In summary, Lee concluded that both the ISLPR and the assessment procedure had a high degree of validity and reliability (Lee 1993).

The standard means by which the ISLPR is used to measure proficiency is in a face-to-face interview in which each learner's language is elicited and matched against the scale's behavioural descriptions. In this approach, the actual items used are less important than the fact that the learner's real language behaviour is elicited for observation and matching against the scale descriptors. Because the ISLPR focuses directly on the learners' language behaviour in practical use of the language and because the assessment procedures seek to elicit such language, the gap between the assessment and its results, on the one hand, and real-life use of the language, on the other, is much less than in other approaches to language testing. In that sense, the language that occurs and is measured in the ISLPR and its assessment procedure is more authentic than in other approaches.

In principle, the ISLPR can be used to assess learners' language proficiency as they use the language in real life, in the course of normal language use whether in academic or vocational contexts or in everyday life, i.e., with maximum authenticity. However, the difficulties with such direct observation, are that it is very time-consuming and quite impractical where a large number of learners are to be assessed. In addition, unless one spends a great deal of time in such observation, one can never be certain that the full extent of a learners' strengths or weaknesses has been observed. For these reasons, the ISLPR is normally applied in a face-to-face interview in which the interviewer sets out to elicit the candidate's maximum language ability and matches the observed language behaviour against the scale descriptors.

As noted earlier, one of the essential features of the ISLPR that contributes greatly to its authenticity is its adaptiveness. Unlike other tests, the assessment procedure does not rely on a pre-determined set of standardised items but rather on a trained assessor's ability to elicit the candidate's maximum language ability. For that purpose, assessors adjust items according to each candidate's proficiency level so as to ensure that

the maximum ability is observed, with the tasks used being neither too easy for the candidate's level nor too difficult. In addition, since language is situation-dependent and familiarity or unfamiliarity with a situation strongly influences a person's ability to perform linguistically, assessors are able to vary situations and tasks so as to see whether it is the candidate's proficiency that is causing the problem or the particular situation or the particular task. In addition, because the scale and its application do not rely on a pre-determined set of standardised items, its use can readily be adapted for application in a variety of vocational or academic situations and in a variety of language domains or genres with the only limitation being what tasks, domains or genres can be utilised in an interview setting. Thus, the ISLPR can readily be used for specific purpose assessment, especially for vocational proficiency assessment. In addition, since the psycholinguistic evidence is that all languages develop over similar paths, the ISLPR can be used with any language being learned as a second or foreign language. In other words, the ISLPR supports a highly adaptive assessment procedure which makes it better able than other approaches to adapt in order to match the needs of different learners using the language in different domains and genres, at different proficiency levels, and with different vocational, academic or other usage interests.

5   The ISLPR Global

Despite the many advantages of the ISLPR as a measure of practical language ability and its ready interpretability in terms of real-life language ability, the ISLPR in its present application procedures has certain limitations. First, the time required for interviews may seem to be substantial, being, on average, 30 to 45 minutes to rate speaking, listening and reading, with writing being administered separately. However, in reality, when one considers the time taken to develop and standardise tests such as IELTS, the time to administer listening, reading and writing and then to mark the scripts, and the time taken for a speaking interview, the comparison with other tests is by no means unfavourable to ISLPR. Second, ISLPR is administered in a face-to-face interview and this limits its use on a global scale, for instance, to assess the proficiency of overseas students or immigrants wishing to travel to English-speaking countries. Third, whereas other tests depend on prior standardisation for their validity and reliability, the ISLPR assessment procedure relies on the use of trained assessors whose performance desirably, can be monitored and moderated. Though other tests rely similarly on trained assessors for some components (for Speaking and Writing in the case of IELTS, for example), it is an even more important requirement for the ISLPR where

all four macroskills are assessed by elicitation and direct observation of language behaviour and its matching against the scale descriptors. Consequently, its present administration procedure is not appropriate for use on a global scale when only minimal training and supervision of assessors are possible. Fourth, the range of situations in an interview room is very limited and is largely restricted to what can be achieved in a face-to-face conversation: this has serious implications for the authenticity of the language that can be elicited and for the gap that exists between the language elicited and rated and the situational demands of real-life language use.

To address these limitations, the authors of the ISLPR are about to release a new assessment scheme, currently known as ISLPR Global. ISLPR Global will continue to use the ISLPR scale as the basis for assessment, certification and interpretation or results but, instead of the assessment being conducted face-to-face in an interview room, it will be conducted on-line using appropriate hardware and adapted software. Initial trials have shown that available hardware and software are suitable with relatively minor adaptations and with very little modification to standard interview procedures. This new approach has many advantages, including these:

- On-line administration enables the ISLPR to be used worldwide and so greatly increases the range of candidates who can take it.
- The ISLPR Global will be administered from a central location or a small number of administration centres in different time zones together with very basic test centres in appropriate locations or in cooperating institutions. Hence there is no need for a network of elaborate administration centres employing trained staff such as IELTS requires.
- Because ISLPR Global will be administered from a small number of centres using thoroughly trained professional staff, strict quality control can be applied to both the interviews and the ratings.
- The technology that will be used will allow a high level of personal security to occur. In other "high stakes" tests such as IELTS or TOEFL, security (including candidate's identification) is a perpetually difficult issue. With the ISLPR, item security is not an issue but, in addition, the ISLPR Global will enable photographs, voice prints, or even eye scans to be built into the security and certification systems, thus ensuring that, when certificates are issued, the possibility of identification fraud occurring will be minimised.

In other words, ISLPR Global builds on the advantages of authenticity found in the current approach to the use of ISLPR but goes further, narrows the gap between the test and real-life language use, and also makes the procedure accessible worldwide. In future, that gap will be narrowed still further since, once the ISLPR Global has been established on-line, virtual reality will be used to create virtual situations within which the assessor can observe the candidates' real-life (or virtual real-life) use of the language. Initial trials have demonstrated that it is possible to create on the computer screen and to transmit globally scenarios in which candidates can respond as they would do in real-life and the assessor can observe that interaction across the web and rate it as if he or she is observing the candidates in the course of their normal use of the language in everyday life or in the particular vocational or academic context in which they wish to use the language. In other words, using the resources of modern technology, the internet and virtual reality, the gap between proficiency assessments and real life can be narrowed almost to non-existence. In fact, the ISLPR Global approach has advantages over real-life observation because the assessors will enter into the virtual scenarios to interact with the candidates as normal participants in the language situation but, in the dual role of assessor and participant, they will also have some control over what occurs to the extent that, as with the current interview approach with the ISLPR, they will be able to modify the interaction in order to match it to the candidate's needs, proficiency level, and the other variables identified earlier.

An ISLPR Global prototype has been developed and trialled, the results are being evaluated, and more extensive trials are currently being conducted; the corporate structure within which it will be marketed is being established, and we anticipate that ISLPR Global will be commercially available in the course of 2003.

6 Conclusion

This paper has focussed on the gap that exists between tests of language proficiency and real-life language performance and the attempts that have been made over time to move towards more authenticity in language proficiency assessment. To some extent, that gap will always exist because language is only a part of any activity and a person's performance in that activity is influenced to a greater or lesser degree by other variables. Nevertheless, since language is situation-dependent, the more the tasks and contexts in which the language is tested resemble those of real-life, the more accurately is the language test likely to predict

how the candidate will cope, at least linguistically, with real-life activities. Along the fairly simplistic continuum of indirect, semi-direct and direct approaches to proficiency assessment, the ISLPR tries to focus, more strongly than most assessment, the candidates' practical language ability and their performance in real-life language activities. The geographical limitations of the ISLPR imposed by the need for candidates to be able to access a centre for face-to-face interview and the limitations imposed by the relationships and situations that can be reproduced in an interview room are further educed by the ISLPR Global as we search for ways to bridge the gap between language tests and real-life language performance and move towards more authenticity in language testing.

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The Common European Framework of Reference (CEF):
Implications for Language Teaching and Assessment in Germany

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1   Context and Development of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEF)

When the CEF was published in 1996, the preparations for this milestone in the Council of Europe's path towards a multicultural and plurilingual Europe had long been underway. The key role of languages in this process had been recognised much earlier and thus plurilingualism – rather than multilingualism – of Europeans had become one of the main targets of the official European language policy:

> *Plurilingualism differs from multilingualism, which is the knowledge of a number of languages, or the co-existence of different languages in a given society. Multilingualism may be attained by simply diversifying the languages on offer in a particular school or educational system, or by encouraging pupils to learn more than one foreign language (...). Beyond this, the plurilingual approach emphasises the fact that as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (...), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a commu-nicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact.* (Council of Europe 2001:4)

To make this rather complex aim feasible and to facilitate and standardise approaches towards it across Europe, a common reference frame for those sharing the responsibility for languages education in the European community (e.g., teachers, teacher trainers, textbook authors and learners themselves) was published in 1996. It documented the results of more than two decades' work in this field (see: Council of Europe 1992 & 2001:ix; Girard & Trim 1988) and it was to become an important contribution to the Council of Europe's overall aim "to achieve greater unity among its members" (Council of Europe 1982:18) and to realise this goal by "the adoption of common action in the cultural field" (Council of Europe 1998:6), in this case in the area of learning and teaching languages and in assessing their outcomes.

2 Aims, Structure and Discussion of the CEF

The efforts leading to the publication of the CEF were based on the insight that a unified Europe was only possible if its members were able to communicate with each other. The purpose of the CEF is explicitly stated in the very beginning of the document:

> *The Common European Framework provides a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe. It describes in a comprehensive way what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively. The description also covers the cultural context in which language is set. The Framework also defines levels of proficiency, which allow learners' progress to be measured at each stage of learning and on a life-long basis.* (Council of Europe 2001:1)

The CEF thus provides a toolbox for teachers, teacher trainers, textbook authors and others in charge of teaching languages in Europe and aims to make it easier for them in the long run to satisfy their learners' needs (Council of Europe 2001:1). It can also be used by the learners themselves to promote learner autonomy and lifelong learning, e.g. for monitoring their own progress and for self- and peer-evaluation.

The application of the CEF is not compulsory for European schools or other institutions *per se* unless implemented by official acts in the respective countries. In Germany, the first nationwide implementation of the CEF in the state school system takes place with the introduction of mandatory Educational Standards from the school year 2004/2005 (see section three of this paper for details).

In addition to providing compulsory requirements, the CEF can also serve as a matrix that enables European learners and teachers of languages to pursue the Council of Europe's objectives in language policy and to foster transparency in language learning and teaching. That is why the CEF does not replace a curriculum or a scale for assessing competence in languages, but, instead, it is intended to be used for the planning of language learning programmes, the planning of language certification and the planning of self-directed language learning (Council of Europe 2001:6).

The following table gives a brief overview of the nine parts of the 2001 version of the CEF:

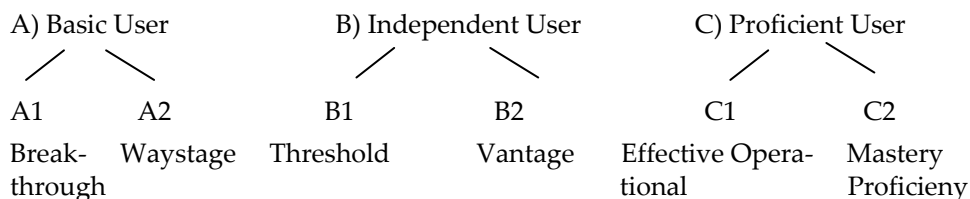| **(1) The Common European Framework in its political and educational context** |
| --- |
| • Aims, objectives and functions of the CEF in the context of European language policy (especially plurilingualism)
 • Criteria the CEF has to meet: comprehensiveness, transparency, coherence |
| **(2) Approach adopted** |
| • General view of language use/learning and its aim (i.e. communicative competence)
 • Parameters for the description of language use and the learner's ability to use language: strategies, general and communicative competences, activities and processes, production and reception of texts, themes and tasks, context of language use |
| **(3) Common Reference Levels** |
| • Global scheme of a flexible scale of six levels of attainment (used throughout) defined by appropriate descriptors ("can do"–statements; see figure 1)
 • Global scales: common reference levels scale; self-assessment grid for learners (including the four skills); assessment of spoken performance |
| **(4) Language Use and the Language User / Learner** |
| • "(...) a structure of parameters and categories which should enable all those involved in language learning, teaching and assessment to consider and state in concrete terms and in whatever degree of detail they wish what they expect the learners (...) to be able to do with a language, and what they should know in order to be able to act. (...) [The practitioners] should (...) find represented here all the major aspects of language use and competence they need to take into consideration.". (Council of Europe 2001:43-44)
 • Suggestions on themes, communicative tasks and purposes, the role of texts and media
 • Communicative language activities and strategies (scaled where possible, though not exhaustive or definitive; see table 2 for an overview of scaled activities and strategies): *production* scales (as an example see table 3 below: "Overall oral production"), *reception* scales, *interaction* scales, mediating activities/strategies (not scaled) |

(5) The user's/learner's competences
• Description of *general competences* (the four *savoirs*; not scaled): declarative knowledge/*savoir* (e.g. sociocultural knowledge); skills and know-how/*savoir faire* (e.g. intercultural skills and know-how); existential competence/*savoir-etre* (e.g. self-image, one's view of others and willingness to engage with other people in social interaction); ability to learn/*savoir apprendre* (mobilises existential competence, declarative knowledge and skills, and draws on various types of competence)
• *Communicative language competences* (illustrative scales provided where possible): linguistic competence (e.g. "vocabulary range"), sociolinguistic competence (e.g. "sociolinguistic appropriateness"), pragmatic competence, discourse competence (e.g. "coherence and cohesion") and functional competence (e.g. "propositional precision")
(6) Language learning and teaching
• Processes in language acquisition/learning and consequences for teaching
• Nature and development of plurilinguistic competence
• Methodological options
(7) Tasks and their role in language teaching
• Task description, performance and difficulty
• Learner individuality and differentiation
(8) Linguistic diversification and the curriculum
• Plurilingualism and pluriculturalism
• Principles of curriculum design and curricular scenarios
• Life-long language learning
(9) Assessment
• Criteria of the CEF as a resource for assessment: comprehensiveness, precision, operational feasibility
• Purposes of assessment
• Types of assessment

Table 1. Synopsis of the Content and Aims of the CEF 2001 Version (see Council of Europe 2001:xi-xvi)

Meanwhile a majority of researchers and practitioners alike consider chapters three, four and five to be the core of the CEF (see: Quetz 2002:145; Tranter 2003:3). These were designed with regard to one of the main aims of the Reference Frame:

> *One of the aims of the framework is to help partners to describe the levels of proficiency required by existing standards, tests and qualifications in order to facilitate comparisons between different systems of qualifications. For this aim the Descriptive Scheme and the Common Reference Levels have been developed.* (Council of Europe 2001:21)

The Common Reference Levels in chapter three provide a global scale to define a learner's level of attainment:

A) Basic User		B) Independent User		C) Proficient User	
A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
Break-through	Waystage	Threshold	Vantage	Effective Opera-tional	Mastery Proficieny

**Figure 1. Common Reference Levels: Global Scheme
(Council of Europe 2001:23)**

Chapters four and five contain concrete examples of applications of these Reference Levels. These are, wherever possible, scaled in detailed "can do"-statements within a six-level grid, based on the three meta-categories of (1) communicative activities (production, reception, interaction, mediation), (2) strategies employed in performing communicative activities and (3) communicative language competences. The "can do"-statements used in the scales aim at a description of what learners can do rather than of what they know. To illustrate this structure, Figure 2 provides an overview of all scaled language activities and strategies in Chapter 4 of the CEF; Figure 3 is an example of a production scale in the same chapter, i.e. "Overall oral production".

2a Productive activities and strategies		
Oral production (speaking) • Overall spoken production • Sustained monologue: describing experience • Sustained monologue: putting a case (e.g. in a debate) • Public announcements • Addressing audiences	Written production (writing) • Overall written production • Creative writing • Reports and essays	Production strategies • Planning • Compensating • Monitoring and repair

2b Receptive activities and strategies			
Aural reception (listening) • Overall listening comprehension • Understanding interaction between native speakers • Listening as a member of a live audience • Listening to announce-ments and instructions • Listening to audio media and recordings	Visual reception (reading) • Overall reading comprehension • Reading correspon-dence • Reading for orienta-tion • Reading for information and argument • Reading instructions	Audio-visual reception • Watching TV and film	Reception strategies • Identifying cues and inferring (spoken and written)

2c Interactive activities and strategies		
Spoken interaction • Overall spoken interaction • Understanding a native speaker interlocutor • Conversation • Informal discussion • Formal discussions and meetings • Goal-oriented co-operation • Transactions to obtain goods and services • Information exchange • Interviewing and being interviewed	Written interaction • Overall written production • Correspondence • Notes, messages and forms	Interaction strategies • Taking the floor (turntaking) • Co-operating • Asking for clarification

Table 2. Overview of All Scaled Language Activities and Strategies in Chapter 4 of the CEF (see Council of Europe 2001:43-100)

Overall oral production	
C2	Can produce clear, smoothly flowing well-structured speech with an effective logical structure which helps the recipient to notice and remember significant points.
C1	Can give clear, detailed descriptions and presentations on complex subjects, integrating sub-themes, developing particular points and rounding off with an appropriate conclusion.
B2	Can give clear, systematically developed descriptions and presentations, with appropriate highlighting of significant points, and relevant supporting detail. Can give clear, detailed descriptions and presentations on a wide range of subjects related to his/her field of interest, expanding and supporting ideas with subsidiary points and relevant examples.
B1	Can reasonably fluently sustain a straightforward description of one of a variety of subjects within his/her field of interest, presenting it as a linear sequence of points.
A2	Can give a simple description or presentation of people, living or working conditions, daily routines, likes/dislikes, etc. as a short series of simple phrases and sentences linked into a list.
A1	Can produce simple mainly isolated phrases about people and places.

Table 3. Example of Production Scales Provided in Chapter 4 of the CEF: "Overall oral production" (Council of Europe 2001:58)

As exemplified in Table 3, the descriptors of communicative behaviour apply equally to the following three areas: the design of language curricula, the practice of language teaching and the assessment of language profi-ciency (Little 2003:132). This means that each descriptor can be used (i) to

state a specific learning target, (ii) to develop learning activities and (iii) as a criterion for the assessment of communicative competence. A further benefit of these parts of the CEF lies in the fact that "(b)ecause the descriptors are based on an action-oriented approach and describe communicative behaviour rather than (say) linguistic form or function, they are immediately accessible to learners"(Little 2003:132). That is to say that learners can monitor their own learning process more effectively, e.g. by setting individual learning targets and/or by selecting suitable learning materials and activities. The Common Reference Levels as well as the descriptors are thus a flexible and accessible means for those responsible for language teaching and for the learners alike.

Problematic aspects regarding these core parts of the CEF are that the Reference Levels form part of a complex and interrelated system, the coherence of which can be easily destroyed if the descriptors are rephrased or mixed. Moreover, there are no levels for socio-cultural or intercultural communicative competence to be found in the CEF; one reason for this lies in the fact that there is up to now no consensus as to whether intercultural or intercultural communicative competence is scalable in the same way as, for example, communicative competence is.

The scope of this paper only allows analysis of a few advantages and critical aspects of the CEF. In Germany, as in other European countries, the issue has recently been at the hub of great controversy. The CEF, for example, was the topic of one of the most important annual conferences of experts in foreign language learning and teaching in Germany in 2002 (*Frühjahrskonferenz*; see Bausch, Christ, Königs & Krumm 2002). At this conference, recognition was given both to the constructive potential of the CEF (Gogolin 2002) and to its practical relevance (Quetz 2002:150). On the other hand, it was harshly criticized that the CEF presents controversial academic issues as norms and facts (Schwerdtfeger 2002) and does not take recent theories of learning into account (Quetz 2002:154). As a result, doubts have been raised as to whether the CEF can indeed provide a basis for a substantial new start in language learning and teaching and if it can, as a consequence, really fulfil the role of a milestone on the route towards a plurilingual Europe (see Freudenstein 2002; Schwerdtfeger 2002).

While these debates are still going on, the implementation of the CEF has already begun within and outside the German school system. The first nationwide mandatory implementation started in the school year 2004/2005 and is outlined and analysed critically in the following section.

3 Mandatory Educational Standards (*Bildungsstandards*) for Teaching and Assessing the First Foreign Language in German Schools after Six Years (*Mittlerer Schulabschluss*)

The first nationwide implementation of the CEF in German state schools can be found in the so-called Educational Standards for the three main subjects: mathematics, German and the first foreign language, which in most of the cases is English.

The Standards have been established by the Committee of the German Federal Ministers of Education and the Arts (*Kultusministerkonferenz*) and will be implemented and become obligatory in all of the sixteen German *Länder* from the school year 2004/05. As they are aimed at introducing and securing higher quality in German secondary schools, they can partly be considered the outcome of the rather unsatisfactory results the German school system received in the international PISA-study (see Baumert et al 2001).

Educational Standards state general educational objectives and describe communicative language competences that pupils should have achieved when they finish grade 10 after six years of foreign language learning. The Standards consist of eighty pages in total, only twelve of which describe communicative language competences and scales for the various skills: listening and viewing comprehension, reading comprehension, speaking (conversation; coherent speech) and writing. Over sixty pages are devoted to examples of final written examinations. As far as the competences in the first foreign language are concerned, the students should have reached the common reference level B1 (Threshold; see Figure 1) of the CEF, thus putting the degrees at German schools into an international context and making it easier to compare them with their European counterparts.

Table 4 describes the areas of competences within the Educational Standards for the first foreign language (see KMK 2003:11):

Practical Communicative Competences	
Communicative Skills	Linguistic competences
Listening and viewing comprehension	Vocabulary
Reading comprehension	Grammar
Speaking	Pronunciation and intonation
Conversation	Orthography
Coherent Speech	
Writing	
Mediating activities	

Intercultural Competences
Sociocultural knowledge
Understanding of cultural differences
Practical coping with intercultural encounters
Methodical Competences
Reception of texts (reading and listening comprehension)
Interaction
Production of texts (speaking and writing)
Learning strategies
Presentation and use of media
Language awareness and organisation of learning

Table 4. Areas of competences within the Educational Standards for the First Foreign Language

This arrangement of areas of competences for the first foreign language includes several positive aspects. It is noteworthy, for instance, that the authors of the Educational Standards describe mediating activities on the list of communicative skills, as pupils will often have to act as intermediaries between interlocutors who are unable to understand each other directly. Other significant features are the reference to intercultural and methodical competences; for example, the importance of learning strategies, language awareness and the organisation of learning.

However, there are several aspects within the Educational Standards that are questionable. First of all, the term "educational" is problematic as it implies highly complex teaching aims, when in fact the standards are simply concerned with the areas of competences mentioned above and merely describe scales for the four communicative skills. Within the German educational system the concept of *Bildung* comprises a variety of different educational aims, such as aesthetic or literary teaching objectives, which are not mentioned in the Standards at all. They deal with only one – albeit very important – field of language learning, communicative language competence, and do not say, for instance, anything about appreciation of literary texts or about other important factors in language teaching, such as intercultural skills and know-how or personality factors like attitudes, motivations, values and beliefs.

Although the above table mentions intercultural and methodological competences – and the importance of knowledge in both areas is explicitly stated in the foreword of the Standards – there are no descriptive scales given for either of them. The authors do not make use

of the scales provided in the CEF, for example, for production strategies and/or reception strategies (see Table 2) and do not even mention the various mediating activities and strategies of the Framework. Nor are the scales for the linguistic competences, sociolinguistic appropriateness or discourse competence of the Framework used within the German Educational Standards and are therefore obviously not considered objectives for the acquisition of the first foreign language, although they are mentioned as one of the areas of competences.

Furthermore, it does not make sense to describe only one target level (B1 or B1+) comprising all of the five skill dimensions, as it is an advantage of the CEF that it is very flexible. For this reason it would be more appropriate to state different target levels for the different communicative skills. As individual learners have different proficiency levels in receptive and productive language use, this would better reflect the reality in language classrooms.

The overall impression of the Educational Standards is that they merely describe the traditional model of language teaching with the help of the Framework, but they do not exploit its full potential. This observation is highlighted further by the fact that the Educational Standards do not provide – apart from the scale for conversation – a single scale for spoken interaction, which should be the primary aim in a communicative language classroom. Communicative competence is the explicit aim of language teaching in Germany and this cannot possibly be reached without teaching students how to interact in the target language. The different scales for interaction of the Framework – e.g. understanding a native speaker interlocutor, transactions to obtain goods and services, information exchange – should have been included in the Educational Standards.

Another problematic issue is the fact that the authors of the Standards give specific examples of final exams for the communicative skills and with that they assign a crucial importance to final examinations, which will, in the long run, surely lead to the development of "teaching to the test". The danger is that both students and teachers will concentrate too much on the final tests and forget about the other important teaching objectives. In addition to that, other possibilities of testing communicative competence will be excluded and will not play a role in the communicative language classroom any longer. As there are no examples of tests for intercultural and methodical competences provided within the Standards,

these crucial teaching objectives are very likely to be overlooked in the future. Most of the examples of the final exams test the four language skills in a more or less isolated way, which does not reflect the reality of language use outside the language classroom. A further problem, which is also mentioned in the Framework, is the fact that it is very difficult to assign different tasks or texts to the different common reference levels within the Common European Framework. Under the prevailing circumstances it might have been better to abandon specific examples of final exams for the common reference level B1.

Altogether, it can be said that the implementation of the common reference levels as well as the descriptive scales of the CEF within the German educational system is a very important and most welcome development. It is, however, problematic that the Educational Standards described and analysed above do not make the best use of the given scales within the Framework as they only concentrate on the disconnected language skills of reception and production and do not process the various interactive language activities, which are mentioned in the Framework. Secondly, the Standards mention the fundamental intercultural and methodological competences only in the Foreword, but these crucial teaching objectives are not pursued within the Standards. Thirdly, the given examples of final tests are problematic as teachers and students alike run the risk of concentrating purely on these test formats. In order to facilitate a comprehensive implementation of the CEF into the German educational system some important aspects have to be considered, some of which are highlighted in the last section.

4   And the Future?

In our opinion, the CEF offers many opportunities to make the learning, teaching and assessment of languages in Germany more efficient. A significant advantage of the Framework is that it provides various scales for communicative language activities and strategies, which are important aims for acquiring another language efficiently and which should be used by teachers and pupils alike. As mentioned above, each of the various descriptors can and should be used to express a learning target, to develop learning activities and as criteria for the assessment of communicative competence. We fully agree with Little, who points out that due to the fact that the descriptors describe communicative behaviour, they are directly accessible to learners (cf. Little 2003:132). The Framework therefore makes language learning and teaching more transparent; it

offers teachers and pupils a common basis for acquiring another language, insofar as the pupils know what is expected of them.

Another noteworthy benefit of the CEF lies in the fact that it offers teachers and pupils a new approach to assessment, as it states positive "can do"-statements. Whereas teachers at German secondary schools are accustomed to concentrate on errors and mistakes – that is on the aspects of language learning that the pupils can *not* do – they can now by means of the scales and descriptors focus on what pupils *can* do as it is, for example, expressed in the scale for "Overall oral production" provided in Table 3 above. This new approach to assessment has a very important pedagogic function as it will provide the chance to motivate pupils and show them what they actually can do even from the very beginning of the language learning process.

Furthermore, with the help of the CEF scales, pupils get the chance to learn how to assess themselves, which is something that has not really played an important role in the German educational system so far. For many learners, self-assessment is a new and challenging activity that frequently requires help and assistance by the teacher. Self-assessment can be carried out in two principal ways when working with the Framework: firstly, the learners set their own individual goals and, secondly, they learn to work independently with the "can do"-statements. With the help of the scales and descriptors in the CEF, learners are provided with regular opportunities to reflect on, review and record their own perceptions of learning achievement.

A further important aspect when using the Framework is that language learning is presented as a process rather than something, which has a clearly defined beginning and end. When using the Framework, pupils can become aware of the fact that the learning of languages is a lifelong process that consists of various skills and competences.

However, it has to be stressed that the CEF is helpful for "only" one area of language teaching and learning, that is the acquisition of communicative competence, for which it offers teachers and students the description of levels of proficiency as well as objectives, content and methodological options. Within the Framework there is no mention of the other very important teaching objectives in the German educational system. For example, it does not tell us anything about literary competence and,

despite the fact that it emphasises the importance of intercultural competence, it does not scale, for example, intercultural communicative competence.

Although, as mentioned above, the CEF has been heavily criticised for not presenting controversial academic issues in a more transparent way, it offers language teachers and learners all over Europe an instrument with which communicative competence might be taught, learned and assessed more efficiently. However, if we want to enable teachers to make good use of the full potential of the CEF, it has to be implemented into teacher training programs for future language teachers. They have to be given sufficient opportunity to familiarise themselves with the new tool. So far, the Framework has not attracted the attention in the German state school and teacher training system that it deserves.

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Scales of Language Proficiency Levels in Learning and Assessment for Latvian[1]

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Learning a language is a long and complicated process. For practical purposes, it is useful to divide the teaching material into consecutive stages of language proficiency and represent them as parts of an integrated scale. In the document developed by the Council of Europe, the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*, a whole section is devoted to scales of language proficiency levels, their types and practical application.

The number of language proficiency levels and grades generally depends on the aim to be reached. For teaching purposes, for example, it is better to have a more detailed division of proficiency levels, so that the learners should realise sooner that they are making some progress. In the assessment process, however, an excessively large number of levels may lead to complications.

In European countries a six-level system has been established and is currently used, in which the classically adopted basic, medium and highest levels are subdivided into higher and lower grades:

A	B	C
Basic User	Independent User	Proficient User
A1 A2	B1 B2	C1 C2

In Latvia, a three-level system was introduced in 1992 for the purpose of the state language proficiency certification. The Regulations on the State

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[2] The author of this paper was the Head of the Chief Committee for State Language Proficiency Certification from 1992 to 2000.

Language Proficiency Certification provide for three levels of language proficiency:

- the first (lowest) level – elementary understanding of language and speaking skill
- the second (medium) level – speaking and writing ability necessary for performing professional duties
- the third (highest) level – full speaking and writing skills

The first or the lowest level of language proficiency was applicable to those whose job required limited contact with other individuals (e.g., drivers of public transport vehicles) because, while on duty, they have to understand what other people say, to reply them and as well as to read elementary written information.

The second or the medium level was applicable to those whose professional duties required permanent contacts with other individuals (e.g., those employed in trade or public services). Such employees should be able to use the official language of the country when speaking about topics related to their professional duties, to understand texts related to such duties, and to write or to fill in documents related to the fulfilment of their professional duties.

The third or the highest level of language proficiency was applicable to leading professionals in the respective field, like elected Members of Parliament and members of local governments, medical doctors, lawyers etc. These members of society should be able speak the official language of the country fluently, to understand some freely chosen written information (i.e., texts about any subject), and to write texts related to the fulfilment of their professional duties.

In the testing process it soon became clear that the division of language proficiency into three levels was too general, and so in 1995 the Chief Committee for State Language Proficiency Certification developed a new six-stage division of language proficiency levels. Unfortunately, the Government approved the new system only in 2000 when the State Language Law had been passed.

As in the Regulations on the State Language Proficiency Certification of 1992 – according to the Regulations of 2000 on the Proficiency Degree in the State Language Required for Performance of Professional Duties and on the Order of Language Proficiency Testing – three types of skills have to be tested: speaking, reading and writing. The said Regulations include a very concise description of the required language proficiency levels, so

that the candidate may obtain a minimum idea at least about the requirements concerning each level:

- Level 1 Grade A (1A) – ability to communicate on the basic level about subjects related to common everyday occurrences; to use a minimum of professional language; to read and to understand simple short texts, advertisements, announcements; to write personal data
- Level 1 Grade B (1B) – ability to form simple sentences in order to communicate about subjects related to everyday occurrences and the person's profession; ability to read and understand simple texts; to fill in standard documents, forms, invoices, receipts
- Level 2 Grade A (2A) – ability to conduct a simple dialogue about everyday occurrences and professional subjects; to read and to understand texts of simple content; to write standard documents, applications, proxies, statements and simple texts related to everyday occurrences and the person's job
- Level 2 Grade B (2B) – ability to converse fluently about subjects related to everyday occurrences and those related to the person's professional duties; to read and to understand texts of a variety of content; ability to write documents related to the person's job, references, accounts, minutes, reports, statements and longer texts related to everyday occurrences or the person's job
- Level 3 Grade A (3A) – ability to converse fluently, to participate in a discussion; to express a personal view about subjects related to everyday occurrences and those related to the person's professional or job duties; ability to read and to understand texts of various degrees of complexity on various subjects; ability to write documents related to the management of the relevant institution or company, decisions, contracts, articles of association/incorporation, job descriptions and various other texts
- Level 3 Grade B (3B) – ability to communicate fluently about subjects related to everyday occurrences and those related to the person's professional or job duties; ability to conduct conversation in various situations, to vary the style of conversation and means of linguistic expression; and ability to write texts of various degrees of complexity

In this scale the signs adopted in Latvia (1A, 1B, 2A, 2B, 3A, 3B) are being used corresponding to the levels in Europe: A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2.

In the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*, we find a division of language proficiency levels into three types of scales depending on the purpose and the user of the scale:

- scales meant for language learners and users (user-oriented)
- scales meant for testing language proficiency, used by those who assess language skills (assessor-oriented)
- scales meant for the designers of language examination, also useful in the writing of textbooks, drawing up of curricula, etc (constructor-oriented)

The scales of the first type demonstrate the individual achievement of a learner on each of the levels. These achievements are formulated in a simple way to show what the learners are able to do if they have achieved the respective proficiency level, and these formulations take the form of positive assertions even at the lowest levels of proficiency:

"Has enough basic vocabulary and grammar to make himself or herself understood in a limited number of predictable everyday situations." (Eurocentres 1998, Scale of Language Proficiency. Level 2).

The scales meant for those who assess the skills include assessment guidelines, where the focus is the quality of achievement; therefore we find negative formulations even at the highest levels of proficiency. This point may be illustrated with an example from the assessment scale of speaking skills, which relates to approximately the same level of language proficiency as in the above example:

"A limited range of conversation topics and word stock related to everyday life and job duties. Understandable speech with incorrect use of some grammatical forms; possibly awkward choice of words. Pauses in speech, trying to find the most suitable form of expression." (Level 1B. Methodological Guidelines for Conducting State Language Proficiency Tests).

Usually the levels of language proficiency are understood as a set of definite parameters in the vertical dimension. Sometimes, however, the horizontal dimension of the scale of the language proficiency levels is also very important, where the focus is an analytical approach to various aspects of the achievement, e.g., range, accuracy and fluency. These aspects will better characterise the quality of language proficiency and therefore are particularly included in the scales meant for language assessment. For example, in 1998 the achievement in the Latvian language written examination in minority schools was assessed according to the following aspects: contents, plan, word stock, grammar, punctuation, and spelling.

The level scales meant for the designers of language examination and for specialists include formulations of the tasks that the learner should be able to perform at each specific level. This type of scale may be universal, where the language proficiency level is described in general terms, or

may by very task-specific. All language skills and competences described in the Council of Europe edition, *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*, are divided according to levels. The first is the general or "global" scale of language proficiency levels:

Proficient User	C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.
	C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.
Independent User	B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.
	B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes & ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
Basic User	A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g., very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.
	A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

Table 1. Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment

With the help of level scales that describe the respective language proficiency it is possible to compare systems of language examinations existing in one country and in various countries.

The development of the European Language Portfolio is also based on the descriptions of language proficiency levels. It is not possible to assess proficiency in a language if a system of reference points is not available in the form of a table or a scale. Therefore, the Passport part of the European Language Portfolio contains a self-assessment grid that anybody can use to assess his or her own language proficiency level in any of the languages ever learnt at school, in language courses or in the family. The formulae "I can" and "I am able" make the descriptions of language proficiency levels easy to understand.

The introduction of the European Language Portfolio means a completely new approach to the learning of languages, even though the approach is based on the system of language proficiency levels introduced several years ago.

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Section 4

Parity, Presence & Prosperity

Linguistic Diversity and Sustainable Development: The Role of International Non-Governmental Organizations[1]

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> In the galaxy of languages, each person's voice is a star.
> (Linguasphere n.d.)

1 Introduction

Language is one of our principal assets. It provides us conscious intergenerational memory and continuity; in both written and oral form, it is the repository of humanity's accumulated wisdom. In content as well as structure, each human tongue has encoded within it unique and complex experiential guidelines on how to survive in a diverse world we are nowhere close to understanding (Mühlhausler 1998). Thus, the loss of *any* language represents a potential threat to our collective being.

It is the very diversity of languages that contributes to our continuing existence as a species, for as Ashby's law of requisite variety states, "the variety within a system must be at least as great as the environmental variety against which it is attempting to regulate itself" (Buckley 1968:495). In other words, variety within a system or society is essential for its perseverance and ongoing evolution. The world's languages represent alternative 'solutions' for human survival under varying ecological conditions.

Although we are increasingly aware of the cogency of Ashby's law as it applies to the biosphere (American Museum of Natural History 1998), in Eurocentric cultures we are reluctant to acknowledge its applicability to

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[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Linguapax X World Congress on Language Diversity, Sustainability and Peace, in Barcelona, May 2004.

human society. Even though humans are perforce an integral part of nature, and therefore subject to its laws, since the seventeenth century we have conceptually separated ourselves from nature through Cartesian dualism (Swenson 1997), and since the industrial revolution we have physically removed ourselves from nature through technologically built environments (Hedley 2002). As a result, we have developed a decidedly anthropocentric worldview of the planet, a view that postulates that humankind somehow represents an exception to the laws of nature. However, to persist in such a worldview imperils our species, hence the movement toward *biocultural diversity*, which supports "the challenge of supporting diversity in nature **and** culture" (Terralingua n.d., emphasis in original).

The biocultural diversity movement is particularly concerned about protecting indigenous languages, for herein lies the knowledge from thousands of years of adapting to human-environment interfaces. In fact, some experts claim that traditional hunter-gatherers have been the most successful of all humans in reaching a harmonious and flourishing relationship with their ecological surroundings (Diamond 1987), which makes the preservation of their languages even more compelling.

Yet it is these indigenous languages that are most at risk of extinction. Whereas human linguistic diversity is estimated to have reached its apex about 15,000 years ago, when "a world population five hundred times less than it is today is supposed to have spoken some 10,000 languages" (Leuprecht 1998), today, due to the systematically consolidating impacts of colonisation, nationalism, and now globalisation, living languages total barely 6,800 (Ethnologue 2000). Moreover, currently "about 97% of the world's people speak about 4% of the world's languages" (UNESCO 2003), which means that within this century alone, as many as 90 percent of these living languages could disappear forever. The powerful homo-genising forces of globalisation – electronic mass media, international trade and foreign investment, global consumerism and pop culture, tourism, and the Internet – are all putting extreme pressure on traditional languages and the cultural groups they represent.

Although the impending loss of the majority of the world's languages represents a social problem of global proportion, surprisingly little is being done to alleviate it. However, this paper argues that international non-governmental organisations are playing an increasingly important role in promoting linguistic diversity, which in turn supports sustainable development. Whereas the hegemonic forces of globalisation have been

largely established by a top-down, technologically enhanced, transnational corporate élite, the manifold forces for biocultural diversity reside largely in the pluralistic, bottom-up activities of non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Specifically, I examine three types of international NGOs that are involved in advancing various facets of linguistic diversity:

• NGOs exclusively promoting linguistic diversity
• NGOs preserving cultural diversity in all its manifestations (including language), and
• NGOs facilitating biocultural diversity

Although it is possible to make these distinctions analytically, there is substantial empirical overlap among categories. What is important, however, is that the sheer *variety* of NGO activity exemplified in the above list itself offers testimony to the value of diversity. Put simply, there is no 'one best way' to achieve biocultural heterogeneity.

Employing keyword searches of various electronic directories to locate relevant NGOs (Directory of Development Organizations 2004; Duke University 2003; Google 2004; Human-Languages Page 2004; Idealist 2004; UIA 2004), and following likely links on all selected websites, I conducted an Internet survey of these three categories to document empirically what international NGOs are actually doing to bring about linguistic diversity.[2] However, because nearly 90 percent of the headquarters of all international NGOs are based in the North (Diversitas n.d.), there is a distinct likelihood that I could present a limited, and therefore biased, description of the various feasible perspectives and strategies that are in fact being offered. To counter this problem, I relaxed my operational selection criteria to include as many international NGOs from the South (and indigenous peoples' NGOs everywhere) as possible, as these are the sites where the problems of linguistic diversity are most acute. For example, although the First Nations-sponsored Center for World Indigenous Studies (CWIS) makes no specific reference to language issues on its website, I included it because of its "Fourth World" perspective, and because "the underlying principle guiding CWIS" supports "the diversity of nations and their cultures" (2004).

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[2] Although not all *grassroots* NGOs have Internet presence, it is reasonable to assume that in the twenty-first century all *international* NGOs do in fact have websites.

Although I certainly cannot claim that my survey was comprehensive, I am satisfied that I have included most of the international NGOs concerned with biocultural diversity.

Before proceeding with my analysis, I first define what NGOs are and provide an overview of their structure and activities over the past one hundred years.

2   Non-Governmental Organisations and Civil Society

NGOs are the mouthpieces of civil society; they represent "the people's voice" as they react to a plethora of issues initially framed by the more historically acknowledged and more organised public and private sectors. They range from local grassroots or community-based organisations to international NGOs (INGOs). Although there is no universally accepted definition of an NGO, the following criteria constitute essential elements:

- non-governmental, and so not part of either the public or private sector
- formally or informally organized on a relatively continuous basis
- devoted to achieving some common (often service- or development-oriented) purpose(s)
- self-governing; independent from external control
- voluntary involvement of two or more members
- non-profit, legitimate enterprises, and
- not political parties[3]

As I discuss later, I used these criteria as the operational bases for selecting *international* (ie involving collaboration among groups from at least two nations[4]) NGOs for my Internet survey.

NGOs have existed from the time people first formed communities, but it is only since World War II that they have attained major international presence. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were just 176 international NGOs worldwide (UNDP 1999), but by 2000, this number had mushroomed to over 37,000, with nearly one-fifth of these being added after 1990 (UNDP 2002). This recent growth may be explained largely by the Internet. In the same way that transnational corporations,

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[3]   These criteria are derived from the Global Development Research Center (1990) and Willetts (2002).

[4]   Including indigenous "nations".

the vanguard of the private sector, have established global electronic networks of subsidiaries, suppliers, and clients, so too have NGOs taken advantage of the Internet to raise awareness, provide expertise, enlist support, advocate change, and solicit funds. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 1999:35), international "NGOs have been effective advocates for human development, maintaining pressure on national governments, international agencies, and corporations to live up to commitments and to protect human [including language] rights and environmental standards". And, as basic human rights have grown worldwide (Karatnycky 2003), so also have the presence and impact of international non-governmental organisations expanded.

It is important to note that Internet-based NGO networks provide links to Web sites that contain information about grassroots NGOs, *regardless of whether or not these NGOs are connected to the Web*. Given the real lack of an adequate information and communications technology infrastructure in the developing regions of the world (Hedley 2002), particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, it would not be feasible to do otherwise. Provided there is *some* Internet connection, information can be exchanged. For example, during a recent lecture tour of India, I was able to provide colleagues with the actual names, addresses, and phone numbers of some local NGOs about whom they had no knowledge. In other words, not all people need have direct access to the Internet in order to benefit from it. Because of this, international NGOs have become very effective global clearing-houses of information on all aspects of development throughout the world. One such clearing-house is Idealist (2005), the Internet arm of Action Without Borders. It is a searchable directory (by topic and location) of 44,000 nonprofit development organisations, both on and off the Web, located in 165 countries.

Before turning to my analysis of international NGOs involved in advancing linguistic diversity, I should emphasise that not all NGOs concerned with linguistic issues are in fact championing diversity. At one extreme are NGOs campaigning for a universal lingua franca. For example, the Universal Esperanto Association (2002), although it pays lip service to "linguistic democracy and the preservation of linguistic diversity," it mainly advocates one international language to be spoken by all. Similarly, U.S. ENGLISH, Inc. (2004) is a 1.8 million-strong American citizens' action group dedicated to "keeping the nation unified through a common language."

At the other extreme are NGOs attempting to preserve their own native tongues amidst a sea of linguistic tension and conflict. For example, India has more than 1,600 languages and dialects, 18 "scheduled" regional languages, one "associate" language (English), and one official language (Hindi) (Baldridge 2002). Given this linguistic potpourri, it is little wonder that from time to time animosities flare among groups attempting to defend their own linguistic turf. Because one's native tongue is so much a part of one's identity, it forms the basis of conflict as well as cooperation.

3   International NGOs Promoting Biocultural Diversity

Table 1 lists the 58 international NGOs (and their URLs) I selected for analysis. In some cases, I had difficulty in deciding whether I should include or exclude some organisations from this list. Three of my operational selection criteria were particularly troublesome in this regard: determining international status; distinguishing non-governmental from public and private organisations; and ascertaining independence from external control. For example, concerning international status, I included the Endangered Language Fund because, even though it is based at just one university in the United States, it funds proposals on *any* endangered language from *any* country. On the other hand, I excluded the, in some ways, more broadly based Linguistic Society of America (and other national linguistic associations). Although this Society has a Committee on Endangered Languages and Their Preservation and coordinates its activities with similar committees of other national linguistic associations, its primary focus is to serve its *national* constituency.

International NGO	URL*
Linguistic Diversity (N = 17)	
Aboriginal Languages of Australia Virtual Library	www.dnathan.com/VL/austLang.htm
Behatokia, The Observatory of Linguistic Rights	www.behatokia.org/
Comité International Permanent des Linguistes (CIPL)	www.ciplnet.com/
Endangered Language Fund (ELF)	sapir.ling.yale.edu/~elf/
European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL)	www.eblul.org/**
European Language Resource Association (ELRA)	www.elra.info/
Foundation for Endangered Languages	www.ogmios.org/
Indigenous Language Institute	www.indigenous-language.org/
Kadazandusun Language Foundation (KLF)	www.klf.com.my/index2.htm
Kontseilua, the Council of Social	

International NGO	URL*
Organizations in Favour of Basque	www.kontseilua.org/
Lesser-Used Languages Software	
Developers' Association (LULSDA)	www.egt.ie/lulsda/
Linguapax Institute	www.linguapax.org/
Linguasphere Observatory	www.linguasphere.com
SIL International	www.sil.org/
Society for Endangered Languages (GBS)	www.uni-koeln.de/gbs/
Society for the Study of the Indigenous	
Languages of the Americas (SSILA)	wings.buffalo.edu/linguistics/ssila/
World Federation of Modern Languages	
Associations (FIPLV)	www.fiplv.org/

Cultural Diversity (N = 16)

AFS International	www.afsweb.afs.org/
Congrès Mondial Amazigh (CMA)	www.congres-mondial-amazigh.org/
Escarré International Centre for Ethnic	
Minorities and Nations (CIEMEN)	www.ciemen.org/
Europa Diversa	www.europadiversa.org/
European Assoc. of Daily Newspapers in	
Minority & Regional Languages (MIDAS)	www.midas-press.org/index
Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN)	www.fuen.org/
International Network for Cultural Diversity	
(INCD)	www.incd.net/
International PEN	www.internationalpen.org.uk/
International Union Romani***	www.unionromani.org/union_in.htm
International Work Group for Indigenous	
Affairs (IWGIA)	www.iwgia.org/
Le Monde Bilingue	www.lemondebilingue.asso.fr/
Minority Rights Group International (MRG)	www.minorityrights.org/
Native Web	www.nativeweb.org/
Network Cultures	www.networkcultures.net/
Yachay Wasi	www.yachaywasi-ngo.org/
Youth of European Nationalities (YEN)	www.yeni.org/

Biocultural Diversity (N = 25)

Assembly of First Nations (AFN)	www.afn.ca/
Center for World Indigenous Studies (CWIS)	www.cwis.org/
Gaia Foundation	www.thegaiafoundation.org/
Global Diversity Foundation	www.globaldiversity.org.uk/
Indian Council of South America (CISA)	www.puebloindio.org/CISA/cisa.htm
Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating	
Committee (IPACC)	www.ipacc.org.za/
International Alliance of Indigenous &	
Tribal Peoples of Tropical Forests (IAIP)	www.international-alliance.org/
International Association of Applied	
Linguistics (AILA)	www.aila.soton.ac.uk/

International Indian Treaty Council (IITC)	www.treatycouncil.org/
International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES)	www.leidenuniv.nl/fsw/iuaes/index.htm
Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC)	www.inuitcircumpolar.com/
Kuru Development Trust	www.san.org.za/kuru/home.htm
Long Now Foundation	www.longnow.com/
Ogiek.org	www.ogiek.org/
OneWorld International Foundation	www.oneworld.net/
Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON)	www.raipon.org/
Saami Council	www.saamicouncil.net/
South African San Institute (SASI)	www.san.org.za/sasi/home.htm
Survival International	www.survival-international.org/
Terralingua	www.terralingua.org/
Volkswagen Foundation	www.volkswagen-stiftung.de/
WATU/Acción Indígina	www.servicom.es/watu/**
Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA)	www.san.org.za/wimsa/home.htm
World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP)	wcip@web.net
World Social Forum (WSF)	www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/home.asp

*   All URLs confirmed as of 4 April, 2005.
**   This web site is not currently in operation.
***   No URL found. The URL for the Unión Romaní in Spain is listed instead.

Table 1 International NGOs Surveyed (N = 58)

Again using the Endangered Language Fund (ELF) as my example, but this time concentrating on the distinction between non-governmental versus public or private sector status, I included ELF because it is explicitly organised (with its own board of directors) as a separate entity apart from the Department of Linguistics at Yale University in which it originated. In contrast, the International Clearing House for Endangered Languages, like so many other academic research programs throughout the world, is just one of several ongoing projects under the general administration of the Department of Dynamic Linguistics at the University of Tokyo. Similarly, whereas I included the Lesser-Used Languages Software Developers' Association, an independently organised, non-profit trade organisation, I excluded the many for-profit, private sector corporations involved in this emerging field.

Finally, concerning whether organisations are self-governing and therefore independent from external control, I included the Linguapax Institute because, although UNESCO initially inspired it, it does appear to operate at arm's length from this international government bureau.

However, I excluded the Mercator Network in that "it was set up following the Kuijpers Resolution in the European Parliament and has developed in parallel with subsequent EU and Council of Europe policies" (Mercator n.d.). Moreover, it continues to be sponsored by the European Commission.

In the final analysis, despite my list of operational criteria as to what constitutes an international NGO, my decisions were a matter of judgement. Undoubtedly, a more intensive investigation of these organisations than was afforded by examining their websites would yield a more accurate rendering. However, I am satisfied that in the overwhelming majority of cases, my decisions were sound. I now turn to my analysis of the international NGOs I have identified.

Table 2 presents the code sheet I used to gather data on each international NGO I surveyed. My objectives in constructing this code sheet were first, to ensure that I collected an adequate amount of information from all NGOs relevant to my purposes, and second, to increase comparability across NGOs. In most cases, NGO web sites provided sufficient information for me to fill in most categories, although relatively few quantifiable data were provided on either NGO impact or success[5].

International NGO Code Sheet
Category: a) Linguistic diversity, b) Cultural diversity, c) Biocultural diversity
NGO name, URL, and date accessed
Headquarters location
Date of origin (and other relevant details)
Affiliative status
Mission statement
Geographical region
Target group
Languages involved
Major activities involving the promotion of linguistic diversity
Impact (numbers reached, 'hits,' membership)
Successes/achievements
Comments

Table 2. International NGO Code Sheet

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[5]   The codebook for all 58 international NGOs I surveyed is available on request.

Table 3 presents these 58 NGOs classified according to whether their primary objective involves achieving linguistic, cultural, or biocultural diversity. Table 3 also indicates whether NGOs are primarily activist or academically oriented, where in the world they focus their activities, and when they were formally established. A number of general conclusions can be drawn.

Biocultural Viability	Orientation	
	Activist	Academic
Linguistic Survival	*Behatokia* (ND)	**Aboriginal Languages of Australia** (96)
	European Bureau for LUL (82)	Comité International des Linguistes (28)
	European Languages Resources Assoc (95)	Endangered Language Fund (97)
	Indigenous Language Institute (92)	Foundation for Endangered Languages (95)
	Kontseilua (97)	**Kadazandusun Language Foundation** (95)
	Lesser-Used Languages Software Assoc (98)	Linguapax Institute (87)
		Linguasphere (83)
		SIL International (34)
		Society for Endangered Languages (97)
		SSILA (81)
		World Federation of Modern Languages (31)
Cultural Survival	AFS International (47)	
	CIEMEN (74)	
	Congrès Mondial Amazigh (95)	
	Europa Diversa (99?)	
	MIDAS (ND)	
	Federal Union of European Nationalities (49)	
	International Network for Cultural Diversity (99)	
	International PEN (21)	
	International Union Romani (70)	
	Int Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (68)	
	Le Monde Bilingue (51)	
	Minority Rights Group International (70)	
	Native Web (94)	
	Network Cultures (ND)	
	Yachay Wasi (93)	
	Youth for European Nationalities (84)	
Biocultural (physical) Survival	**Assembly of First Nations** (82)	Global Diversity Foundation (99)
	Center for World Indigenous Studies (84)	Int Association of Applied Linguistics (64)
	Gaia Foundation (92)	IUAES (48)
	Indian Council of South America (80)	Long Now Foundation (96)
	Indigenous Peoples of Africa Committee (96)	Terralingua (96)
		Volkswagen Foundation (64)
	IAIP (92)	
	International Indian Treaty Council (77)	
	Inuit Circumpolar Conference (77)	
	Kuru Development Trust (89)	
	Ogiek.org (92?)	
	OneWorld International (99)	

      RAIPON (90)
      Saami Council (56)
      South African San Association (96)
      Survival International (69)
      WATU/Acción Indígina (ND)
      WIMSA (96)
      World Council of Indigenous Peoples (75)
      World Social Forum (01)

Extinction

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* NGOs printed in *italics* are dealing with biocultural issues in developed countries; those in bold are concentrating on developing countries and indigenous 'nations'; all other entries have a worldwide focus. Bracketed numbers refer to the date of origin.

Table 3 International NGOs by Type of Biocultural Viability Concern, Orientation, Location of Activity, and Date of Origin

First, it is readily apparent that the NGO linguistic landscape is under-going rapid and substantial change: 1) nearly half (48%) of the NGOs listed in Table 3 only came into being since 1990, co-incident with the emergence of the Internet (Hedley 2002); and 2) more than two-thirds of them are activist-oriented, thus raising public visibility. To demonstrate how activist NGOs can attract widespread public attention, let me describe two of the most prominent. The first, OneWorld International, established in 1999, "brings together more than 1,500 organisations from across the globe – to promote sustainable development, social justice and human rights"[6]. Operating primarily via the Internet, but also using radio, television, and mobile telephony, the OneWorld network "transcend[s] geographic and linguistic barriers ... to give voice to those typically overlooked by mainstream media and policy-makers." Its success in achieving its mission has prompted UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to "recommend OneWorld.net as one of his top 10 websites" (OneWorld 2002).

The second NGO, the World Social Forum (WSF), came into existence in 2001. Organised as a counter movement to the World Economic Forum and its neo-liberal global values, it held its first forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil on the same dates that the World Economic Forum was meeting in Davos, Switzerland. Its success was stunning: "some 20,000 participants, around 4,700 of them delegates for a wide range of organisations from 117 countries ... [plus] 1,870 accredited journalists" attended, all of which catapulted the World Social Forum onto the world stage. And this was

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[6]   Quotations attributed to the international NGOs listed in Table 1 can be verified by going to the associated URLs also listed in Table 1.

just the beginning. The WSF has continued to grow in global importance. At a recent forum held in Mumbai, India in January 2004, it drew three to four times the numbers it had attracted to Porto Alegre. Dedicated "to pluralism and to the diversity of activities ..., as well as the diversity of genders, ethnicities, cultures, generations, and physical capacities," the WSF has indeed demonstrated that there are viable alternatives to "globalisation commanded by the large multinational corporations and by the governments and international institutions at the service of these corporations' interests."

Although there is insufficient evidence to assess whether the recent activities of these and the other NGOs in Table 3 is slowing the trend toward linguistic homogeneity, the sheer increase in numbers of NGOs in recent years, together with their activist stance, does augur well for the future. Important in this regard is the broadly representative *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* (n.d.), an initiative first proposed by two other activist NGOs listed in Table 3 (International PEN and the Escarré International Centre for Ethnic Minorities and Nations [CIEMEN]). With the assistance of many international and national NGOs, together with linguistic experts, this document was signed in 1996 at the World Conference of Linguistic Rights in Barcelona, and is now on its way to becoming a permanent Convention of the United Nations. Should this occur, it would most certainly advance the cause of linguistic diversity in the future.

A second general conclusion flowing from Table 3 relates to who specifically concentrates on *linguistic* as opposed to cultural and biocultural survival. The answer is clear. Linguistic survival is the predominant purview of academically oriented NGOs, both in terms of the total number of organisations dealing exclusively with this issue (65%)[7] and in terms of the proportional representation of academic (65%) and activist (15%)[8] organisations working in this area. The reason for this division of labor is equally clear. Whereas professional academics can and

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[7]   Eleven of the 17 NGOs dealing exclusively with linguistic issues are academically oriented (i.e. 65%). However, two of the six activist NGOs listed under "Linguistic Survival" are essentially language *engineering* (European Languages Resource Association and the Lesser-Used Languages Software Developers' Association) rather than language *advocacy* organisations. If these two NGOs were removed from the total, the percentage of academic NGOs involved in Linguistic Survival would increase to 73.

[8]   Similarly, if the two language engineering organisations were removed from the total number of activist NGOs, the percentage involved exclusively in Linguistic Survival would decrease to 10.

do concentrate exclusively on the study of language and issues related to its viability, social activists tend to see language as just one of many crucial components of cultural and biocultural survival. Consequently, they are more holistic in their approach.

Related to this assessment is a third general conclusion coming out of Table 3. Among activist NGOs, those working on issues pertaining exclusively to developed countries concentrate on linguistic and cultural survival, whereas those whose work takes place in developing countries or indigenous 'nations' focus primarily on biocultural survival. How can we explain this fact? On the one hand, most people living in developed countries do not have to worry about their own physical survival; they and the NGOs representing them can *choose* which particular cause they will defend. On the other hand, for many of those living in developing countries, especially indigenous peoples, *basic survival* is paramount. Whether it be tribal peoples in tropical regions (Gaia Foundation, IAIP, Ogiek.com, Survival International, WATU/Acción Indígena), or indigenous peoples of the Arctic (Inuit Circumpolar Conference, RAIPON, Saami Council), or the San of southern Africa, whose genetic stock is the oldest of all humankind (Kuru Development Trust, South African San Association, WIMSA), they do not have the luxury of arguing only for their linguistic rights; they are on the verge of extinction. This fact is made abundantly clear by one NGO that has named itself Survival International. It was established in 1969 when the founder learned of "the massacres, land thefts and genocide taking place in Brazilian Amazonia," and decided that something had to be done to stop this carnage.

Finally, Table 3 reveals great variety in the concerns and activities of these 58 international NGOs. To highlight this variety in more detail, I conducted a content analysis of these NGOs' mission statements and major activities involving the promotion of linguistic diversity. Table 4 presents the results of my analysis; it lists the particular activities these NGOs engage in to promote linguistic diversity[9]. Although it is impossible to make an absolute distinction between academic and activist activities, I organised Table 4 to include the more academic-oriented activities at the top and the more activist-oriented activities at the bottom of the table. Both types of NGOs engage in those activities appearing in the middle of the table.

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[9] Only those activities specifically involving *linguistic* diversity are listed in Table 4. Activities relating to cultural and biocultural diversity are not included.
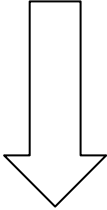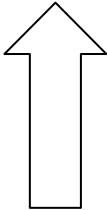
Academic-oriented activities	Encouraging and funding scientific research on endangered languages
	Charting the interrelated and changing global linguistic topography
	Researching the relation between linguistic and biological diversity
	Establishing endangered languages datasets and archives
	Providing language resources (organisations, information, translation, databases, technology, software, courses/ workshops, etc)
	Holding conferences and publishing material on linguistic issues
	Supporting the professional development of language teachers
	Initiating early language immersion programs and multilingual education
	Sponsoring student and teacher intercultural exchange programs
	Collaborating with and supporting indigenous and minority language communities
	Facilitating ties and cohesion among language communities
	Harnessing telecommunications technology to connect language communities
	Employing computer assisted language technology
	Campaigning for linguistic diversity in cyberspace
	Advancing linguistic diversity to promote cultural and biological diversity
	Raising funds to perpetuate linguistic diversity
	Engaging youth in linguistic issues
	Informing the general public about what language extinction means
	Publishing newspapers in minority and regional languages
	Presenting the arts and humanities in diverse languages
Activist-oriented activities	Consulting with national and international bodies on language issues
	Investigating legislation and court proceedings on linguistic rights
	Advocating policy in favor of minority languages, multilingual education, and language pluralism
	Promoting and protecting universal linguistic rights

Table 4 Major Activities Involving the Promotion of Linguistic Diversity Engaged in by Academic and Activist International NGOs

Table 4 provides strong endorsement of the benefits of diversity. No single NGO, no matter how large, well funded, or organised, could accomplish *all* of these activities, yet *each* activity contributes in its own

unique way to advancing the cause of linguistic diversity. From conducting basic linguistic research and establishing language databases, to protecting linguistic rights and advocating language policy, all of these activities, both independently and in combination, augment the quest for diversity against the monolithic force of globalisation. Although success is by no means assured, given the powerful capitalist world-system in place, Ashby's law of requisite variety suggests that the forces for biocultural diversity are certainly offering a significant challenge to hegemonic globalisation.

4   Conclusion

I began this paper by arguing that international non-governmental organisations are strongly involved in promoting linguistic diversity. My analysis reveals that they have a unique and increasingly effective role to play, which stems in large part from three complementary features: their structure, their reliance on the Internet as a means of communication, and the very diverse ways in which they organise to accomplish their overall objective. Concerning their structure, NGOs are organised quite differently than public and private sector enterprises. First, because they are *voluntary* organisations, NGOs can invoke a normative or moral involvement and commitment from their members on a level far exceeding public and private organisations. Second, because they are *autonomous*, NGOs have a relatively free rein to pursue their objectives unfettered by obligations to any special interest group. And third, because they are relatively *democratic*, NGOs are more likely than public and private organisations to embrace diversity as part of their general operating procedure. Each of these structural features contributes to the relative success of these international NGOs in achieving their goals.

The unique architecture of the Internet also facilitates the effectiveness of these NGOs. The technology upon which the Internet relies represents a significant break with traditional one-way, top-down communication systems. It is an open network of two-way, horizontally connected computers accessed mainly by individuals via a personal computer. These features – multiple interactivity, real-time capability, and the potential for universal access – are particularly attractive for organisations that have a widely diffuse membership, are democratically structured, and rely heavily upon two-way communication. They are also extremely effective in mobilising human action, as was witnessed in the drafting of the *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* (n.d.) which "incorporate[d]

into the final text proposals from thirty-two PEN Centres and sixty-four organisations from around the world".[10]

Finally, Tables 3 and 4 demonstrate just how diverse these international NGOs are in terms of orientation, specific objectives, focus, target groups, languages, geographical area, and activities. Similar to the logic behind the old saying, "Don't put all of your eggs in one basket," diversity in organisational means optimises overall goal attainment. In other words, despite the fact that some NGOs are bound to experience setbacks and other counter-productive conditions, there is a greater likelihood that others will succeed, given the variety of options available. In the same way I argued that linguistic diversity promotes human survival, so too does the organisational diversity of these international NGOs promote their common objective of increasing linguistic diversity. Consequently, the many activities listed in Table 4 may also be seen as a formula for success. In sum, not only has the cause for linguistic diversity been strengthened by the large increase in the number of international NGOs in recent years, it has also been energised by the variety of approaches that are being taken to ensure it.

For these reasons and more, international NGOs represent a unique set of voices on the world stage. Whether on the Internet, at the negotiating table, or in the field, this global force for civil society cannot be ignored. Although the question is still out as to how much its multiple and varied efforts will slow the trend toward linguistic homogeneity, there is no doubt that it is having a definite impact.

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[10]   One of the most famous incidents of NGO mobilisation occurred in reaction to the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), originally proposed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Although work on the MAI began in 1995, it was not released to the public until February 1997, when a draft copy was leaked to the press. Immediately, NGOs concerned with the environment, development, and human rights launched a "MAI-Not" campaign. By October 1997, after a vigorous email and Internet drive by key NGOs opposed to MAI, "over six hundred NGOs in more than seventy countries from all geographic regions and representing hundreds of thousands of people had formed a coalition to sign [an anti-MAI] 'Joint NGO Statement'" (Hedley 2002:20). As a result, the corporate-friendly Multilateral Agreement on Investment died quietly on the drafting room floor.

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Language Policies and Language Maintenance: The Case of the Hungarian Community in Australia

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1   Introduction

Language policies provide institutional support for the maintenance of minority languages. Still, the impact these policies have on small ethnolinguistic communities is highly contested. Ethnolinguistic communities are often reliant on their own initiatives to ensure that the minority language is maintained in the first generation and it is transmitted to the second generation. This paper provides an insight into the language maintenance efforts of the Hungarian ethnolinguistic community and reports the results of a study carried out in Queensland[1]. The paper presents an argument for the benefits of maintaining minority languages, then, gives a short review of the language policy background in Australia. The paper concludes with recommendations for introducing community-level policies and language planning practices which ensure a sustained multiculturalism in culturally and linguistically diverse societies.

2   Why is Language Maintenance Important?

Immigrant communities bring a wealth of culture into their host society. While members of the host society often fail to see the value of community languages, the reasons for their maintenance are abundant. Firstly, using one's first language is a basic human right. Several international documents have emphasised the language rights of minority commu-

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nities[2]. The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (Barcelona 1996) stated that 'all language communities have the right to organise and manage their own resources so as to ensure the use of their language in all functions within society' and "all language communities are entitled to have at their disposal whatever means are necessary to ensure the transmission and continuity of their language" (UDLR 1996: Article 8). This declaration is based on the principle that the rights of all language communities are equal and independent of the legal or political status of their languages as official, regional or minority languages. It is an attempt to rule out the justifications for the oppression of minority languages under the banner of the nation state ideology.

Since language and culture are inextricable phenomena, keeping community languages reinforces the maintenance of the diverse cultures that these communities represent. Although biculturalism and bilingualism do not necessarily go hand in hand, it is evident that the acquisition of a second language is also, to some extent, the acquisition of a second culture (Kramsch 2002, Lado 1957, Liddicoat 2002, Schumann 1978). As Brown (1994:165) states, "a language is a part of a culture and a culture is a part of a language, the two are intricately interwoven so that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture". This inextricable relationship is most discernible in the use of lexical items which do not have equivalent translations in another language, or the translation process strips them from the richness and unique pragmatic flavour of their original meaning. For instance, in the Hungarian context it is difficult to find a suitable word in English for "*turós csusza*", "*mákos tészta*", *káposztás cvekedli*", "*krumplis kocka*" and *"diós metélt"*, if we translate these words simply as "cottage cheese noodles", "poppy seed noodles", "cabbage noodles", "potato noodles" and "walnut noodles". Similarly, Hungarians activate different schemas and are likely to associate different phenomena with the words "café", "coffee shop" and a *"kávéház"*[3].

Minority languages do not only serve as a means of communication, they are important tools of expressing identity (Fishman 1989, 1991, 1999, Giles 1979; Giles & Johnson 1987; Spolsky 1999). As Fishman (1989 : 6) put it 'at every stage, ethnicity is linked to language, whether indexically, implementationally or symbolically.' The concept of ethnolinguistic identity theorises (Giles and Johnson 1987) this intricate and complex interrela-

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[2]   For a discussion on minority language rights see Stephen May's various writings.
[3]   Kávéház is a Hungarian equivalent for café or coffee shop.

tionship by recognising that individuals are members of numerous social groups and these membership groups are not always equally salient at a time: language plays a crucial role in the accentuation of ingroup membership and in intergroup strategies (Giles 1979; Giles and Johnson 1987). The maintenance of the mother tongue is, therefore, an important tool for maintaining membership roles in immigrant communities, while the acquisition of the second language, the language of the host community, is an essential tool for establishing positive contacts and becoming active citizens in the host society. Dual identities of immigrant groups, multiple group memberships, biculturalism and bilingualism, therefore, are essential ingredients of a sustainable multicultural society.

Language maintenance also leads to additive bilingualism in minority communities. In contrast with previous ideas which suggested that bilingualism was often responsible for minority children's cognitive and academic disadvantage, today, a sizeable body of literature supports the beneficial effects of bilingualism on cognitive growth (Ben-Zeev 1977; Bialystok 1999,2001; Bialystok & Majumder 1998). Today, it is commonly recognised that bilingual children have a more diversified structure of intelligence and greater mental flexibility; they have better metalinguistic skills and use divergent thinking strategies more effectively.

In summary, the social, cultural and cognitive advantages associated with the maintenance of minority languages in ethnolinguistic communities cannot be overemphasised. Language policies play a crucial role in the support of community languages and the next section will give a brief insight into the Australian policy context.

3   The Multicultural Policy and Language Policy Context

Contemporary Australian immigration policies, multicultural policies (DIMIA 1999,2003; DIMA 1989) and language policies (DEET 1991; Lo Bianco 1987) sanction the maintenance of community languages and cultures. Recent Australian language policies have pointed out the benefits of minority languages both for the individual as well as the whole Australian society. *The Australian Language and Literacy Policy* (DEET 1991) states:

> Language development of the individual (referring generically to the speaker's first language) is interrelated with intellectual, emotional and social development. In addition to its primary communicative functions, language also serves a wide range of cultural, artistic, intellectual, personal, group identification, religious, economic and social-political function (DEET 1991:8).

The policy adopts the view that second language proficiency is best developed by building on learners' own languages and cultural resources. Still, language education programs in Australia fail to cater for the diverse societal needs represented by over 250 ethnolinguistic communities. Clyne et al. (2004) compared the numbers of students taking languages other than English at primary and secondary level, and census statistics for the home use of languages other than English. The results have shown that some important international languages are now among the major community languages, but some other languages are "marginal" in the mainstream education system or only represented in after school programs.

The concepts of "inclusiveness" and "productive diversity" reflect the view that migrants are primarily viewed as important sources of economic benefits that can be gained by capitalising on their cultural and linguistic skills as well as their social and business networks in their source countries (see, eg, National Multicultural Advisory Council 1999). In the 1980s, the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations (Ingram 1986; Stanley, Ingram & Chittick 1990) supported this argument; then, in 1987 the national policy highlighted the economic issues (Lo Bianco 1987) and, by the 1991 policy (DEET 1991) economic issues became the primary motivation for language education policy (Ingram 2003:12). In 1994, *Asian Languages and Australia's Economic Future*, known as the Rudd Report (Rudd 1994) was accepted by the Council of Australian Governments (COAG). This report supported the learning of Asian languages and cultures and aimed to improve economic relationships with Asia through 'Asia literacy' (Hatoss Forthcoming). In 2000, more than three-quarters of a million students, or just over 23 per cent of all Australian students, were studying an Asian language at some level (DEET 2002). In 2002, the main languages taught in schools were Japanese, French, German and Chinese and other important languages included Indonesian, Greek, Vietnamese, Spanish and Arabic. And, yet, the implementation of language planning initiatives in order to harness the linguistic and cultural assets provided by the diverse Australian communities have been largely neglected and lag behind the potential benefits (O'Neill & Hatoss 2003). Language policies in general have had a weak impact on the maintenance of minority languages spoken in relatively small communities (Hatoss 2005).

Despite the policy efforts on language learning, bilingualism and multi-lingualism are not fully sustainable in the Australian society. Ethno-linguistic communities in Australia show high rates of language shift in

the first generation. According to the 2001 Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001) out of the 20 million, only 2.8 million people use a language other than English in their homes. Kipp & Clyne (2003) diagnosed the greatest rate of shift among the Dutch (61.9%) and other high rates of language shift in the first generation included migrants from Austria (54.5%), Germany (54%) and France (36.8%). Communities with relatively low rates of shift in the first generation included migrants from Vietnam (2.4%), Iraq (3.6%), China (4.3%), Macedonia (4.7%) and Greece (7.1%). In the middle, representing moderate rates of shift, are people born in Hungary (35%), Spain (25.1%), Poland (22.3%), Japan (16.9%), Italy (15.9%) and Chile (12.2%). In addition to the drastic rate of language shift in immigrant communities, the rate of language loss in the Indigenous communities is of even greater concern, as these languages are endangered or near extinction. An estimated 90% of Aboriginal people do not speak their Indigenous language (Mühlhäusler & Damania 2004).

4 The Hungarian Context

Hungarians have migrated to Australia for a variety of reasons, but the most prominent waves of migration were the result of the political situation in Hungary, primarily after World War II and after the Hungarian revolution against the Soviet regime in 1956. The 2001 Census recorded 28,000 persons who were born in Hungary and lived in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001). The community is relatively small in numbers and is aging. Forty per cent of Hungary-born Australians are over 65 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001). Current inbound migration from Hungary does not compensate for the death rate. These demographic factors pose further challenges to the community in their language maintenance efforts.

Hungarian is not considered to be one of the main 'economically beneficial' languages in Australia, but lately, due to Hungary's complete accession to the European Union on 1 May 2004, there has been an increased interest in Hungary as a trading partner. The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2005) website states that Australian exports to Hungary in 2003 were valued at $25 million and imports from Hungary to Australia for the same period were $136 million. The department also predicts an increased level of cooperation, especially in sectors such as government-related services (particularly health and e-government), consumer goods, food and beverages, computer and telecommunications software and services, building and construction technologies and tourism.

The demographic factors are paired with unfavourable status and institutional factors. Lacking the relative benefits enjoyed by the economically beneficial languages, the language maintenance efforts of the Hungarian community are largely dependent on what the community does for itself and these efforts are predominantly, if not solely, motivated by the desire to maintain their unique identity. These ambitions also feed on the strong socio-historical heritage of Hungarian culture. Since Hungary inherited the French nation-state ideology, which prevailed until the end of World War I and was later replaced by the German model of *Kulturnation,* the Hungarian language has always been a core cultural icon and has been regarded as an important means for Hungarians to express their ethnic identity (Hatoss 2001,2004a,2004b). Since a large number of Hungarians live in minority situations outside the borders of Hungary in Slovakia, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, Austria, Ukraine (as a result of the Trianon Treaty after World War I), mother tongue maintenance has had long traditions in Hungarian culture. The language maintenance efforts of Hungarians outside Hungary have been discussed by a number of authors (Bartha 1999; Fenyvesi 2005; Gal 1979,1999; Kontra 1999; Szépe 1999).[4]. The efforts of mother tongue maintenance are continued in the context of the Australian society although under quite different circumstances.

Despite the unfavourable demographic, status and institutional factors, the community is rather active in language maintenance efforts. Several cultural activities and community programs are organised through the Hungarian Association of Australia and New Zealand (Ausztráliai es Új-Zélandi Magyar Szövetség, AUZMSZ, see http://www.hufo.info) which is the main body providing an institutional support for the cultural maintenance needs of the community. This association keeps in contact with the World Association of Hungarians (Magyarok Világszövetsége), as well as cultural and educational institutions in Hungary, including the Ministry of Education. Within the AUZMSZ, the Council of Hungarian Associations in Queensland (CHAQ) (A Queenslandi Magyar Szövetség, QMSZ) represents the Hungarians of Queensland.

In summary, Australian Hungarians represent an active and language-centred community; highly motivated in the maintenance of Hungarian identity in Australia. However, the wider policy framework, which is

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[4] For a review of Hungarian language contact and the language maintenance in various Hungarian communities in Austria, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania and Ukraine, Australia and the United States see Fenyvesi 2005.

mainly focused on the 'economically beneficial languages', demographic factors and the general lack of mainstream institutional support pose a major threat to the maintenance of Hungarian language and culture. The 2001 Census (ABS 2001) shows that the community's vitality is at risk. The next section reports on a sociolinguistic study, which studied the reality of linguistic, social and cultural adjustment in the Queensland community.

5   The Research

In order to depict the trends of mother language maintenance and shift in the Hungarian community of Brisbane and its surroundings, a survey involving 113 Hungarian Australians was carried out which was followed up by a telephone interview. For an insight into the socio-cultural factors influencing the development and the stability of societal bilingualism the following questions were investigated:

- In which domains and how often do Hungarians use Hungarian language?
- How do Hungarians make benefit from and value the language services available to them? How do they view multiculturalism?
- Which acculturation strategy do they opt for? How do they see their identity?
- How do they perceive Hungarian culture? How important is it for them to keep their language and culture?
- What do they do to keep their cultural and linguistic heritage?

The research examined the relationship between the acculturation strategies and the patterns of first language maintenance both intergenerationally as well as within one generation. The respondents were grouped either as generation 'A', which included all those who were born in Hungary and migrated to Australia at an adult age, and generation 'B' which included those who were either true second generation Hungarians (born in Australia at least from one Hungarian parent) and those who migrated to Australia at an early age (younger than 18 at arrival in Australia) with their parents (false second generation).

6   Findings

6.1   Activities Pursued for Maintaining Hungarian Culture

Respondents were asked to write down the kinds of activities that they pursued in order to maintain their culture. To the open-ended question "*Do you do anything to maintain Hungarian culture?*" a range of different responses were given. Some of them were related to the activities of the

Hungarian Club in Brisbane, such as participating in dance nights, some others focused on making contact with the home country, e.g. visiting relatives in Hungary, writing letters to them, etc. Some responses gave account of activities which people pursued individually in their homes, such as collecting Hungarian pottery, reading Hungarian books, which are highly valuable activities, but do not necessarily strengthen social contacts with other Hungarians. The most important outcome from this research was that the younger generation Hungarians are far less active in the Hungarian community programs than the older generations. Also, the first generation Hungarians who lived in endogamous relations kept in touch with the community and attended their programs, while the Hungarians who married Australian partners (exogamous relations) did not participate as often, if at all.

6.2   Respondents' Patterns of Social Contact

Respondents were asked to indicate the number of contacts they had with members of the Hungarian community as well as with the Anglo-Saxon Australians. The contacts were counted on the basis of a family unit, therefore several members of the same family were counted as one contact. According to the results, most respondents had extensive social contact in both communities. Sixty-six per cent of all respondents had over 10 Hungarian contacts, 11% had between 5 and 10, 12% had 3-5 and 7% had one or two contacts. Only two people (2%) reported that they had no contact with Hungarians at all. The number of Australian contacts was smaller in the community. Forty per cent of all respondents reported that they had over 10 Australian contacts, 21% reported 5 to 10 contacts, 26% had 3 to 5 contacts, 5% reported only 1 or 2 contacts, and another 5% reported that they had no contacts with Anglo-Saxon Australians at all.

6.3   Attitudes towards the Anglo-Australian Society, Multiculturalism and Acculturation Strategies

Most respondents were positive about multiculturalism in Australia as well as the mainstream Anglo-Australian host society. Most respondents agreed that Australians are open to migrants (in generation 'A' 62%, and in generation 'B' 70%), they show interest in other cultures (generation 'A' 57%, generation 'B' 67%), and they value different cultures and languages (generation 'A' 66%, generation 'B' 62%). It seems that the host environment is seen as a supportive environment where migrants' are encouraged to maintain positive acculturation strategies with the host community. This positive perception of the host environment is an important factor in language maintenance, as it facilitates the interaction between the host

community and the migrant communities. This interaction is a strong factor in acculturation strategies (Bourhis 2001).

When asked about acculturation strategies (the roles that migrants play in the wider society), the majority (89%) of all the respondents agreed that migrants should try to keep their culture and traditions (generation 'A' 89%, generation 'B' 79%). They also agreed that migrants should try to participate completely in Australian life (78% in generation 'A', and 75% in generation 'B'). These standpoints reflect positive acculturation strategies and they reflect that Hungarian migrants aim at establishing contacts with the host society and aim to maintain the Hungarian culture and language. Still, the older 'vintage' migrants reported that when they arrived in Australia they wanted to blend into the Australian society; therefore the focus was on learning English as fast as possible, and this impacted upon their children's language and resulted in an intergenerational shift to English. This will be discussed in the coming sections.

6.4   Identity

While several items addressed the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles and Johnson 1987, Harwood, Howard, and Bourhis 1994) of the Hungarian community, one item asked respondents to choose whether they identified more with Hungarians, more with Australians or equally with Hungarians and Australians. In generation A, 72% of the respondents identified themselves as more Hungarian than Australian, 3% (2 respondents) identified themselves as more Australian than Hungarian and 25% identified themselves as equally Hungarian and Australian. In Generation 'B', just over half of the respondents (52%) identified themselves as more Hungarian, 28% as more Australian and 21% identified themselves as equally Hungarian and Australian. The findings support the dynamic model of identity as theorised by Collier & Thomas (1988), and suggest that Hungarian Australians develop dual and multiple identities (Hatoss 2003). The survey did not allow the measurement of changes in identity formation over time, but the results demonstrated that the development of dual identities in minority groups necessitates a supportive multicultural society, which provides migrants with an opportunity for an enrichment and expansion of outlook through identifying with two cultures and two language groups. All in all, 65% of respondents claimed a stronger Hungarian identity, and 12% regarded themselves as more Australian than Hungarian. These results show that Hungarians living in Brisbane are proud of their national heritage and ethnic background and seem to strive to keep their identity. Even in the younger generation, more than half of the respondents claimed a stronger Hungarian identity.

6.5   Language Use

The survey measured language use indirectly through self-reporting. Respondents were asked to indicate in which domains they used the Hungarian and English languages. The use of Hungarian was largely limited to the family domain, but even in the families there were many reports of using English with children or other family members. In some other families, the use of Hungarian language led to successful intergenerational language maintenance. A grandmother explained:

> We always spoke to the children in Hungarian. I don't know why, it was just natural. The kids could not speak a word of English when they went to school, but they picked it up very quickly (in two months). One of my sons was rebelling against Hungarian when he was little, but when he went back to Hungary a couple of years ago, he appreciated his knowledge of Hungarian very much. The grandchildren do not speak Hungarian, they can only say 'nagypapa' nagymama'[5]. It would be different if they lived closer to us. They live in Townsville [1200km from Brisbane].

From the telephone interviews, it was found that many parents did not teach Hungarian to their children because they were concerned that their children would be disadvantaged in school if they did not teach them English from the beginning. On the other hand, some respondents spoke to their children in Hungarian as they were afraid that their children wound pick up their foreign accent in English; interestingly in such cases the desire to 'blend in' resulted in the maintenance of the mother tongue:

> Mi soha nem beszeltünk a gyerekekhez angolul, nehogy meg legyenek béllyegezve a rossz kiejtéssel. Azok a szülõknek a gyerekei akik otthon angolul beszéltek, igen magyaros 'akcenttel' tanulták meg az angolt. [We never spoke English to our children, so that they were not stigmatised with the incorrect pronunciation. The children of those parents who spoke English at home, learnt Hungarian with a strong Hungarain accent][6]

Other responses suggested that the discontinuity of Hungarian language in the next generation was attributable to the strong desire to assimilate into the mainstream Anglo-Australian society:

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[5]   Translation: grandpa and grandma
[6]   Translation from original Hungarian interview by Aniko Hatoss.

Well, we did not have any Hungarian friends when they were growing up. Most of our friends were Australian. The children wanted to be Australian and did not associate themselves with Hungarians when they were young. Now the situation is a little different…. Now they are proud of their Hungarian background, but they still do not consider themselves Hungarians. They call themselves Australians with Hungarian parents.

Some other responses underline that the perception of self-identity and attitudes play a crucial role in determining the fate of Hungarian language in the family. One respondent reported that she did everything to teach her daughter Hungarian, but the assimilationalist attitudes of the time prevented it:

One day she [my daughter] went home from school and she said: Anya én ausztrál vagyok, és ezentúl csak angolul beszélek'. [Mother, I am Australian, and from now I only speak in English]. Mindig bántották az iskolában, egyáltalan, hogy 'etnik' volt. [As her mother found out she was ridiculed at school for speaking Hungarian].

Some of the parents were afraid that the use of two languages would confuse their children and they would end up not knowing either of the languages well. This shows that parents have numerous myths about bilinguality[7] and are afraid that their children's linguistic and academic ability may be negatively influenced by their bilinguality. Others expressed their concern that it would have been too much of a burden for their children to cope with two languages at the same time, in addition to meeting the school requirements. Some others did not 'force' their children to learn Hungarian, because they did not want them to speak English with a 'foreign accent'. These parents brought up their children when assimilationist policies and attitudes prevailed in Australia; in those days Australia was not tolerant and accepting of cultural and ethnolinguistic diversity. Today, they regret that they did not teach their children Hungarian and many of them also expressed their plan of teaching them a 'decent enough Hungarian' in the future. However, such plans are likely to remain on the level of ambition and would be hard to realise without sufficient exposure to the language, and the support of a formal learning environment.

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[7] For an interesting discussion on various fears that parents and other stakeholders may have about bilingualism, see Baetens Beardsmore, H. 2003. "Who is afraid of bilingualism?," in *Bilingualism: Beyond Basic Principles*. Edited by J. Dewaele, A. Housen, and L. Wei, pp. 10-27. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

6.6   Language Services

Language services provided to the Hungarian community include the SBS news program (Sunday), the SBS radio program (Monday, Tuesday, Friday and Saturday). The research was aimed at gauging the respondents' views on the available language services. The open-ended question elicited some varied responses, which mainly referred to radio and television programs. Some of them were quite positive about the available language services (the radio and the TV programs), however the majority of the respondents (84%) expressed some negative feelings in relation to them, either in terms of their availability or their quality.

While many respondents gave positive feedback on Hungarian radio programs and newspapers, such as the 4EB radio, Magyar Élet, some others expressed critical views of other media services. One of the main criticisms was that these services were under-financed, old-fashioned and were mainly targeted at the older members of the community. One of the younger respondents wrote:

> Such services in Australia are quite limited to my knowledge there is only one radio program, no TV programs, apart from news, one newspaper available to the Hungarians here. There are plenty of readily accessible books, texts & reference materials, however, rarely are translation services available. In this regard I think Australia has got the main languages and Islander nations covered. However, Hungarians are a small minority with little recognition. One of my concerns regarding the above services is that they target the older community, not the youth. We struggle to maintain our identity.

From this and other similar comments it is obvious that the language services do not fully satisfy the requirements of the community. While the older generation Hungarians were relatively positive about the radio and TV programs, except for the political bias and the limited time available for these programs, the younger generation was rather dissatisfied. They expressed their interest in having more up-to-date programs about contemporary Hungary and more programs that would interest young people. On the other hand, some expressed a lack of interest in these programs. Unfortunately, the funding of these programs as well as the time allocation is dependent on demographic characteristics.

7   Discussion and Recommendations for Community Language Planning

This study has shown that Hungarian Australians have positive acculturation strategies and they are highly motivated to maintain Hungarian

culture and language in Australia, but the language demographics, the opportunities and the general lack of funding poses challenges for the community. Language maintenance efforts are largely driven by integrative motives and are important grass-root movements on the micro-level of language planning. The following section is a brief list of recommendations which micro-planning activists may find useful. These recommendations are far from comprehensive, but they highlight some of the key issues for micro-planning.

7.1   Setting Language planning goals

On the basis of the desired future of the community, goals need to be set. The current practices of the community, both in terms of social and socio-cultural adjustment as well as linguistic practices, need to be examined in relation to the desired goals. These goals, however, should again be worded and promoted as a voluntary initiative for those who would like to live with the opportunity. No official programs and propaganda will reverse language shift.

The socio-historical factors also contribute to the more heterogeneous nature of the Hungarians ethnolinguistic community. The 'fifty-sixers' still represent the majority of the Hungarian ethnic minority, but this generation is getting old and being replaced by a new generation. This generation shift constitutes the most serious challenge for the community, as the younger Hungarian-Australians represent a different set of values and attitudes to those of the first generation Hungarians. For the new generation Hungarians contact with the Hungarian culture and language is seen more as an additional exotic experience, rather than a natural way of life. Their positive attitudes, however, are encouraging and provide an important platform for language maintenance efforts. The approach should be carefully chosen to fit the requirements of this new generation.

7.2   New Channels of Contacts with other
Hungarians Need to be Sought

Due to the disperse nature of the Hungarian ethnolinguistic community, new channels of contact need to be sought. An information network, which could serve as a medium for keeping the community informed about the most relevant and up-to-date information, can serve this purpose. The Internet provides an ideal channel for such networking, and more recently several websites have been created. See for example the website for the MEGmaradásunk[8] which is the site promoting the

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[8]   This Hungarian word expresses the concept of sustainability and maintenance of Hungarian culture.

Hungarian Identity conferences under the banner of Egységes Magyar Gondviselés[9] available at: www.megmaradasunk.net/ and www.ozhun.net/a-tagok.php, which is supporting the Australian-Hungarian community and serves as a networking tool for local Hungarian associations and groups, advertises community events and news to the wider Australian-Hungarian public. These websites are also important channels for keeping in touch with other Hungarians living in other countries in the Carpathian Basin in Hungary's neighbouring countries and in other countries.

7.3 Unique Functions of Hungarian Should Be Maintained

Emphasis should be put on the unique functions of the community language. As Fishman (1991) said, the maintenance of community languages is highly dependent on whether there is a genuine need to use the given language. By organising cultural programs where Hungarian language is used exclusively, or at least dominantly, these genuine needs for the activation and valorisation of the mother tongue can be created. For example, Hungarian artists, including poets, arts groups, young talented pop and rock bands, folkdance groups can add tremendous motivation and opportunity for genuine language use. It is important that these programs cater for the needs of a wide range of spectators.

7.4 Creating Bridges across Generations

The need for building cultural bridges across various ethnic communities within the Australian society is not a new idea and has been advocated by several authors (see e.g. Smolicz' various writings). As Smolicz (1999) has argued, a community language creates a bridge for ethnolinguistic communities, as it creates the feeling of togetherness, of belonging and of making friendships with other members of the community. The concept of linguistic and cultural bridges, is highly relevant to the context of the Hungarian community, as there seems to be a gap between the old and the new vintage or migrants, as well as the old and the young generations. The newer 'vintage' of Hungarians seem to be less interested in the community programs provided by the cultural centres, due to the fact that many of these programs are addressed to the older generation Hungarians. As Hungarian culture is constantly evolving, modern Hungary is much different from the Hungary that most first generation migrants left behind. These cultural gaps could be reduced by intro-

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[9]   This can be translated into English approximately as "United Efforts in Nurturing Hungarian Identity".

ducing new ways of teaching the young Hungarian Australians about the present Hungary. The maintenance of cultural heritage needs to be interpreted in a dynamic, ever-changing contexts: as Fishman has argued in several of his writings, cultures cannot be preserved in a mummified state. It is encouraging that the community has already created some forums for creating these bridges: the Ausztráliai Hagyományőrző, Ifjúsági, Diák és Kultúrális Szövetség, "HÍD", is the Australian Heritage Maintenance, Youth, Student and Cultural Association, in short form its name translates into 'bridge'.[10]

7.5 Literacy Skills Need to Be Emphasised

While many parents successfully transmitted the language to their children, this was most often limited to the spoken skills. The second-generation children do not have adequate reading and writing skills. Those parents who were born in Australia are even less likely to succeed in transferring these skills to their children. The development of literacy skills in the mother tongue is crucial as L1 literacy skills successfully transfer to L2 skills and contribute to successful development of Cognitive and Academic Language Proficiency (CALP)[11]. Parents should be educated about these positive effects of bilinguality for their children.

7.6 Language Planning Initiatives Need to Seek Support from the Australian and the Hungarian Governments

Language and educational policies need to be developed involving the Hungarian as well as the Australian government. Keeping community languages is in the interest of the home as well as the host society. In the Australian context, support is given primarily to larger language communities which, are not so threatened by language shift and communities whose language is perceived to be of economic benefit for the Australian society. On the other hand, small communities, like Hungarians, are not prioritised. By realising the common interests, the two governments could provide more support to change the cultural and linguistic ecology of the community and possibly revive the diminishing motivation in the younger Hungarians to keep their language and culture. These programs should take strength from Hungary's deve-lopment as a member of the European Union.

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[10] For more information on HID and its activities, visit http://www.hufo.info/.

[11] For a discussion on CALP and BICS, Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) see Cummins, J. 2003. "BICS and CALP: origins and rationale for the distinction," in *Sociolinguistics: essential readings*. Edited by C. B. Paulston and G. R. Tucker, pp. 322-328. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

8 Conclusion

This paper has given an insight into the language maintenance efforts and motivation of the Hungarian community in Australia. The paper has argued that language policies have had a limited impact on the community's efforts in maintaining the Hungarian language. And yet, the community is strongly motivated to keep its cultural and linguistic heritage and this commitment and motivation is a powerful factor in the community's language maintenance efforts. The future of Hungarian language and culture in Australia is still dependent on various other factors, including demographics, institutional support by the Hungarian and Australian Governments and the status of Hungarian language in a rapidly changing world.

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Language Maintenance and Language Shift among First-Generation Franco-Mauritians

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1 Introduction

The study of Language Maintenance and Shift (LMLS) in immigrant communities in Australia using language demography derived from census reports is a long established tradition (see for example Smolicz & Wiseman 1971; Clyne 1972; Clyne 1976; Smolicz & Harris 1977; Bettoni 1985; Clyne 1985; Pauwels 1985; Smolicz & Secombe 1985; Baggioni 1987; Clyne 1991; Clyne & Kipp 1996). Language maintenance has been shown to relate to demographic, economic, political and historical factors. Clyne (1991, 1997) paints a pessimistic picture of the maintenance of community languages. However, the degree and nature of LMLS in Australia varies greatly among migrant groups. The common denominator appears to be a substantial inter-generational shift to "English only" between the first and second generations, indicating that first generation migrants tend to maintain their languages to some degree, but with time they ultimately tend to shift to English. Ethnolinguistic groups from predominantly Islamic or Eastern Orthodox cultures (Greeks, Lebanese, Macedonian etc) are more likely to maintain their languages at home than other groups from Europe such as French, Dutch and German (Clyne 1982; Bettoni 1985; Clyne & Jaehling 1991; Clyne & Kipp 1997, 1999).

A gap exists in this field of study where Franco-Mauritians are concerned. Individual figures relating to LMLS in this community group as a separate entity are not readily available, although Clyne's (1991) studies refer occasionally to the Mauritian community as a whole, which would necessarily incorporate the divergent groups consisting of Franco-, Sino-, Indo-, Creole- and Anglo-Mauritians. It is therefore important to investigate how individual language groups from Mauritius maintain their

language. This paper will focus on the pattern of LMLS among first generation Franco-Mauritians to examine how French is maintained in a single community.

One may extrapolate from studies of French speakers that they may be classified as intermediate in degrees of language shift in Australia. In the first generation alone, a 37.2% shift was recorded in 1996 on the basis of census data, placing French speakers at the lower end of the continuum in rank ordering of groups maintaining their language. One problem with studies of French speakers is that Francophones from different countries tend to be grouped together, which makes the assessment of patterns of LMLS within a single French speaking community difficult. There is a longstanding tradition of French speakers in Australia. An estimated 17,076 Mauritian-born and 31,716 French-born individuals have made Australia their home (A.B.S. 1996), the former making up the largest contingent of Francophones in Australia. Recent trends of LMLS indicate that in 1996, French experienced the largest decline in use from the 25 leading traditional migrant languages in Australia. The death rate amongst the ageing first generation and language shift were the major contributing factors (A.B.S. 1999). It must be pointed out that there are anomalies in the interpretation of the census question. Certain ambiguities exist in the collection of data for the censuses since 1976, especially in the wording of the language question from 'languages regularly used' to 'home languages'. This affects the statistics as occasionally the native tongue is used solely with relatives outside the home by the 25-44 age groups. The problem is further compounded when discrepancies occur due to inflated numbers of speakers of French as lingua franca, which figure in the calculations of language shift. These include a preponderance of French teachers and students taking French in educational institutions, as well as those who have become proficient in the language through other means and use it regularly, at least for some time (Clyne 1982, 1991; Clyne & Jaehrling 1989; Baggioni 1987).

Changing politics and a diversity of population groups contributed to a mass exodus of European Mauritians (mostly French and British) during the 1960s. Mauritius has one million inhabitants spread over 1,850 square kilometres of island. It has a blend of languages and religious groups with racial intolerances, which have greatly influenced the decision of the majority of Franco-Mauritians to emigrate. Between 7,000 and 8,000 Mauritians fled the island pre- and post Independence from the British. The reasons relate to political troubles and to the perspective of seeing the Indian population, previously oppressed by the upper classes, claim the

respectable positions once reserved for them in the bureaucratic establishment of the new government (Baggioni 1987). Apart form socio-political reasons, the most influential factor for this migration concerned the uncertain future of their children and the employment possibilities, or lack thereof, prior and subsequent to the Independence of the island in 1968 (Patron 2001).

The sociolinguistic background of Franco-Mauritians is crucial to the findings of this study, as their polyglot status (French, English and Creole) can essentially be deemed to have contributed to language maintenance in the older members of the migrating generation, (G1). The linguistic makeup of other major ethnic groups in Mauritius is also of a multilingual nature but until the seventies, French was not part of their linguistic repertoire. Whilst 95% of G1 professed to have good English skills before arrival in Australia, mostly in reading and writing, their offspring (G1b) possessed very little, particularly if they arrived in the sixties. Their monolingual status is in stark contrast to that of G1. Those G1b who arrived in the seventies had a relatively good command of spoken English, certainly enough to defend themselves in everyday situations. Effective communication in English language, in social and professional environments, was reserved for older G1 members who grew up bilingual in Mauritius and continued to work in professional settings in Australia. Several factors support these findings.

2   Method

A multi-linear model was utilised in the empirical research methodology with an attitudinal survey questionnaire and eight case studies which provided an in-depth personal dimension to the study. The selection criteria were based on age, period of residence in Australia and gender. The eclectic nature of the investigative techniques provided a cross-section of personal views based on in-depth interviews of a candid and subjective nature on many areas covering the acculturation process at different stages of Australian progression from the Assimilationist era to a Pluralist society. The main focus was on cultural facts (Smolicz & Secombe 1981, 1986) where personal thoughts, feelings and opinions were investigated. These involved the informant's self-identification, cultural values and attitudes towards them, in this context, particularly related to the acculturation process.

The small sample survey of Franco-Mauritian constituent members targeted in this study was divided into two groups. They consisted of 82

people: generation 1 (43 participants), and generation 1b (39 participants). The classification of generations for this study followed the parameters set out by Clyne (2002): the migrating generation together with their older children are referred to as First Generation, their young offspring, born overseas who acquired English before their speech patterns became fixed (8-12) are considered as Generation 1b. The age of G1 respondents ranged from 56 to 70 years and for G1b from 25 to 51 years. The ranges of age upon arrival for G1 were from 20 to 41 years and in G1b, 1 to 14 years. The genders of the two groups were almost evenly distributed in both generation 1 and 1b with a slightly greater proportion of males than females taking part in the surveys. The questionnaires were administered in April and May of 2002 in Melbourne in both French and English. In order to sustain a suitable cross-section for data analysis, the criteria sought to include: educated Franco-Mauritians, regardless of bilingualism in English/French, in the varying age groups, marriage patterns, period of residence in Australia and families with children. Apart from three families, the researcher did not know the respondents. Melbourne was specifically selected because of its significant distribution and diversity of multiethnic groups and also for its rich demographic source of subjects to be studied as a result of migration patterns of Mauritians since the 1960s.

The purpose of the study was to examine the social and affective factors which contributed to the mother tongue paradigm language shift to English and to some extent, subtractive bilingualism of Franco-Mauritian enclaves in Melbourne. Further, the aim was to analyse the discrepancies in attitudes between G1 and G1b respondents towards the maintenance and transmission of French to subsequent generations. Key research questions, formulated in order to further the aims of the study, were divided into three sections: background information on the Franco-Mauritian group; the discrepancies between G1 and G1b in attitudes towards migrant languages, the maintenance of French language and culture, educational institutions and language use in various domains; and the last section related to the acculturation process of eight subjects interviewed in the case studies. Correlations were made between LMLS and inter-marriage patterns, age, gender and patterns of language use. It was important for this study that certain criteria be met before proceeding with the collection of data. Acculturation issues are not discussed in this article.

The survey was adapted from the survey used by Cryle & Freadman (1993) and Smolicz & Secombe's (1981, 1983) studies on sociolinguistic

attitudes to the maintenance and use of community languages in Australia (ct. in Fowler 2000). The categories provided included questions based on ethnodemographic variables, ethnosociological, ethnopsychological, ethnolinguistic and interactional variables as defined by Haarmann (1986; ct in Edwards 1992). The results of the attitudinal survey were presented indicating the four categories used in the Likert scale. The mid-point: *undecided* was left out to avoid ambiguities in results. The original statements employed in Smolicz & Secombe's (1983) study of future teachers' attitudes to community languages in Australia were altered in order to best suit the purposes of the current study of a Franco-Mauritian group in Melbourne.

Closed and open-ended, referential questions were necessary to determine attitudinal, subjective views on the motives behind certain actions taken by Mauritians and the effects of their acculturation processes. These included reasons for immigration, failure or success in the maintenance of French language and culture, their attitudes towards the use of French at home and in public places, their views on the status of French in the general Australian Community and their use of existing institutional support. Finally, marriage patterns were discussed in order to determine to what extent exogamous relationships contributed to language shift. Various theories were examined in relation to this subject and the processes involved. This study revealed some interesting findings. However, not all were consistent with other research projects on the topic.

3   Results

The results of this study were tabulated and cross-referenced where appropriate and then presented in separate and condensed graphical tables or where possible on single charts. Open-ended responses and comments were summarised and correlation and contradictions of findings were made between generation 1 and 1b attitudes regarding the issues in question. Finally, results were interpreted in light of similar or contrastive findings from wider empirical research. Five main indicators were processed and examined in relation to the inter-generational language maintenance and shift through the analysis of language use: age upon arrival, education, occupation, inter-marriage patterns and attitudes towards language maintenance.

Figure 1 illustrates inter-generational maintenance and shift of French language in the Franco-Mauritian study, (not restricted to the home

domain). The results shown contain two contrastive but essential components in this study: one concerns Clyne's (1982, 1997) calculation for language shift including the important criteria of 'language spoken at home' and the other is intrinsic to this research project, the inter-generational maintenance of French, not restricted to the home domain. The results reflect both these criteria and the consequences appear to be distinctive.
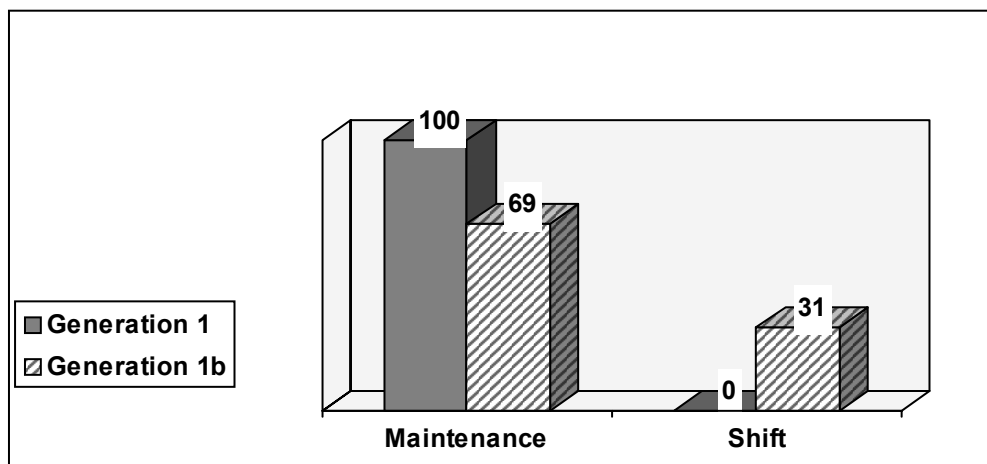

Figure 1. French Language Maintenance and Shift (not restricted to the home) by percentage

In *Figure 1*, from the total number of Franco-Mauritians represented in the survey, there has been no evidence of language shift to English by the constituent members of G1 who recorded 100% (43/43) language maintenance compared to G1b's 69% (27/39) language maintenance. 31% (12/39) language shift was recorded in G1b. The findings of this study are both consistent and contradictory with results of myriad research projects on the topic of LMLS carried out in the Australian setting (Rado 1976; Smolicz & Harris 1977; Clyne 1982; Pauwels 1985; Baggioni 1987; Clyne 1997; Clyne & Kipp 1999). On the one hand, the results are in keeping with findings supporting age-related patterns, that older speakers tend to maintain the traditional language better than their younger counterparts (Clyne & Jaehling 1991; Li 2000).

In *Figure 2* below where the criterion is the use of English only in the home, there is no change for G1, with a 100% (43/43) language maintenance recorded, but in G1b there was only 23% (9/39) language maintenance of French. Again there is no shift in G1 but a 77% (30/39) language shift is registered in G1b.
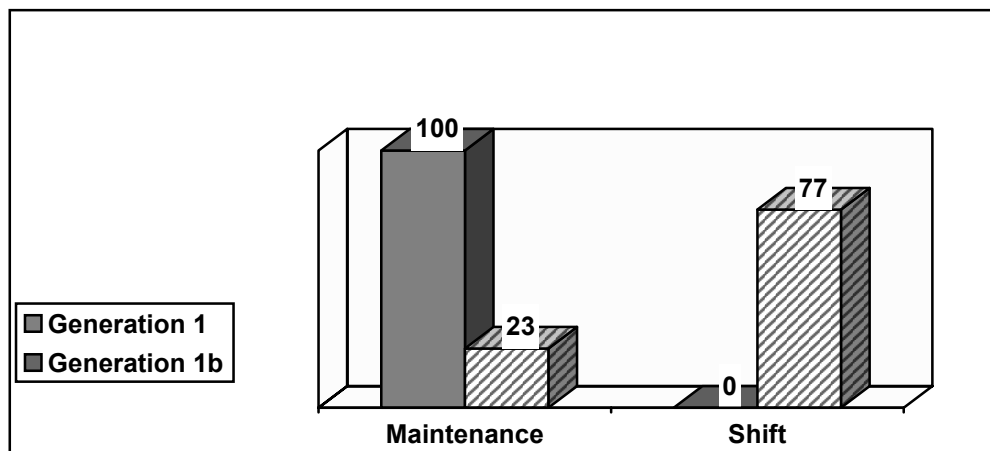
Figure 2. French Language Maintenance and Shift (only English used at home) by percentage

The 43 subjects in G1 indicating a 100% maintenance rate of French language and culture all professed to be proficient in Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (BICS and CALP) thereafter. These findings differ from Clyne's (1982, 1997) statistics, which do not differentiate between G1 and G1b French speakers, showing a 37.2% shift to English in the first generation. The lack of distinction between generations makes correlation of G1b difficult. Further, the results of this study do not correspond with findings that show language shift tends to increase with a longer period of residence in Australia (Clyne & Jaehling 1991): where G1b is concerned, 69% (27/39) of the members have successfully maintained at least spoken French in a variety of domains. These figures decreased somewhat when using the parameters set out by Clyne. The rate of language shift is then registered at 77% (30/39) of G1b who chose to communicate in English at home. A possible explanation for this phenomenon may be the high rate of exogamy in G1b participants.

This language attrition may also be related to the fact that G1b individuals attribute little 'core value' to the language and culture of their heritage, (unlike G1 members) relegating French to the realm of their forebears. One need only consider the recalcitrant nature of migrant children to home language maintenance and foreign language learning in schools to understand this situation. Analysis of the data suggests that many members of G1b have given French a symbolic nature today, only tolerating family traditions out of deference to their elders, where a

mixture of French, English and Creole are used, usually by those in G1 (Patron 2001). This view is substantiated by other findings in relation to other ethnic groups also (Kings 1979; Tosi 1984; Baggioni 1987; Finocchiaro 1995; Gibson 2001)

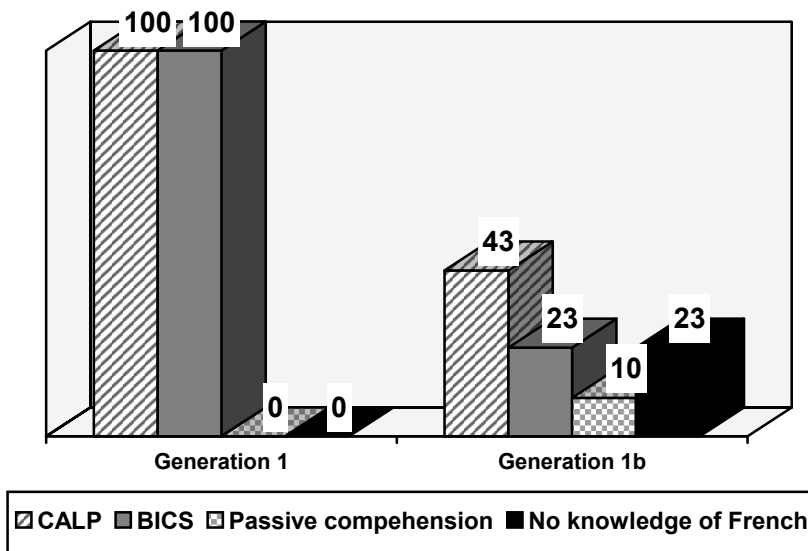*Figure 3* illustrates proficiency levels in French language in generations G1 and G1b.

Figure 3. Proficiency Levels in French Language in Generations 1 and 1b by Percentage

All G1 respondents professed to be competent in BICS and CALP, although they may not regularly use all four macro skills of language on all occasions. It must be stressed at this point that the tabulation of results relating to the identification of competency in these skills is necessarily based on self-report only for a project of these dimensions. Further research in this area would include various types of proficiency tests. The table above indicates a 43% (17/39) proficiency level in CALP in G1b and 23% (9/39) of respondents had a reasonably good level of spoken French, (BICS). 10% (4/39) had a passive knowledge of French. It must be noted that in this last category the subjects are not capable of sustaining a conversation in French and at best, can understand the gist of what has been discussed when parents, relatives and friends speak to them in French. 23% (9/39) of G1b had absolutely no knowledge of French.

Figures 4 and *Figure 5* give an indication of G1b members who undertook French studies to various levels in Australian high schools and the

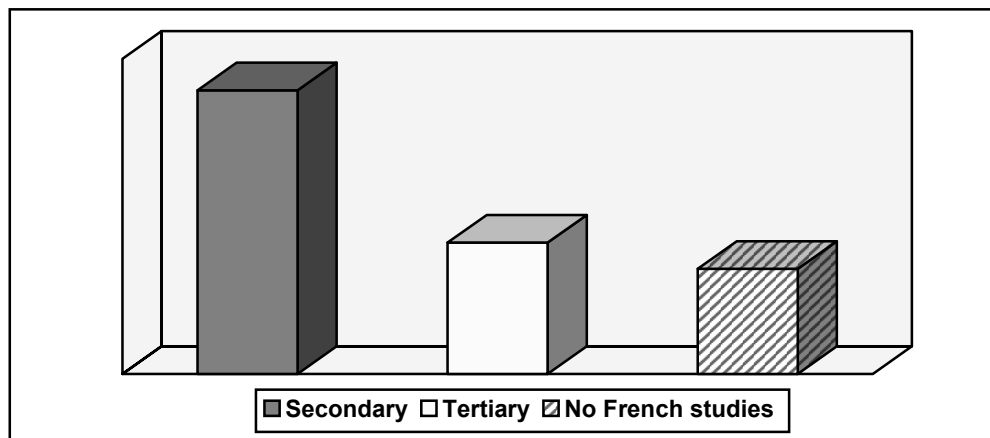reasons they abandoned their language studies. The relevance of these results will become apparent shortly.

Figure 4. French Studies in Australia in Generation 1b by Percentage

In the graph above, 54% (21/39) G1b participants studied French language in high school, 25% (10/39) continued on to tertiary education in French whilst 20% (8/39) had no experience of French taught at school. The motives for this become obvious when one studies the next graph concerning the reasons for not choosing the language or for abandoning French studies.
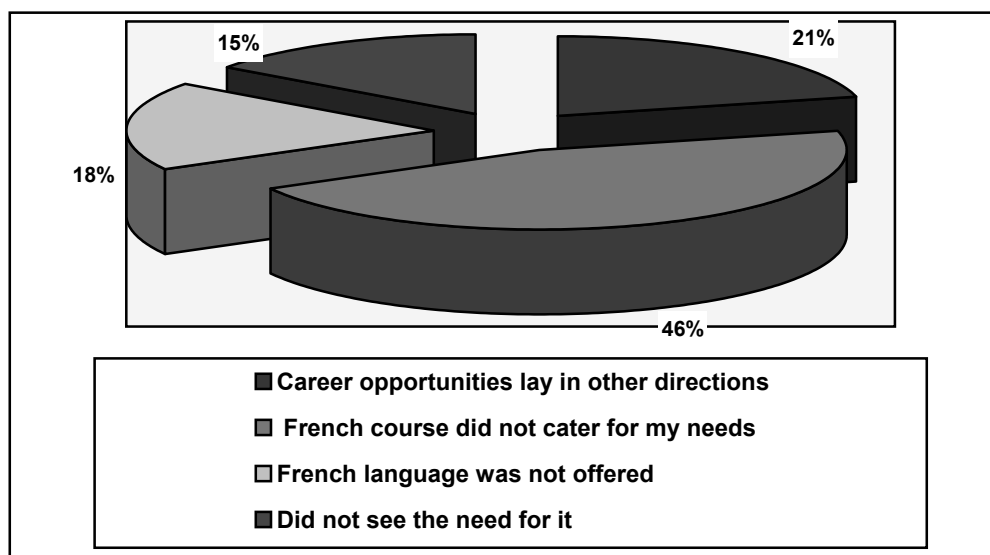

**Figure 5. Reasons for G1b Discontinuing French studies
in secondary school**

The motives for abandoning French language studies were summarised into four categories, ranging from the most influential to the least: 46% (18/39) G1b claimed that *although they had been given the chance to study French at school, their needs were not met as migrant children already possessing some knowledge of French.* 21% (8/39) asserted that *their career opportunities lay in other directions*; 18 % (7/39) explained that *French was not offered in the primary or secondary school system in their zoned area.* The remaining 15% (6/39) *did not see the need to study French in the context of an Australian society.* The main reasons for discontinuing French are related to the provision of French in school, but G1b saw little application for French.

3.1   Attitudinal Differences between Generations 1 and 1b towards Migrant Languages, LMLS and Perceived Status of French

Linguistic freedom and diversity are important facets of Australia's claim to pluralism. One of the most important motives for the inclusion of this section in the survey questionnaire was to examine the attitudes of this group of Mauritians towards cultural pluralism and the use of migrant languages in their community. Further, the aim was to gauge their interest in the maintenance of their mother tongue and to measure their acceptance and support for their own and other community languages in Australia, in relation to institutional support and government policies. The overall impression resulting from the survey questionnaire indicates a general endorsement of multicultural principles by both G1 and G1b respondents, in varying degrees, however some ambiguity exists in the responses, often to the point of contradiction. The discrepancies occurring in opinions showed some confusion in G1b responses, wavering between acceptance and rejection of language maintenance. The ambivalent nature of some answers makes interpretation difficult, resulting in G1 sometimes taking a somewhat supportive stance towards these issues and only sometimes G1b assuming this role.

3.2   Attitudes towards the Maintenance of French Language and Culture

As to the issue of maintenance of French language and cultural ties once settled in Australia, G1 conceded that there was little incentive to hold on to the language and culture of their heritage. In spite of this view, there was 100% support for both the need to maintain French language and culture as well as a more integrative approach towards the value and use of language. Contrary to this, G1b indicated a more instrumental approach towards language conservation, that of purposeful usage of language for travel, visiting relatives in Mauritius or employment. It is conceivable that there may have been little incentive for G1 participants

to aspire to language maintenance when confronted by their children, who formed part of the G1b group, who indicated that they saw no reason to do so and were not interested in making the effort. G1b however still disagreed with the statement that there was no need to maintain French language and cultural ties after emigrating. These interpretations of the findings add to the ambiguity that this G1b group has demonstrated in their responses.

3.3 Attitudes towards Educational Institutions

There appeared to be 100% consensus from both groups on the need for institutional support to be provided by private and government educational institutions as well as other associations dedicated to the linguistic and cultural service of the migrant communities in Melbourne. However, although both groups admitted to adequate support for French language and culture, these results are surprising considering the fact the majority of G1 only occasionally took advantage of these facilities whilst very few G1b respondents made use of the services. Going to a French film was the extent of the use of existing support by G1b individuals.

3.4 Attitudes towards Language Use (in Various Domains: Home, Public, Work Environment)

The contentious issues dealing with the use of migrant languages in public in particular were not so contrastive. These questions sought to identify the attitudes of both generations towards the use of one's native tongue in public places, work environment and social settings. There was some consensus here between the groups with over half of both G1 and G1b participants being resolute that English should be used in public places and that migrants should not congregate in small groups chatting in their native tongue. This may be perceived as a lack of support for multilingualism in the public domain. A reason for this high incidence of intolerance of multiculturalism may be the result of negative experiences emanating from the settlement period in the early 1960s and 1970s. As stated earlier, the tensions caused by the damaging attitudes towards migrants evidenced by government policies of the era and also by the general public may have induced people of both generations to show less tolerance towards the behaviour of migrants in the community. The implications of these issues will be further discussed shortly.

4 Discussion

There are many studies from within the literature on LMLS which indicate findings analogous to this study. The key factors which have

been found to contribute to language shift in G1b Franco-Mauritians closely match those predicted by several researchers (Fishman 1964; Kloss 1966; Smolicz & Wiseman 1971; Clyne 1982; Bettoni 1985; Clyne & Jaehling 1991; Clyne & Kipp 1997; Hulsen 2000). They include a degree of cultural and linguistic similarity to the dominant language, ethno-linguistic vitality, age, related to period of residence or immigration vintage – the era in which they immigrated, the role of language in the migrant's cultural value systems, a high rate of exogamy, educational levels, low demographic concentration, attitudes, community dynamics in the context of the sociopolitical situation in Australia and beyond, government policies and finally acculturation issues.

An important distinction in this study relates to my interpretation of the data on Franco-Mauritians which differs essentially in the fact that the migrating Generation 1 has been separated into G1 and G1b. Other researchers have also documented studies on these differences (see for example Smolicz & Wiseman 1971; Smolicz & Secombe 1977; Clyne 1982; Smolicz & Secombe 1985; Clyne 1991; Clyne & Kipp 1996). Nonetheless, a further difference concerns the sociolinguistic background of G1 Franco-Mauritians who are polyglot and of a high socioeconomic status and who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s. This, coupled with the fact that only Mauritians of European descent were permitted entry into Australia at the time, afforded them a decided advantage in their acculturation process resulting in integration into Australian society. It is not unexpected that the generational gap between the two groups should provide contrastive results. Given their maturity upon arrival, the chances of G1 maintaining their mother tongue were greater than that of their offspring G1b who were submerged in Anglophone classrooms usually with no ESL assistance and who were obliged by circumstances to assimilate into their new country. Where language maintenance is concerned, another advantage that Franco-Mauritians have compared to other French speakers is their close family ties. The nature of family interactions among Mauritians effectively enhances the chance of linguistic and cultural maintenance (Baggioni 1987). Franco-Mauritians therefore differ from French nationals for instance who display poorer maintenance rates and who often immigrate in their nuclear groups with no extended family circles. They consequently have fewer opportunities of speaking French.

The sociolinguistic background of this community group serves to high-light the differences between different groups of French speakers as well as differences in studies of this nature from wider literature. If one bears

in mind the tumultuous history of discovery and occupation of Mauritius dating back to the tenth century by successive nations, Arab, Dutch, Portuguese, culminating with the French and British, one can understand why European-Mauritians have a good command of English. This first generation group of Mauritians owe their bilingualism (if heavily accented) to the magnanimous gesture of the British who conquered Mauritius after French occupation of two hundred years. In the act of capitulation by the French in 1814, the British guaranteed the Franco-Mauritians to respect their language, religion, customs and Napoleonic code legal system (Mauritian Government 2001). Notwithstanding this, by the late 1960s, the English language was well entrenched in the curricula of at least the private educational institutions of the island. With international companies becoming established in the major cities, the French and English communities were amongst the fortunate minority enjoying a high socio-economic status, who occupied the preferred positions in government and private sectors. Most eventually became bilingual though it is stressed that English was never spoken in the home environment. French and Creole were the only languages used (Carey 1956; Baggioni 1987).

This study is but a beginning, where the Franco-Mauritian diasporas are concerned, of a much wider investigation into why language attrition is becoming so prevalent in the diglossic situation of Melbourne and probably other major cities. The Franco-Mauritian migrant groups appear to be examples of current trends, which follow inexorably the paradigm of language shift to English in Australia (Clyne 1982; Bettoni 1985; Clyne & Kipp 1997, 1999). This is so, particularly in areas of persistent diglossia with the minority language undergoing a decline, especially among the younger population (Williamson & Van Eerde 1980). This trend is part of a widespread pattern emerging in studies related to immigrant families where there is evidence of a bilingual communication system in use: parents address their children in the mother tongue and they respond in English, only reverting to French or more appropriately "Franglais" – the mixture of French and English – when obliged to do so or out of deference to their relatives. Their value and language systems became a source of conflict and misunderstanding (Kings 1979; Clyne 1982; Pauwels 1985; Baggioni 1987).

With this "*esprit de contradiction*", rebel spirit, one does not need a deep psychological analysis, according to Baggioni, to understand the anguish of the parents trying to isolate the child in a closed world, separate from the outside environment. For children, it is often a question of survival in

order to affirm their autonomy and their rights to participate equally with their peers in English, outside the home domain. He claims that it is the price that parents pay for the emancipation of their children and that they must resign themselves to the fact that their children are not like them (Baggioni 1987). Similarly, Tosi (1984) employs the term "*rebel reaction*" for the rebellion of children against their parents' insistence on the maintenance of the mother tongue and culture in the home environment. He posits that if parents relinquished their desire to persist in this quest, it was because the idea of supplanting their first language with English may have been preferable to the determination that their children should not suffer the "handicap" of speaking a foreign tongue in Australia. As for other migrant languages, this form of communication may have also resulted in deficiencies vis-à-vis certain competencies in language use, such as written French in this context, after an extended period of residence in Australia and a lack of use of this medium (Bettoni 1985).

Baggioni (1987) offers a plausible explanation for the excellent retention rate of French and Creole resulting in a system of trilingual competency in the G1 Franco-Mauritian community. The migrating generation became bilingual or trilingual with the ability to integrate several cultures in a harmonious and promising intellectual wealth. On the other hand, G1b has become unilingual Anglophones. He suggests that this relates to their sociolinguistic behaviour which is characterised by the emergence of community life, largely due to weekly reunions after church and to a certain extent, the various social clubs organised in the major cities, unlike the usual enclaves of migrant shops and ethnic service centres, also apparent in Vietnamese, Greek, Italian and Turkish communities. As can be expected given the current trends of churchgoers in the Catholic Church, to mention one denomination, the attrition rate of French amongst the younger population of Mauritians is immediately apparent when yet another domain becomes obsolete for language use. This situation of double diglossia, co-existing at least for G1 members of this study, compartmentalises English as the language used in formal/work situations, French is reserved for interactions at home and in other more informal settings and Creole confined to parties and sporting fixtures, relegated to the status of vernacular: swear words and men's conversation (Baggioni 1987). The same percentage of G1b members who had maintained French have also maintained Creole, though not to the same standard as G1, as they are not capable of sustaining a conversation of reasonable length in this language. Hence its use becomes limited and fragmented.

4.1   Factors Contributing to Language Shift

The issue of age at the time of migration becomes relevant to language shift when examined from the perspective of the early point of immigration (Kloss 1966) relating to the "monistic climate that prevailed" (Smolicz 1994:242) in the decades following WWII in Australia. This period was renowned for its reputation as a difficult period of assimilation compounded by the difficulties of the transition phase towards multiculturalism. While no G1 member found the acculturation process easy, there was no report of psychological damage, painful memories or abandonment of the mother tongue as a result of the experience. This acculturation was probably facilitated by the pre-existing bilingualism of G1. Consequently, the problems of adjustment in English language that adults experienced had more to do with the comprehension of the Australian accent and their own efforts at making themselves understood than a lack of proficiency in English.

This study revealed that the experiences of submersion into monolingual classrooms of that era, the dearth of services available to migrants, especially ESL classes, plus discrimination of various types, impacted in different ways on G1b individuals. This is because at the time of arrival, most were French monolinguals (except for those who had some knowledge of Creole). The age of respondents must be interpreted in correlation with the graphs included in this article with regard to inter-generational shift, proficiency levels in French language and lastly, the motives for discontinuing French studies in G1b. Within these parameters, the results indicate that the set of factors outlined above have played a major role in determining the rate of inter-generational language attrition.

Although G1 participants are in effect perfect examples of additive and balanced bilingualism (Lambert 1974, cited in Ellis 1994), after analysis of the data, their efforts to pass on French to their children were thwarted by negative public attitudes towards migrants and their languages, relative to the period of residence. It merits stating that the G1b subjects who claimed to still be able to converse in French are not capable of sustaining a lengthy conversation in their mother tongue without resorting to the technique of code switching. Their comprehension however, is excellent when parents, relatives and friends speak to them in French, although the temptation to simply resort to English is the usual outcome. These findings are consistent with studies from other researchers (Clyne 1982; Baggioni 1987; Clyne & Kipp 1999).

4.2   Linguistic and Cultural Similarity or Distance

An important predictive factor known to influence language shift and to some extent language maintenance is Kloss's (1966) linguistic and cultural distance, along with other ambivalent factors such as educational level and attitude of majority to language or group. In the context of this paper, linguistic or cultural similarity to Australians can be deemed to have had a favourable effect in G1 members, where the maintenance of French was concerned, because of the similarities between the two languages. They succeeded in maintaining positive self-concepts, as well as reducing the time spent on efforts in the perfection of the dominant language and culture (Fishman 1985; Clyne & Kipp 1996, 1997). This can be compared with G1b individuals where the effects were unfavourable as the similarities in the two languages led to the erosion of group consciousness and group differences, thus rendering preservation of identity difficult (Kloss 1966; Clyne 1991). This can be explained through Fishman's (1964:32) contention that LMLS involves "the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language use are in contact with each other". As language and cultural identity are closely related, it was only a matter of time before the young generation of Mauritians chose to become Australians. The number of cognates facilitating the task of comprehension from French to English, (although English is a Germanic and not a Latin language), when correlated with the young age in which the G1b children were learning English made the acquisition of English easier.

The alienation process had become firmly entrenched despite a positive parental attitude to the maintenance of the L1 in the home environment. Unfortunately the adult migrating generation faces the demise of French language in successive generations in Australia. Their efforts, often to the point of battles with children to continue using French at home, met with derision and language attrition was quick to occur. It is evident that a social psychological variable played a part in the attrition of French language at home evidenced by the anxiety of being judged impolite in society when speaking one's native tongue in the presence of non-French speakers. The desire to belong to the majority group made it difficult to pursue French in circumstances other than the home. Given the critical ages of the young Mauritians, ranging from 2 – 14 years, the ease with which these children acquired native-like proficiency in English strongly supports the theory of Critical Period Hypothesis (Penfield & Roberts 1959 ct. in Ellis 1994). Unfortunately, bilingualism did not emerge

simultaneously as for G1. The dichotomy emerging from opinions in the empirical research concerning French language and culture as 'core value' in the lives of the Franco-Mauritians also helps to clarify the differences between the motives for the preservation of their mother tongue in the first generation who displayed a positive attitude to the maintenance of their language and culture and the decision to allow language shift to occur in G1b. Baggioni (1987) suggests that the reticence of this group to reproduce their parents' loyalty to their language and culture can be identified with nostalgia for a stilted past.

4.3   Educational Levels and Occupations

The educational level and occupations of the Franco-Mauritian group are directly related to social status. These predictive ambivalent factors affecting language shift in the Australian context have been shown to account partly for the retention rate of French language in G1 Franco-Mauritians as well as the language shift in G1b. (Kloss 1966; Clyne 1991). Findings on G1 Franco-Mauritians appear to contradict Clyne's (1991:86) theory implying that a higher educational standard of the migrant facilitates a high culture around the community language, bringing migrants closer to the cultural life of the dominant group. This ultimately increases the incidence of language shift where a lower standard promotes strong cohesion with the ethnic group, thereby perpetuating customs, traditions and values, resulting in language maintenance. The fact that this group was well educated and highly literate should probably have contributed to language shift but the results were in total contrast with Clyne's for G1. What this status has done is to promote additive bilingualism in G1. This is supported by findings claiming that the more educated migrants tend to devote more time on heritage and cultural issues which in turn promotes language maintenance (see for example Taft & Cahill 1989, ct in Butcher 1995 & Putz 1991, ct in Butcher 1995). However, according to these findings, the children were also in a more favourable position to become bilingual but chose not to, which supports Kloss's ambivalence theory. The young age of the informants may have had more to do with the language shift than their educational standard however.

Another possible reason for the high inter-generational language shift to English of generation 1b can be accounted for by government language policies of the era, which played a crucial but nefarious role in the language maintenance efforts of Franco-Mauritians. Even though French was the most prestigious language taught in educational institutions from

the sixties and seventies (Clyne 1982; Baggioni 1987 Ozolins 1984; Lo Bianco & Monteil 1991; Butcher 1995), the unavailability of courses in this language in public schools, in spite of claims to the contrary, did little to advance G1 parents in their endeavour to preserve French outside the home domain. Baggioni (1987) is certainly justified in his claims that it is an indictment on the educational systems in Australia when the 'electives' component of curricula placed languages amongst marginal electives such as cake decorating, shorthand and typing. The more recent policy of the Office of Multicultural Affairs to emphasise the presence in Australia of a multicultural and multilingual workforce was not evident in the 1960s and 1970s. Capitalising on the ethnic diversity – the invaluable resource of migrants and harnessing their potential for domestic and international market has only become in vogue recently (Brandle 1996).

With a reduction in availability of French education to Franco-Mauritian children, language shift appeared inevitable. The language policies that became de rigueur in the 1980s with the change of government saw the introduction of Asian languages (trade languages) more rigorously promoted because of Australia's new geo-political identity as part of Asia. This saw the demise of French in many school curricula. Further, the standard of languages taught in Australia in those decades and the methodologies of the era did little to encourage extended study of the language or gain respect amongst local community groups. Other researchers strongly support this view (Baggioni 1987; Ozolins 1994; Smolicz 1994; Butcher 1995; Morgan 1999; Clyne 2002). Quinn (1980) and Morgan (1999) contrast the modern day language programmes as being an authentic experience of a cultural reality instead of the "translation of insipid inanities devoid of cultural reality" (Quinn 1980:93) that was in vogue in the 1960s and 1970s. With the gradual distancing of the students from their native language and culture, effectively showing a disregard of language as an integral part of the core value system, there appeared to be little need of French for G1b as Australian citizens and no connection between French and their future careers. As their needs were not catered for, an obvious outcome was boredom with the teaching methods and swift abandonment of the language, thus contributing to the general decline in language teaching.

4.4   Inter- marriage Patterns

There is conclusive evidence after examination of the data on Franco-Mauritians, that the factor of exogamy in G1b has promoted language shift to English, corroborating the aforementioned studies. In G1b, 61% of

participants are in exogamous relationships compared to 23% in endoga-mous marriages. This is supported by various research findings of a similar nature (Fishman 1964; Clyne 1982; Pauwels 1985; Clyne 1997; Hulsen 2000). In the Acadian context in Canada, Allard & Landry (1998) claim that, based on 1994 statistics, 97% of school-aged children of Fran-cophone endogamous couples maintain French as mother tongue where only 27% from exogamous couples do so. Therefore, it is unexpected, given the cultural distance per se, being negligible with French that so few G1b participants chose to bring up their children bilingual. The results contradict Baggioni's (1987) theory that the situation of exogamous couples favours the transmission of a bilingual culture.

These findings are also inconsistent with studies on the subject of linguis-tic and cultural similarity (Kloss 1966; Clyne 1982; Baggioni 1987; Clyne 1991, 1997; Clyne & Kipp 1999) which have designated this factor as a favourable ambivalent indicator promoting language maintenance. In contrast with these findings and other studies, Baggioni (1987) asserts that inter-marriage patterns demonstrate what in theory should be the perfect setting for bilingualism. He postulates that it is the mixed-parentage homes that present the best examples of the exchange and dynamic co-existence of languages, offering the best conditions for the transmission of a bilingual culture. This view of 'one parent, one language' is supported by other research (Dopke 1992; Clyne & Kipp 1997; Patron 2001) but although it is possible for this to occur, firstly a positive attitude is crucial, followed by effort and perseverance on the part of the parents to achieve their goal of bilingualism or even trilingualism.

4.5   Attitudinal Differences between G1 and G1b

In this study, the lack of endorsement and tolerance relating to linguistic practices in the public domain should come as no surprise when a correlation is made with the timing of immigration, during the assimilationist era, and the acculturation experiences of both groups. A similar finding was made in a study carried out in Queensland by Fowler (2000) which showed little enthusiasm for pluralism and a reverting to asssimilationist sentiments. Data on Franco-Mauritians suggest that it often took only one derogatory comment from an Australian berating migrants for conversing in their native tongue in a public place or at work, to refrain from pursuing the habit themselves. Further, these same G1 people professed that the pain their children had undergone during the early days of migration contributed to this decision. The situation may be accounted for as a result of the experience of the young children

growing up as naturalised Australians in an assimilationist environment and undergoing the transition to a more pluralist and accepting society. When the difficult process of acculturation is factored into the equation, one can understand that G1b individuals would less likely tolerate discrimination of migrants after having experienced this situation in their childhood. Discrimination in schools in the form of vitriolic and abusive language directed at them and other minority pupils, on the basis of skin colour, race and language diversity was an indication that at the time, linguistic differences were not valued as an individual and societal resource.

The proponents of multiculturalism who would have us believe that cultural pluralism is entrenched in Australian society, need only examine the findings of multiple studies carried out on the subject. This research project along with various studies cited in Fowler (2002) reflect Smolicz' (1994) assertion that policies are moving backwards, apparent in Federal Government documents of the early 1990s and that they are effectively ignoring the linguistic potential available in the Australian bilingual population resulting in a waste of economic assets. Foster's (1990 ct in Fowler 2000) argument that most Australians have issues with cultural pluralism when it encroaches on their everyday life, such as public use of migrant languages, is an indictment of the society's lack of tolerance during the 1990s. This is seen to be one of the obvious differences in a linguistically free multicultural society and one of the most resented. Further, one need only refer to the period leading up to the November 2001 Federal elections where the consensus on immigration policies among the leading political parties were predicted to produce a backlash from ethnic communities. The views of both parties were contrary to public opinion already concerned by the resurgence in interest in Pauline Hanson's anti-cultural, anti-Asian immigration One Nation Party. One Nation based its support on regression back to assimilationist tendencies, where Australian culture was narrowly defined in Anglocentric terms (Jakubowicz 1998; *The Economist* 1998, ct in Fowler 2000). The aforementioned surveys substantiate the claim that disagreement was demonstrated by the public towards the Government because of the stance taken on immigration policies. Issues of this kind have been known to affect the status of migrant languages in Australia.

6   Conclusion

This paper has shown that LMLS in the first generation of Franco-Mauritian immigrants is complex. Patterns of language maintenance and

use vary according to the age of the migrants when they arrived in Australia and the different sociolinguistic profile adults and children had at the time of migration. The findings in this study do not reflect the massive loss of French reflected in previous studies using census statistics for French speaking migrants.

This study of the Franco-Mauritian community contributes to the study of LMLS in Australia. It shows the potential impact of pre-existing bilingualism in the Australian context indicating the importance of consideration not only of language groups but focus on individual groups of speakers within them because social and cultural differences are as important as language differences. There is no such thing as one French group or one English group as the dynamics of interaction of Francophones like Anglophones within a society are diverse and different groups react differently to acculturation processes in a new environment largely because of their sociolinguistic and cultural background. The societal pressures to assimilate or integrate into a new culture will be different for each group. The incidence of LMLS in this community group will ultimately depend on whether they attribute intrinsic value to their language and culture, as do other groups in the Australian context, and whether this is sufficient to prevent a shift to English in this predominantly monolingual environment.

The implications of this research paper is that there is a need for further investigation of other similar communities in order to better understand how LMLS affects the divergent groups of native speakers of one language. The recommendation resulting from this study is for the Franco-Mauritian minority group to improve its ethnolinguistic vitality in Australia by taking advantage of existing valuable linguistic resources through institutional support afforded them by their cities. There is no room for complacency or apathy in the equation. G1b Franco-Mauritians may be justified in their decision to allow their bilingualism to die, but the ramifications contribute to a paucity of cultural and linguistic diversity in this country. It is hoped that with an increased awareness of multiculturalism and multilingualism in Australia and a concerted effort by migrant groups and policy makers, that increased tolerance from the society at large will engender a more positive attitude to the maintenance of ethnic languages. In the words of Renner (Sutherland 1994:3,7) it appears that "language belongs to those who claim it!"

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The Fundamental Communicative Right: A Plea[1]

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A plea 21 years ago ...

The April 1984 issue of *FIPLV World News* featured a plea of mine for a Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights. That brief text was highlighted by David Crystal in the Preface to his *Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language* (1987) through these words:

"Gomes de Matos' plea points to the widespread occurrence of linguistic prejudice and discrimination around the world, and to the problems people face when they wish to receive special help in language learning and use. All people have the right to use their mother tongue, to learn a second language, to receive special treatment when suffering from a language handicap, but in many parts of the world, these rights are absent or inadequately provisioned. Only concentrated public attention on the issue will promote the recognition of such rights[2]."

Twenty-one years have elapsed and the time is now ripe for another plea, of a more specific nature, focussed on a dimension of human rights and peace which has been dealt with jointly by UNESCO and FIPLV through their LINGUAPAX program, established in 1987. In these times, sometimes referred to as "turbulent peace", it behoves us as language teachers, language teacher-educators/trainers, to consider and to help implement the following appeal:

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[1] This paper appeared originally in *FIPLV World News*, 56, 2002, pp 10-12. Reprinted with minor updating.

[2] Crystal 1987:vii; also reprinted in the later edition, Crystal 1997:vi.

A plea for the fundamental communicative right, namely the right which all language users (learners included therein) should have : the right to learn how to communicate peacefully for the good of humankind.

The above formulation can be said to be an in-depth integration of the following fundamental human rights:

- the right to live in peace,
- the right to learn, and
- the right to communicate

From an educational standpoint some of the relevant questions we could ask ourselves are:

- How can we help put into practice what Crystal has suggested, that is, how can we bring the fundamental communicative right (and corresponding responsibility) to universal public attention, especially as a serious commitment by those in charge of language-in-education planning/policy?
- How can the FIPLV system of national affiliates contribute to a movement in favour of teaching-and-learning languages for communicating for the good of humankind as I have expressed in some of my writings, more recently in a book published in Portuguese (Gomes de Matos 2002a).Also see Gomes de Matos,2002 b,c,d and Gomes de Matos, 1990)
- How can the comprehensive right to learn to communicate peacefully, for human-dignifying purposes be integrated in Human Rights Education programs?
- How can the goal of learning to communicate well be broadened to learning to communicate for the well-being of persons, groups, communities, nations?
- From a classroom learning perspective, how can the learning of vocabulary be planned so as to systematically include lessons centred on lexical items which can enhance peaceful communication?[3]

In short, as peace patriots committed to both effective and affective language education, let's do our share and help learners of languages communicate peacefully for the good of all humankind. If that is the

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[3] For 11 types of such activities, see my article, "Teaching, Vocabulary for Peace Education", in the July-August 2002 issue of *ESL Magazine* (www.eslmag.com). That text also features a Bibliography for Peace Linguistics.

fundamental communicative right, it could very well be our fundamental communicative responsibility.

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Postscript For a recent application of the concept of **communicative peace**, see my Article "Using Peaceful Language: From Principles to Practices" in the UNESCO-OELSS Encyclopedia on Life Support Systems (in preparation).