Durk Gorter
Victoria Zenotz
Jasone Cenoz   *Editors*

Minority Languages and Multilingual Education

Bridging the Local and the Global

Springer

Minority Languages and Multilingual Education

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Minority Language Education Facing Major Local and Global Challenges

Durk Gorter, Victoria Zenotz, and Jasone Cenoz

Abstract This introductory chapter discusses the relevance of the focus on minority languages in multilingual education from different perspectives. It argues that minority languages, although they have a strong local dimension also have an important global dimension. Multilingual education here involves the use of minority, majority and English as languages of instruction. Minority languages speakers find new solutions to the educational challenges posed by multilingualism and globalization. Education is often seen as a safeguarding force and English as a threat, but not necessarily.

Keywords Multilingualism • Minority language • Non-dominant language • Language revival • English • Globalization • Education • Instruction language

1.1 General Introduction to Common Threads

The focus on multilingual education adopted in this book highlights the dynamics of combining different languages in education. That is, the volume focuses on settings where the combination of minority languages, national state languages and

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English leads to significant educational and social changes, rather than focusing on the teaching of the minority languages per se. The book is conceived to give an account of multilingual education on five continents. We wanted to prioritize relevant case studies to demonstrate recent developments, tensions and solutions. They refer to contexts of multilingual education involving the use of minority, majority and English as languages of instruction. The chapters reflect many different situations and the relative role of the minority and majority languages as school subjects or languages of instruction. The cases included in this volume show different ways in which three or more languages, or in the case of Māori two languages, can be developed and used in one school curriculum. The educational systems present great diversity regarding the linguistic aims of the schools, the use of the languages as subjects or medium of instruction and the school year in which the different languages are introduced.

Minority language groups have a strong local dimension. Most of them are traditionally spoken in a limited area of one state or sometimes across the borders of more than one state. The spatial aspect is important for minority languages because their distribution over a specific territory is usually one of its defining characteristics. Minority languages have traditionally been ignored by speakers of majority languages and were the concern of minority language speakers themselves. Their speakers feel minority languages as part of their identity and as useful in everyday communication although its use is not always taken for granted and can be heavily contested. Multilingualism in combination with a minority language presents a great diversity. Important differences can be found regarding the demography and status of the languages. Minority languages are not per se defined by their numeric size. Of course many are smaller than the majority or dominant language, but they can also vary in size. For example, both Catalan and Quechua have over nine million speakers, more than some state languages in Europe such as Danish or Greek. These are exceptions because by far most minority languages have a much lower number of speakers, just a few hundred or at most thousands, as in the case of the Sámi languages. We continue to use here the more common term minority languages, although Benson in Chap. 2 in her conceptual discussion makes clear why she prefers the term non-dominant languages.

Today minority language groups also experience an important global dimension. Whereas in the past relative isolation in a peripheral area worked as protection for the survival of minority languages, globalization enters the life of minority speakers. Advances in telecommunication and international transport make it impossible to remain isolated from the influences of ideas and products of other cultures. The local economies are woven into a global economy and the consequences of the flow of goods, labour, capital and tourism are felt in any corner of the world. Often these forces are felt as a threat to the continued existence of minority languages.

Minority groups see education often as a safeguarding force for the revival or the development of their languages. The state usually promotes national cohesion through strong propagation of the standard majority language for general use, often at the expense of minority languages, which has an important eroding effect on minority languages. Today in their struggle for survival many minority groups aim to obtain a place in the educational system. Education is no longer about teaching only one

language. Teaching the minority language implies bilingual education because it is not about replacing the majority language completely, but to come 'alongside' or at 'equal footing'. Bilingual education is however a complex term which can cover many different formats as will also become clear from the different contributions to this volume. For certain minorities some symbolic recognition of the language inside the schools is already a boost in self-esteem. Other, stronger minority groups are well aware that even if they conquer the domain of education, the school alone cannot do it. Minority language speakers are also aware from a young age onward that they need to learn and use more than one language. Majority language speakers in a relatively monolingual context do not share that same awareness, even if they consider learning 'foreign languages', in particular English, as important.

English as the global language has a special position in the worldwide constellation of languages. English is generally held in high prestige and parents want their children to learn English. Schools have to deal with the alleged advantages and improbable ambitions for English proficiency. English as a language of international communication has created an increasing social pressure to learn this language for speakers of minority languages even for those who do not live in an English speaking county. In the many cases of minority language speakers English is not their second but their third or fourth language. The spread of English over the globe is not uniform and this has implications for the curriculum design in multilingual schools. Therefore, schools have the desire to go beyond bilingualism and to promote multilingualism as an important aim in education. English as in the case of Māori is perceived as a direct threat, but as is shown in Chap. 11 with a case study from Mexico, a specific critical approach to English can be used to support minority languages.

National state languages present huge differences in terms of demography and status and the use of English as a language of wider communication is not the same in different countries either. The majority languages covered in this book are the following: Chinese-Mandarin in China and Singapore, Amharic in Ethiopia, Sinhala in Sri Lanka, Finnish in Finland, Spanish in Mexico and Spain, French in Québec and France and English in New Zealand and Canada. A special case is Arabic, otherwise a global majority language, which is dealt with as a minority language in Israel. Some of these majority languages directly compete against English not only at a local but at a global scale. French and Spanish are examples, but more recently Chinese has come to the fore. Other state languages are dominant in the country where they are spoken, but its speakers may feel the pressure of English and see the efforts of minority language groups as contesting their position as well. So they may feel threatened from two sides.

There are several reasons to focus on minority languages in multilingual education. One reason is that although many minority languages are endangered, they do have an important extend in the world. The Ethnologue (www.ethnologue.com) catalogues 6,909 known languages in the world, even if some languages included are considered varieties or dialects in other accounts. According to the Ethnologue, almost 40 % of the world's population has one of the eight largest languages as their first language. These languages are Mandarin, Hindi, Spanish, English, Bengali,

Portuguese, Arabic and Russian. The data also indicate that over 350 million people (5.9 % of the world's population) speak a language with less than one million speakers. Most of these speakers of 'smaller' languages are speakers of minority languages and 3,800 languages even have less than 10,000 speakers. When several languages are spoken in the same state there are usually important asymmetries regarding their demography and degree of official recognition.

Another reason is the contribution of minority language speakers to multilingualism. Even if populations in Europe and North America are predominately monolingual in their dominant state language, this is not the case in many other parts of the world. Being monolingual is also exceptional for speakers of minority languages. Even in Europe, speakers of minority languages such as Basque or Sámi need to be multilingual. In cases where neither the minority nor the majority language is English, speakers feel a need to have some command of English as an additional language for international contacts, for travel or for using the internet.

The book wants to contribute to the study of multilingual education, a line of research that is developing rapidly in recent years. Research on minority languages is ordinarily not well known by scholars of 'large' languages but it is relevant to many areas. The cases presented here are of course not the only examples of multilingual education. As will become clear from this volume the constellation of languages in the world comprises a wide range of minority language contexts. The discussion of the different cases can provide useful examples of the implementation of multilingual education for other contexts. The study of school multilingualism is relevant for educational research because it implies new insights in developments in language education policy, teacher education, material development and curriculum design. The discussions are not only at a macro level of educational policy, but include the perspective of the children at the classroom level. Minority languages in education can be also of interest to researchers working on language policy and planning or language assessment. Multilingual education research deals with important questions that bear relevance on the revitalization of minority languages and the achievement of proficiency in more than one language. For example, will the teaching of the different languages have a positive or a negative effect on the development of minority languages? When should the different languages be introduced? Will pupils mix the different languages and how are those practices perceived by their teachers? How can trilingual education best be organized? The chapters included in this book are based on educational experiences that have tried to combine the maintenance and development of minority languages with the need to acquire languages of wider communication, in particular English. The cases provide different answers depending on each specific sociolinguistic and educational context.

In this book the authors treat a much larger number of minority languages than national state languages because some chapters deal with a manifold of them in large countries like China, Canada, Ethiopia or Mexico; other chapters focus on one minority language in particular such as Māori, Sámi, or Basque.

The situations discussed in this volume also have some challenges in common with other situations involving minority languages or even languages which are demographically strong but do not have a strong tradition as languages of

instruction in education. All educational contexts discussed in this volume face new challenges in society derived from new ways of communication and the development of new technologies. These are part of the effects of globalization and such changes are often felt as threatening for minority languages.

Multilingualism in the educational context of minority languages makes its speakers find novel solutions in how they adapt their resources and how they use multiple language practices. In many of the cases presented here trilingualism is seen as a solution to the educational challenges of accommodating the minority language, the national language and English. Social and educational change can also generate tensions with regards to boundaries between language groups. The complexity of the contextual variables involved, prevent that new multilingual education programs can easily be exported from one setting to the next. Even if they are examples of good practices these programs have to be adapted to the contextual and educational characteristics of another setting.

1.2 The Chapters in This Volume

This collection includes a conceptual chapter on the influences between 'the North' and 'the South' (Benson in Chap. 2) which is followed by ten case studies from different countries and regions across the world, each with its own unique socio-historical development. The common thread through these cases is a comparison and contrast of the policies, attitudes, ideologies and pedagogies involved in multilingual education and the implementation of policies. A recurring theme in this book is related to the issue of bridging the local and the global. In more specific terms, each of the chapters puts forward the following points.

In her chapter Carol Benson provides a global perspective by contrasting examples from educational contexts from the South with the North. She illustrates the essential role played by the language of instruction in improving educational access, in particular concerning non-dominant languages. In a macro-level discussion she compares research findings from low-income multilingual countries of the "South" with findings from multilingual regions of the economically developed "North" due to a large extend to the monolingual habitus. She uses examples from multilingual low-income countries such as Mozambique and Ethiopia as well as from European regional and minority languages such as Basque. She opens her chapter with a discussion of terms and principles, many of which originated in the North but have been enriched by Southern experiences. She shows how language is integral to educational access, quality and equity.

Benson demonstrates how terms and ideas developed in the North, when used in the South without adaptation, can cause unwanted repercussions, and thus reinforce the monolingual habitus even when seeking to relieve problems. An analysis of similarities and differences between the contexts provides lessons that the North can take from the South, and vice-versa. The chapter not only discusses but also offers solutions to address some current challenges in multilingual education in

low-income countries. It brings minority language education theorists and practitioners in the North and South to the same table.

In the next chapter Bob Adamson and Anwei Feng discuss the various language policies in education in the People's Republic of China (PRC) which are designed to foster trilingualism in ethnic minority groups. They demonstrate that trilingualism, if implemented effectively, can enable marginalized groups to fully engage in the social and political life of mainstream society and enjoy educational and economic benefits. Poorly conceived and ineffectively implemented policies, on the other hand, could exacerbate their marginalization and deprivation. Based on data arising from a national project, their chapter examines the reasoning and tensions behind these trilingual education policies for minority groups by comparing the implementation of such policies in Yunnan, Sichuan, Guangxi, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Jilin, Gansu, Qinghai and Guangdong. The results of the project are interesting as the chapter showcases the four policy models that are found in China. English has attained prestigious status because of the PRC's desire to play a prominent role in international affairs, and since 2002, English has become a subject to be studied from Primary 3, placing a logistical strain on ethnic minority schools in rural areas. While there appears to be consensus among key stakeholders regarding the potential benefits of trilingual education, major tensions—political, theoretical and logistic—have arisen when the policy is implemented. The chapter presents the complexities, challenges and difficulties in promoting and safeguarding the minority languages in China.

In her chapter Kathleen Heugh provides a detailed look at the implementation of multilingual education programs in Ethiopia. She shows how there is no other contemporary example in the world of implementing such an ambitious plan—8 years of primary education—in so many languages. Interviews with educators, classroom observations and student test results comprise both qualitative and quantitative data for the study. System-wide assessment demonstrates that student achievement in the more linguistically complex and decentralised setting exceeds that in the centralised and more limited bilingual system of the state capital Addis Ababa. Heugh makes important points about each of the languages involved—the mother tongue, Amharic as national language and English as international language—and how minority language education is being perceived and put into practice in the context of perceived benefits and unrealistic aspirations for English proficiency. She discusses the logistics, successes and failures of English medium education in Ethiopia. The chapter concludes with an account of the differences in the students' success in English medium education in various parts of the country. She draws attention to the influence of policy on teacher education, learning materials development and student achievement.

The city-state of Singapore is the focus of the chapter by Siew Kheng Catherine Chua. She provides a historical background on Singapore to explain the unique system of language practices in that small country. She mentions the uneven processes of globalization which have specific local sociolinguistic consequences. Language and literacy planning in Singapore becomes more complicated as Singaporeans will need to be fluent in a range of languages in order to survive in their multilingual environment. The present bilingual policy requires Singaporeans

to be proficient in English and in one of the three officially assigned Mother Tongue Languages: Mandarin (Chinese), Malay (Malay) and Tamil (Indian). Essentially, the language policy in Singapore is built on four main pillars (1) the belief that linguistic diversity will hinder the process of nation-building, (2) the belief in respect and equal treatment for the three major language groups in Singapore, (3) the belief that English proficiency is a must and Mother Tongue Languages study is necessary and (4) the belief in the ideologies of survival and pragmatism, and that is, when managing crisis the most effective and rational choices must be made. Her emphasis is on the linguistic challenges facing Singapore in the twenty-first century and she argues that a new model of bilingualism is necessary.

In their chapter Mela Sarkar and Constance Lavoie discuss similar issues, but in a rather distinct context of language education of Indigenous peoples in Canada. They depart from the given that Canada is home to several dozen different Indigenous groups. These include the Inuit, many First Nations, who speak over 50 languages of which many are moribund and the Métis, who speak their own unique French-Cree contact language, Michif. Only three languages, Cree, Ojibwe and Inuktitut are considered strong enough to be able to survive the twenty-first century. However, many of the smaller languages are undertaking language revitalization efforts. They discuss contemporary Indigenous policies, programs and pedagogical strategies around language education in the aftermath of the Indigenous struggle for self-determination and increasing mainstream awareness of Indigenous language and education issues. A surge in Indigenous population growth resulting in an increasingly youthful population profile, a pull towards urbanization, and the rise of new technologies are all factors that are affecting the landscape of language and education in Indigenous Canada. Drawing on their data from projects in the Innu and Mi'gmaq communities, the authors demonstrate the range of Indigenous responses to the challenge of not one but two colonizing languages, English and French, and place these initiatives in a wider context.

A rather different situation is analyzed by Muhammad Amara who looks at teaching English to Palestinian schoolchildren in Israel. He examines policy and teaching English in relation to a complex linguistic repertoire, the Israeli context, and English as a global language. In Palestinian schools in Israel Arabic is the language of instruction and Hebrew is learned as a second language from the third grade on. English is then added as a third language for these pupils, or rather a fourth taking the spoken variety of Arabic used at home into consideration. Language education for Palestinian pupils serves different purposes: Arabic is the language of identity of the Palestinians, Hebrew is the language for social mobility and shared citizenship, and English is the global language. There is no distinct English curriculum for the Palestinian students, and they study it like other Israelis in all streams of the Hebrew education. Similar to other Israelis, English is as important to Israeli Palestinians because of its status as the international language of science, technology, commerce and communication and its usefulness in the touristic area.

In their chapter Indika Liyanage and Suresh Canagarajah examine the teaching of the local languages Sinhala and Tamil and how it affects interethnic understanding in Sri Lanka. The chapter explores in detail ambiguities from pre-colonial times

to the present day. It provides an historical overview of language issues in Sri Lanka, encompassing pre-colonial, colonial, postcolonial and post-war times. Becoming a British colony implied the introduction of English-only instruction and centralization of administration with English as the working language. Despite the fact that Sinhala and Tamil were somehow maintained, the social division resulting from the high status attributed to the English language was still present after Sri Lanka gained independence. The authors chart the development of linguistic tensions and argue that they arise from colonial times, with the aggressive promotion of English, and from the postcolonial settlement, which exacerbated ethnic differences by privileging Sinhala. The chapter also discusses the new Ten Year Plan (2012–2021) that wants to promote trilingualism, and identifies several practical challenges. The authors point to its potential success and suggest a way forward to overcome current problems.

In their contribution Sari Pietikäinen and Anne Pitkänen-Huhta analyze how Sámi students in Northern Finland interact with their multilingual worlds. On the basis of the premise that relative fixity and fluidity of language practices is an emerging property of interaction, they present an overview of the changing situations and discourses with regard to languages in the Sámi community. They draw upon methodologies and theories from ethnography and discourse studies and apply them to a local Sámi classroom situation. Using two multimodal and literacy tasks—one involving completing a picture to illustrate their linguistic worlds and the other writing books in Sámi—they analyze how this group of pupils between 6 and 12 years interact within their worlds and how their languages influence them. Thus, they examine the strategies and practices that this group of Sámi children develop, use and modify while navigating with their linguistic and cultural resources in a multilingual context. Their conclusion is that the method of gathering data was successful at illuminating how linguistically, culturally and developmentally dynamic the lives of these children are.

In the next chapter Richard Hill and Stephen May also focus on the minority children themselves. They present a case where English is not an outside prestigious language, but the dominant language in the wider society of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The chapter describes the changing nature of the relationship between Māori and English in Māori medium education. Māori-medium education has been available for 30 years in New Zealand schools. Since its inception, it has been lauded for its success at mobilising the Māori population, and bringing back the indigenous Māori language from imminent language death. The place of English language instruction is an ongoing political and pedagogical issue. Early Māori-medium programs were typically offered 100 % in Māori in an attempt to maximize the Māori language. The authors approach their topic in an innovative way through the perceptions and competences of the students themselves. The learners are grade 8 students in three different Māori medium schools. The analysis shows that students have positive attitudes towards the learning of Māori but they mostly use English in their out-of-school activities. Their skills in Māori are equally good in all three schools but the skills of English in the school with the least exposure to English are rather poor. For this new generation of students, school is the primary

source of Māori language exposure. As such, ongoing discussions on the place of English in Māori medium education focus on the balance needed to address English language needs while not jeopardising wider Māori language attainment.

The chapter by Mario E. López-Gopar, Narcedalia Jiménez Morales and Arcadio Delgado Jiménez is based on the results of a recent critical ethnographic study carried out in Oaxaca, the most culturally and linguistically diverse state in Mexico. Two student-teachers from Indigenous backgrounds draw on developments in critical pedagogies, particularly the notion of "identity texts". Children in this context grow up in a society where English and Spanish are associated with "development" and economic success and minoritized Indigenous languages with backwardness and marginalization. The authors focus on how multilingualism and Indigenous practices can be used imaginatively and constructively in the classroom in favour of Indigenous languages and Indigenous people's way of knowing, in order to challenge widespread discourses that give a superior position to English. They present a critical analysis of materials used to teach English and relate this to classrooms practices that attempt to foster Indigenous languages, interculturalism and egalitarian societies. In this project "English" is taught in order to (re)negotiate children's identities and to challenge historical and societal ideologies that position certain languages as better than others. The themes of this chapter are developing multimodal identity texts, the children's lives as foundation of classroom practices and teachers and children as book authors. The authors argue that English can be used to promote minority languages if taught critically.

The final chapter by Durk Gorter, Victoria Zenotz, Xabier Etxague and Jasone Cenoz provides a discussion of the significant social and educational changes for the Basque language, with a focus on multilingual education. It is one of the few relatively successful cases of minority language revival in Europe. A robust language policy in the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain led to important improvements in the sociolinguistic situation of Basque. However, the revival of the minority language was less successful in the province of Navarre and in the Northern Basque Country in France. The education policy first had to face the challenge of transforming a basically monolingual Spanish system into a bilingual system and now 30 years later, to develop into a multilingual system, with English as a third language at school and an increasing number of home languages. English has a high prestige in society, similar to other cases in this volume, but its use outside the school context is limited. The authors present results for the achievement in the three languages taught, Basque, Spanish and English, and also an outline of some future directions where current challenges and shortcomings are given.

This book brings together research studies that focus on the discussion of the obligation or the choice to use different languages at school, the learning of more than two languages, language practices at school and out-of-school, and policy development in multilingual education. The cases focus on the achievements and challenges faced by minority languages in multilingual education in countries worldwide where important changes take place and we strongly believe that they can be of interest to scholars, professionals and students interested in multilingualism and education in any part of the world.

Chapter 2
Adopting a Multilingual Habitus: What North and South Can Learn from Each Other About the Essential Role of Non-dominant Languages in Education

Carol Benson

Abstract This chapter compares and contrasts research, policy and practice from low-income multilingual countries of the South with findings from bi- and multilingual regions of the North. The focus is on the essential role of non-dominant languages in teaching and learning, and opening our eyes to the monolingual habitus in our perspectives. Terms and concepts are discussed in detail and a multilingual habitus is invoked. After relevant differences between Northern and Southern contexts are distinguished and similarities noted, the discussion moves on to highlight lessons learned in each context and the role of the researcher in promoting dialogue between the two.

Keywords Monolingual habitus • Multilingual habitus • Non-dominant languages • Mother tongue-based multilingual education • Integrated language curriculum • Educational development

2.1 Introduction

This chapter takes the position that educational access, quality and equity can no longer be discussed in any part of the world without serious consideration of the languages of teaching and learning. I use the plural expression 'languages of teaching and learning' to mean the purposeful use of two or more languages, not only to promote understanding on the part of learners, but to facilitate the acquisition of multiple languages both orally and in writing.

As a witness to and occasional participant in the expansion of the field that used to be called bilingual education into what we now know as mother tongue-based multilingual education (MLE), at least in the context of developing countries of the

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South, I have been struck by how a Northern *monolingual habitus* (as identified by Gogolin 2002, based on Bourdieu's 1977 notion of *habitus*) continues to pervade both research and practice. This particular set of unquestioned dispositions toward languages in society has given us a linguistic self-conception that has made us blind to multilingual, multicultural lifeways—and worse, to aspects of human multilingualism and multiculturalism that are worthy of investigation, recognition and promotion. It is particularly disturbing that even those of us who are plurilingual, who grew up with multiple languages in our environments, and/or who work in multilingual settings have been influenced by this socially dominant monolingual manner of thinking.

From the perspective of today's global world, where growing numbers of us interact through both formal (academic, business, economic, diplomatic) and informal (e.g. social networking) channels, a public education that fails to recognize and make use of the multiple language skills that learners have—or could readily develop—seems absolutely ridiculous. Yet this still happens in high–income Northern contexts with immigrant languages, and with regional and minority languages, as discussed in this volume, as well as Southern contexts with minority or even majority languages (numerically speaking) that are different than dominant or official languages. There is a kind of tunnel vision focused on the sole aim of teaching and learning a single dominant language, even to the point of neglecting the teaching and learning of other curricular content. Fortunately, there are signs of change, and we can cite cases where multilingual education of some kind is facilitating the development and promotion of multilingual and multiliteracies practices (García et al. 2007; New London Group 1996) and competencies (Elorza and Muñoa 2008).

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how research and practice in both North and South are moving the field of MLE forward in important ways, and how cases from low- and high-income contexts can learn from each other. I end with a call for greater interaction and collaboration between all of us working in MLE, particularly those focusing on non-dominant languages and their speaker communities.

2.2 Terms and Principles

To be able to discuss what North and South have in common when it comes to multilingual education, we need to have some common terms, or at least understand each other's terms. In this section I focus on terms that come from the field of bilingual education, suggesting new ways to talk about the concepts they represent, in an effort to bridge Northern and Southern discourses. First, however, I must acknowledge that I have adopted the highly imprecise abbreviations North and South to refer to relatively high- and low-income countries, respectively, in order to make rough comparisons. My intent is not to exclude middle-income countries like Thailand, Mexico or South Africa; however, the 86 countries that the World Bank designates as middle-income are "still home to one-third of the world's poorest citizens" (World Bank 2007:iii), so in terms of multilingualism and their responses

to it, many are likely to resemble the South. Given the generalisations necessary for this macro-level discussion, there will certainly be exceptions, but I will use particular cases to illustrate my points.

To begin with, the terms L1 and L2 for first and second languages have been widely used with relation to individual language proficiency and to bilingual educational models and methods. It appears that we have over-generalised the terms, since they only make sense in contexts where two languages are involved, e.g. in Northern contexts where learners speak one language (the mother tongue) at home—in other words, are relatively monolingual speakers of one home language—and subsequently learn a second (dominant societal) language outside the home, most often at school. Admittedly, this situation is true in some Southern contexts as well, e.g. parts of Latin America and Southeast Asia. Ironically, this terminology created for bilingual education could indicate a monolingual habitus in its connotation of sequence and separation (first one language, then the next) rather than acknowledging common bilingual practices like *translanguaging* (e.g. García 2009). The L1-L2 dichotomy breaks down quickly in contexts where learners speak more than one language at home, where groups of learners enter school with different home languages or where the L1 of one group is the L2 of another. It also fails to capture the reality of communities whose identity is associated with a language that not all of the community speak proficiently, as is the case of many Indigenous groups in North America as well as regional and minority communities of Europe. I would also claim that use of L1 and L2 has led to serious misinterpretation and misapplication of educational models. Specifically, I am referring to the fact that pedagogical methods/approaches/ strategies and even curriculum for teaching the L2 in Northern immigrant contexts, where the L2 connotes the dominant language in society, are vastly different from the methods/approaches/strategies/curriculum needed for teaching a language that is essentially foreign to learners and teachers, such as an official ex-colonial language in a multilingual African country. All L2s are not equal, nor are all L1s.

One partial solution to the L1-L2 issue, at least for clarification of which languages in society we are discussing, is to use terms I have already used here— e.g. home language(s) and dominant language(s). In recent work, Kosonen (2010) and I (Benson and Kosonen 2012) have used the latter term, *dominant languages* (*DLs*), to refer to languages that hold privileged status as official or national languages by countries and education systems, and *non-dominant languages* (*NDLs*) for languages that are not (yet) privileged in those domains. Of course, these terms could also be scrutinised for their either/or categorisation of language status or for the appearance that such categorisation is static. However, they allow us to appropriately identify the languages with which learners and their families are most familiar, linguistically and/or culturally, and their relative social status. In the North, this could help us bridge the gap between two seemingly contradictory "knowns" in language and education: one, that it is optimal for learning if the child's best language(s) are used for beginning (and continuing) literacy development and for learning academic content (Cummins 2009); and two, that education is a major force for "saving" languages lost or endangered through ignorance, neglect, suppression and/or systematic underdevelopment (Hornberger 2008).

The connection is the educational focus on the NDL in contexts where the language and its community have been disadvantaged. Even if learners are not proficient speakers of their NDLs, it is important for them to be able to access education in these languages for identity reasons and to maximise their cognitive potential, as well as contributing to the vitality of their communities.

The NDL-DL clarification also helps us avoid using the terms "minority" and "majority", which confound numerically smaller or larger groups with marginalised or dominant social status. Use of the latter terms has plagued discussions in African countries of people's home languages (spoken by the vast majority) vs. ex-colonial languages (spoken by tiny minorities). Coming back to bilingual education, the NDL-DL clarification helps us address the problem of misunderstood models mentioned above, specifically the widespread practice of misapplying "L2" immersion as developed for DLs like French and English in Canada to the imposition of foreign "L2s" on NDL communities in both North and South. It is rare for NDL communities and even educators in NDL contexts to have the linguistic or social resources or the literacies needed to support immersion as practiced in Canada—which, in fact, never ignored literacy in the L1s of learners the way misapplications of the model do worldwide (e.g. Genesee 1987; Swain and Lapkin 1991).

Recent work in Madagascar has led me to propose a refinement of the L1-L2 abbreviations. Educational language policy has hopped back and forth between French, the ex-colonial DL, and Malagasy, the NDL and home language of most citizens. In this case, the typical rallying cry in ex-colonial contexts in favour of the DL—"for national unity"—cannot be applied, since Malagasy is without doubt the most cohesive linguistic force in the country. But which Malagasy? According to Ethnologue (Lewis 2009), Malagasy is a "macro language", a collection of closely related individual languages "deemed in some usage contexts to be a single language [. . .due to] shared heritage and identity of speakers or other common features such as a common writing system and literature." To be able to discuss the issues involved in using "the L1", one of ten recognised varieties, for beginning literacy and instruction, we are using $L1_{fam}$ to refer to the learner's home variety (which should be the starting point in educational terms) and $L1_{std}$ for the standard variety used in teaching and learning materials (but spoken as a home language only by dominant Merina group members). Since even adult speakers of some varieties have difficulty comprehending 50 % of the $L1_{std}$ (Bouwer 2003), it is important to recognize the $L1_{fam}$ in lower primary education. Further, to clarify the fact that French is a foreign language for learners, we are using $L2_{edu}$ in contrast to $L2_{env}$ to indicate that exposure to the language comes through formal education and not the environment outside school.

There are some additional concepts that are relevant to this discussion of habitus. In her analysis of French educators' reception of immigrant or regional minority language speakers, Hélot (2008) shows how talented bi- or multilingual speakers of NDLs are seen only as deficient in French, a phenomenon she calls *ignored bilingualism*. This is another case of tunnel vision focused on the DL, where the monolingual habitus prevents educators from understanding and assessing the linguistic, cultural and cognitive resources that learners bring with them to the classroom. The monolingual habitus is undoubtedly behind many hurtful behaviours throughout the

North, where it is still common for teachers to tell parents from ND groups to speak the DL at home to their own children—and where many accede, leading to family tragedies like lack of a shared language between grandparents and grandchildren, and educational tragedies like children with underdeveloped oral languages due to lack of proficient speaker models.

Freeing ourselves from the monolingual habitus may be challenging, but we can adapt our terms and concepts to call attention to the realities of each sociolinguistic context and determine educational resources and needs. The idea of a single *mother tongue* is a case in point. In multilingual African countries, for example, adults are often proficient in more than two or more NDLs, depending on the degree to which their communities interact, and according to personal or economic needs. When this occurs in the family or in children's immediate environment, there is a need to pluralise the Skutnabb-Kangas (2000:105–108) definitions of mother tongue**s**, as she herself suggests, such that they are language**s** that one: (a) has learnt first; (b) identifies with or is identified with by others; (c) knows best; and/or (d) uses most (see also UNESCO 2003:15). We can add '(e) language**s** that one speaks and understands competently enough to learn age-appropriate academic content" (Benson and Kosonen 2012:112) to account for the use of NDLs that may not be learners' best languages, but may represent realistic alternatives to exogenous (foreign) languages of instruction. For example, Chimbutane's (2011) research on MLE investigated two ND communities in Mozambique: speakers of Changana, a major cross-border language of Southern Africa, and speakers of Chope, a numerically smaller group that is often compelled to learn Changana, which is linguistically related on the Bantu continuum (see e.g. Prah 2008 regarding the possible harmonization of neighbouring NDLs to maximise educational resources). *Languages of wider communication* (LWCs), often known as *lingua francae*, may be linguistically similar to other NDLs or may be contact languages like creoles, and they do have potential as languages of instruction (see e.g. Brock-Utne 2006, 2013 regarding Kiswahili in Tanzanian secondary education). These languages could be considered $L2_{env}$, as they are likely to be heard in the outer community, e.g. the market or the media. However, for educational purposes it should be noted that few ND group members in either North or South are likely to have developed $L2_{env}$ proficiency at the age they enter school, since they have not yet been exposed to domains in which these languages are widely used.

2.3 The Contexts of MLE in South and North

There are a surprising number of similarities between educational contexts in the South and North, despite the apparent differences in the resourcing of schools and the training of teachers. For purposes of comparison, Table 2.1 makes some generalisations about each group of countries/context in terms of the basic characteristics of learners, teachers, school system options (educational opportunities), and ultimate aims of the system.

Generally speaking, we know that education systems in both North and South cater to speakers of dominant languages (DLs), the major difference being that the

Table 2.1 Contexts of MLE in South and North

	South (low- and many middle-income multilingual contexts)	North (high-income multilingual contexts)
Learners (incoming)	Majority speak NDLs at home (diverse groups)	Minority speak NDLs at home (diverse groups)
Teachers	NDL speakers (same/different NDLs)	DL group: Educated/trained, teach through own DL
	Limited formal education/training	NDL group: Paraprofessionals, limited education/training, teach through NDL & DL
	Expected to be bilingual in NDL & DL	
System options	Submersion or "immersion" in DL ($L2_{env}$ for most, $L2_{edu}$ for elite)	Submersion or "immersion" in DL ($L2_{env}$ for most)
	Bilingual education/MLE	Pull-out L1 "support"
		Bilingual education/MLE
Aims	High proficiency and literacies in DL (and aspirations for international DL)	High proficiency and literacies in DL and international DL

DL is usually spoken by a majority in the North but by a minority in the South. Put another way, the majority of learners entering school at age 6 or 7 in many Southern contexts are speakers of non-dominant languages (NDLs), while speakers of NDLs tend to be in the minority in the North. There are certainly exceptions; for example, majorities in many parts of Latin America are DL speakers of Spanish or Portuguese, so in these cases our focus is on minority Indigenous populations. Other exceptions are many countries in Southeast Asia, though these countries have great linguistic diversity among their minority populations (Kosonen 2010). On the other hand, I know of no Northern case where the majority speak an NDL. There are middle-income cases like the Maldives that are doing their best to minoritise their own languages (see below).

The remaining rows in Table 2.1 describe the characteristics of education for speakers of NDLs. First, who are their teachers? In both South and North, teachers tend to be from the majority, which means that in the South they are predominantly NDL speakers with little access to the DL, whereas in the North they usually speak the DL and have little access to the NDL. In the South, this should mean that teachers are well positioned to teach bi- or multilingually, but unfortunately they are often constrained by a number of factors: they may not speak the same NDL as their students due to teacher placement issues; they may not have had access to literacies in their NDL; they are generally not well educated, meaning that any pre-service or in-service training they have attended has focused more on content than on pedagogy; and their oral and written proficiency in the DL may be limited. Some of these characteristics may be similar to paraprofessionals in the North (category 2 teachers), often known as teachers' aides, who may be brought into school systems serving immigrant learners to provide NDL support. These paraprofessionals are challenged by their marginalised status relative to the DL teachers and their lack of a career path.

There are more positive things that can be said about teachers in each setting. First, when teachers (even paraprofessionals) share an NDL—and, importantly, the corresponding cultural values and understandings—with learners, there is improved potential for initial literacy and content instruction to become more meaningful and participatory. In my experience, even without training or orientation, teachers who are given permission to use the NDL almost automatically become more effective, since they are faced with evidence of what learners can do instead of what they cannot—which is particularly important for girls (Benson 2004, 2005). Next, teachers who speak DLs are capable of learning NDLs and/or appropriate multilingual teaching strategies, as demonstrated by those who gain bilingual certifications in certain states in the USA, or by those who have learned or regained proficiency in regional languages like Euskara (Basque) in the Spanish Basque Country—where, incidentally, teachers were given up to 3 years of paid leave to attend in-service training that would help them gain the required level of Euskara language proficiency (Zalbide and Cenoz 2008). In Northern regional and minority language contexts and in Southern contexts with functioning MLE programmes, there is another category of teacher that is relatively well trained and plurilingual/pluriliterate in NDLs/DLs, who can serve as a role model for bi- or plurilingualism and use of multiliteracies.

Regarding system options, few learners in either set of countries are given an option; most are forced to attend programmes that use only or mostly the DL. These programmes may ignore the fact that learners are NDL speakers (submersion), or they may take some measures to adapt to this fact (immersion). In some Northern countries there are pull-out or after-school programmes to give learners L1 (NDL) support or extra L2 (DL) input. In Sweden, for example, Swedish L2 input is given by pulling learners out of regular classes during the school day, and L1 support is a "marginalised and peripheral" activity, offered once per week after school if there are at least five learners in the municipality who share an NDL (Wirén 2009:84).

The main difference between regions when it comes to L2 opportunities is that learners in the North are exposed to teachers who are proficient in the DL, while learners in the South are usually not, and as a result the "survival" (passing) rates are higher in the North—as is the degree of NDL loss. One of the best ways to counteract this is with bilingual or MLE programmes based on development of learners' NDL literacies and thinking skills, in other words, mother tongue-based MLE.

This brings us to a final feature of Southern and Northern contexts for education, and here is where the monolingual habitus is in full force, as evidenced by examination structures that rarely consider the NDL. The NDL is rendered invisible, and few or no assessments of educational achievement are done to demonstrate the unique and multi-faceted competencies including metalinguistic awareness that bi- and plurilingual learners may have developed, such as what Alexander (2007a:7) calls a "fifth dimension" of plurilingualism: the capacity to interpret between languages with facility. Whether or not learners are offered MLE, sooner or later the aim is for them to be highly proficient (even native-like) DL speakers, readers and writers, participating under the "same" conditions as learners for whom the DL is a home language. In many Southern contexts this expectation is rendered absurdly impossible; learners should be as proficient as European native speakers

of the ex-colonial language, despite the fact that they have never been exposed to such speakers, except possibly through the pages of foreign textbooks. Nowhere is this extreme focus on a European standard more evident than in the Maldives, where Cambridge examinations in English from the UK are used to determine which secondary school students will graduate, despite the fact that all are $L1_{fam}$ speakers of Dhivehi, the national language (Azza et al. 2008; Lewis 2009).

In sum, due to a large extent to the monolingual habitus, there are many similarities between North and South when it comes to how the needs of NDL speakers are considered—or not—in education systems. Differences in school resourcing and teacher education, along with political and/or colonial histories, appear to magnify the negative effects of the monolingual habitus on learners in the South. However, it is perhaps these magnifications that illuminate a way forward, as shown in the next section on trends in educational development.

2.4   The Role of NDLs in Educational Development

Recently, trends in educational development in the South seem to be generating discussion regarding the important role of NDLs in teaching and learning. This is at least partially because a main goal of the Education for All initiative has been "to ensure that by 2015 all children, especially girls, children in difficult circumstances, and children from ethnic minorities, have access to complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality" (UNESCO 2000). The recognition that marginalised people often come from non-dominant linguistic and cultural backgrounds has encouraged development agencies in partnership with national governments to examine the relationship of language of instruction to inclusion or exclusion. For example, an international conference on Language, Education and the Millennium Development Goals held in 2010 (UNESCO 2010) brought researchers, educators and development professionals together in Bangkok to discuss how the use of learners' home languages increases access to education, improves the quality of teaching and learning, and provides more equitable opportunities than use of a single dominant language. Then-Prime Minister of Thailand Mr. Abhisit Vejjajiva opened the conference with a number of comments in favor of mother tongue-based primary education, including, "We firmly believe that the inclusion of local languages in schools helps students improve their academic performance and strengthen their aptitude in the Thai language, while preserving the individual languages and cultures that make us unique" (Royal Thai Embassy 2010). Former First Lady of Timor-Leste and UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador for Education Ms. Kirsty Sword Gusmão described the latest efforts to make primary education available not only in Tetun, the country's lingua franca, but also in learners' home languages; she described a national languages writing competition that generated 600 entries in 23 languages, along with a plan to establish Mother Tongue Promotion Councils in each district of the country (SEAMEO 2010).

We would be hard-pressed to find examples of such high-profile actions in favour of NDL-based formal education in the North, especially given English-only and anti-bilingual education movements in the USA, for example. Along with trends in high-stakes testing and "accountability," which have not improved educational quality but rather done the opposite, particularly for speakers of NDLs (Wiley and Wright 2004). One noteworthy exception is the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Council of Europe 1992) which calls for minority languages to be taught throughout the education system, but argues more on the basis of linguistic and cultural preservation than on pedagogically sound practice; further, as noted by Cenoz and Gorter (2012) there is a large gap between formal acceptance of the provisions and actual implementation of the recommendations. In searching for other Northern efforts in favor of NDLs, I found an OECD report on "closing the gap" in educational achievement between immigrant and dominant group learners in European countries, which makes the following statement:

> The differences in language spoken at home and socio-economic background account for a large part of the performance gap between native and immigrant students. This indicates that immigrant students would benefit from language-centric policies and policies targeting more broadly less socio-economically advantaged students (OECD 2010:7).

This relatively weak statement regarding the importance of the learner's L1 in early and continuing education cannot compare to the efforts of government education ministries like that of Mozambique which, since 2002–2003, has been introducing mother tongue-based bilingual education into its system through a massive curriculum reform that offers schools the option of three "modalities": *(1) Portuguese-medium education,* which was the status quo policy up to the time of the reform; *(2) Portuguese-medium education with "recourse" to the local language as needed,* which has always been the practice; and *(3) Mother tongue-based bilingual education.* The model, like that of an earlier bilingual experiment, uses the L1 for initial literacy and learning, makes a transition to Portuguese (L_{edu}) as medium of instruction during grade 4, and provides for continued study of the L1 through the end of primary schooling at grade 7. Schools are currently operating in 16 different NDLs, and additional languages are in the process of development by linguists at the national university; meanwhile, despite severe resourcing constraints, repeating rates are down and passing rates are up (Chimbutane and Benson 2012).

Mozambique's model makes some improvements over early-exit transitional bilingual education as practiced in many low-income countries (Heugh 2011), but Ethiopia has gone much further towards shedding the monolingual habitus. Since 1994, Ethiopia has been implementing a national education policy that calls for the use of learners' mother tongues for literacy and learning through the end of grade 8, and the teaching of Amharic ($L2_{env}$) and English ($L2_{edu}$) as subjects. Because the policy, which is bilingual for L1 speakers of Amharic and trilingual for speakers of other NDLs (L1 + Amharic + English), has been implemented to differing degrees by the country's nine semi-autonomous regional states and two city administrations, our research (Heugh et al. 2007, 2012) could demonstrate the comparative advantage in terms of student achievement in regions using the L1 for the maximum number of

years. The Ethiopian case demonstrates that a sound MLE programme can be offered even in challenging, resource-scarce conditions—in over 20 languages so far—and that strong educational foundations built on NDLs can dramatically enhance school results for all learners (see also Heugh in Chap. 4, this volume).

It should be pointed out here that very few Northern education systems provide 8 years of NDL-medium education, and if they do, they do not cover 16 or 20 NDLs. Furthermore, if Northern countries attempt to excuse themselves from the responsibility by claiming that their NDL speaker groups are too small, we can refer to the case of Cambodia, where 90 % of the population are L1 speakers of the DL Khmer. In 2010 the education minister approved a set of guidelines that generalise implementation of NDL-based bilingual education to five northeastern provinces, based on a community schools model developed and piloted by CARE International that involves forming Community School Management Committees, adopting an alternative school calendar compatible with local farming activities, and recruiting and training bilingual community members to be teachers. Expansion, which began in 2011 in four languages but will soon extend to others, is seen as a key strategy for providing ethnolinguistic minority groups with more equitable access to quality basic education (Benson and Kosonen 2012).

In sum, there is increasing recognition in the context of educational development in the South that non-dominant languages play an essential role in improving opportunities for learners. While the monolingual habitus still seems to prevail in many cases, particularly in the adoption of transitional models of bi- or multilingual education, there are cases that show a way forward.

2.5   What South and North Can Learn from Each Other

What lessons can be taken from different parts of the world regarding the essential role of non-dominant languages in education? Table 2.2 summarises some examples from the South that might be useful for the North to consider, and vice-versa. This list is not exhaustive, but rather highlights promising trends or ideas that could promote the use of NDLs along with a more multilingual habitus.

I have given **non-dominant languages and cultures** their own category in this discussion of lessons learned, because it is often assumed that learners' cultures come along with their languages into the classroom. According to López (2006), the intercultural component of *educación bilingüe intercultural* as practiced in countries like Bolivia and Guatemala should not be taken for granted. Once used to educate Indigenous learners about dominant Spanish-speaking culture, this component is now being operationalised to include activities that valorise Indigenous knowledge and values—for example, by bringing community members into the classroom to demonstrate traditional health or agricultural practices—but also challenge traditional inequalities and help learners construct social and personal identities. López quotes Victor Hugo Cárdenas, an Aymara intellectual, as rejecting the traditional-modern dichotomy of South and North, saying, "We have also had

Table 2.2 Lessons learned in South and North

Related to:	South (low-income multilingual contexts)	North (high-income multilingual contexts)
NDLs and cultures	Operationalisation of interculturalism	Intercultural "first language and culture" programmes in NDL regions
	Community support structures	
Teacher supply and training	Recruitment and training of community teachers	Train, assess and certify teacher NDL proficiency
	NDL as the medium of teacher training	
Initiating and developing MLE	"Foot in the door" via NFE and piloting	"Selling" NDL promotion through trilingual programs
	Decentralised implementation	
Promoting MLE aims	Side-by-side bilingual materials	Integrated language curriculum
	Bilingual content testing	1 + 2 policy to make plurilingualism visible and desirable

our own modernity, the problem is that ours has been different from yours since it has been part of a different history" (in López 2006:259). In fact, the bilingual education policies in Bolivia and South Africa were meant not only for NDL speakers but for DL speakers as well, to promote NDL-DL bilingualism and mutual understanding (López 2006; Alexander 2003), a goal whose positive implications both Northern and Southern societies should consider.

An example from the North shows that the NDL-DL dichotomy itself requires more nuance. For example, a serious dilemma in the autonomous Basque and Catalonia regions of Spain is how to simultaneously promote the regional NDL and "counterbalance" the high social status of the DL while adequately developing the home NDLs of incoming immigrant learners (Cenoz and Gorter 2012). In the Basque Country, for example, programmes to promote integration of immigrant learners highlight their languages and cultures; a popular one is the Portuguese Language and Culture Programme, which is part of the school curriculum and attracts learners from a range of backgrounds including DL speakers (Cenoz 2009; Etxeberria and Elosegi 2008). Such programmes not only recognize but also celebrate and popularize learners' linguistic and cultural backgrounds, promoting mutual learning, plurilingualism and pluriculturalism.

Another contribution from the South is the respect some programmes give to non-dominant communities as active partners in the development of appropriate schooling. In contrast to DL education, where families may be left out of decision-making processes, the NDL-based schools in Cambodia, as mentioned above, are run by Community School Management Committees made up of women and men of all ages who recruit, support and monitor teachers from the community, make decisions about the school calendar depending on local growing seasons, check teacher and student attendance and achievement, and assist with development of materials in their NDL (Noorlander 2008; Benson and Kosonen 2012).

Moving on to **teacher supply and training ideas** from the South, the local recruitment system in Cambodia mentioned above works well in terms of getting committed NDL speakers into community bilingual schools, but it requires specialised in-service training including general education as well as L1 literacy, L2 (DL Khmer) proficiency and teaching methodologies. It is a successful stop-gap measure until affirmative action strategies can be implemented to permit NDL speakers to enter teacher training institutions for formal qualifications—which in turn means developing appropriate bilingual training curricula. Another creative stop-gap measure as practiced in Bolivia is the pedagogical secondary school programme known as the *bachillerato pedagógico*, giving Indigenous girls a secondary education while preparing them to return to their communities to be bilingual teachers (Albó and Anaya 2003). This might not work exactly the same way in the North, but secondary school speakers of NDLs could be organised to work with younger speakers on NDL literacy, and paraprofessional and professional career paths could be designed to cultivate L1 and bilingual teachers.

In Ethiopia we found evidence that teachers should be given at least some of their education and training in the NDL so that they gain the academic NDL proficiency (CALP per Cummins 1981) needed in the classroom—as well as the belief through experience that the NDL is capable of expressing scientific thought (Heugh et al. 2007, 2012; see also Alexander 2007b regarding the 'intellectualisation' of African languages). One lesson for the South comes from the Basque Country where Euskara, the NDL, is linguistically distinct from Spanish, the DL, and where 35 years ago most teachers lacked the NDL proficiency needed to teach through Euskara. As mentioned above, a 'pull-out' in-service training programme was implemented in the 1970s to ensure that teachers gained the necessary NDL skills, and this was accompanied by a system of language testing and certification, taking the teaching staff from 5 to 95 % bilingual and biliterate (Zalbide and Cenoz 2008:10). The political will required to channel resources to this system is admirable and perhaps difficult to emulate in the South, but the South certainly has the linguistic resources to develop NDL testing instruments and to integrate certification into existing teacher placement procedures, and the results could valorise NDL proficiency both in education and in society.

One issue in both North and South is **how to initiate MLE** if there are currently no NDL-based programmes. In the South, the case of Cambodia shows that bilingual community schools can be developed in parallel to the formal education (FE) system—i.e. as non-formal education (NFE)—and then adopted as part of the formal system once their good quality and viability are demonstrated. Incidentally, this allows time and opportunity for the linguistic development of NDLs, particularly if they have not previously been written. I call this a 'foot-in-the-door strategy' because stakeholders who have never experienced L1-based MLE need to see or experience themselves what it can do. Another such strategy is experimentation or piloting; the case of Mozambique, like that of Bolivia, illustrates how official language-in-education policies can be brought in under curriculum reforms once the positive aspects of NDL-based bilingual education are demonstrated through experimentation. In all of these cases, relationships needed to be built and

maintained with educators and the public from local to national level, so that results of the NFE projects or FE experiments could be discussed and implications drawn for policy and practice beyond a few communities.

Once a policy is in place, experience has shown that **implementation** needs to be gradual and to allow for local decision-making. In the case of Mozambique, the fact that the bilingual modality is optional has led to empowerment of communities and a great deal of ownership of bilingual schools, which might not have occurred had the decision come top-down; meanwhile, educators and linguistics have had time to prepare for implementation—though there have been many reports of schools 'going bilingual' without any preparation whatsoever, responding simply to popular demand (Chimbutane and Benson 2012). In Ethiopia, our team attributes the large-scale success of MLE policy implementation to decentralisation, which has allowed each regional education bureau to make appropriate decisions based on the linguistic, cultural and educational needs of its communities. Not all regions have been successful at fully implementing 8 years of NDL-based education for all learners, but some regions are more heterogeneous than others, some languages are more developed than others, and some communities demand MLE more than others—and all have the national policy as an ultimate goal, along with highly successful models in some regions. The lesson for both North and South would be to provide sound policy, models and opportunities for local decision-making regarding implementation. One Northern example of goal-setting is the development and monitoring of the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which calls for NDLs to be present 'at all appropriate stages' of the education system (Cenoz and Gorter 2012:313). Though as mentioned above it is not legally binding, it gives countries benchmarks and specialist assistance to move toward compliance. It would be even better if the pedagogical basis for L1-based education could be established and extended beyond the historical or political status of one's ethnolinguistic group, to all learners.

A relatively recent **development** in the promotion of NDLs Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community of Spain and Frisian in the Netherlands concerns the creation of trilingual programmes that attract learners and their families by offering at least three languages in the curriculum: the NDL, the DL and international DL English (Cenoz 2009; Cenoz and Gorter 2012; see also Gorter et al. in Chap. 12, this volume). These programmes "sell" NDL teaching and learning by utilising pedagogical arguments in favour of multilingualism while taking advantage of the relative popularity of English. Taking this lesson to the South could be dangerous, as existing resources would be best spent on programmes in learners' own languages, not in promoting a foreign language, no matter how prestigious. However, many countries including Mozambique and Cambodia are already planning to include English as an additional language in their already overloaded primary curricula, and this might represent an opportunity to promote a truly multilingual view of languages and literacies in teaching and learning.

Promoting the aims of multilingualism is already being done in the North by the Basque Ikastola system, which is implementing an *integrated language curriculum* that uses the NDL (Euskara) as the main language of teaching and learning while

systematically teaching DL Spanish and one or two additional languages, English and/or French. Consistent with Cummins' (1981) principle of Common Underlying Proficiency and what we know about cross-linguistic transfer, there is a set of competencies that can be learned in any language, oral and written competencies that are language-specific, and appropriate methods for teaching and assessment that aim for plurilingualism and pluriliteracies for all learners (Elorza and Muñoa 2008). There are some examples of materials and methods in the South that would at least partially support such a multilingual view of learning, particularly when it comes to content area instruction, e.g. in mathematics and the sciences. One is the use of side-by-side bilingual learning materials, where the NDL is on one page and the DL on the facing page, illustrations are shared, and the content covers the same theme, either written in authentic language or based on translation. These materials provide vocabulary and concepts in both languages, allow family members to help learners with homework, support bilingual teaching methods like Preview-Review (alternating languages to activate prior learning and check for understanding), and promote linguistic comparison. Another idea from the South, this one from promoters of multilingualism at PRAESA in Cape Town, South Africa (Plüddemann et al. 2004) is to develop side-by-side bilingual tests, where test questions are the same on the NDL and DL sides, and learners can answer any one question in either language. Since the objective of the test is for learners to demonstrate knowledge of the subject, the language in which they demonstrate that knowledge is flexible. I believe that if side-by-side bilingual materials and tests could be introduced in early-exit transitional bilingual programmes in North or South, they could help teachers move toward stronger and more additive approaches.

I conclude this discussion with a strategy from the North for the promotion of multilingualism, and that is the European Commission's campaign since 2002 around the formula of $1 + 2$, referring to one's mother tongue plus two additional languages (European Commission 2008. Despite the monolingual habitus hidden within it, i.e. the idea that people have one mother tongue and need to learn two other languages in sequence, as well as its limitations in practice to three DLs (Cenoz and Gorter 2012), the formula itself has proved adaptable to bilinguals $(2 + 1)$ and has made the aim of multilingualism visible and desirable. Adopting a multilingual habitus means adopting such an aim and placing NDLs alongside DLs in the equation.

2.6 Remaining Issues and Conclusions

The monolingual habitus is not based on real human conditions in most parts of the world, nor does it adequately equip us to work with the languages and cultures that learners bring with them to school. It prevents teachers from seeing what learners can do, and it prevents researchers from investigating all of the overlapping competencies that bi- and multilinguals have or could have in their repertoires. It may even prevent us from using terminology that clarifies the types of languages we are talking about in planning and implementing educational programmes.

There are still many issues to address if we are to adopt a multilingual habitus. First, we need to interrogate how learners are assessed, both in terms of their languages (language-specific and cross-linguistic competencies) and in terms of content learning. Testing curricular content only in DLs creates barriers for learners, while setting up a backwash (or washback) effect on the system that makes stakeholders believe that only the DL is important.

Another issue is how research conducted on monolingual L1 speakers in the North can actually be applied to learners in multilingual societies in the South. For example, research on initial literacy among English speaking monolingual children is currently being applied in large-scale testing and promotion of early literacy in the South, without regard for differences in context and the nature of the languages themselves. Research on the learning of English has long dominated our understandings of second and foreign language acquisition, but there is a great deal of evidence that this research does *not* apply to all languages and should not be allowed to dictate research agendas.

Finally, we are still learning how to define and document—as well as how to promote and develop—the unique competencies that are multilingualisms and multiliteracies. We are still exploring what transfer means, both to the individual and to the multilingual curriculum. What strategies are successful learners employing, and how have they discovered them? How can we assess integrated multilingual competencies in a fair way that does not compartmentalise them? How can we take into consideration the oral and written communicative competencies that multilinguals have? If we can define and document these competencies, we can better explain why MLE is a desirable educational approach for all learners, and why NDLs should indeed be placed alongside DLs in all educational processes.

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Chapter 3
Models for Trilingual Education in the People's Republic of China

Bob Adamson and Anwei Feng

Abstract Since 2002, the People's Republic of China has instigated a variety of language policies in education ostensibly designed to foster trilingualism in ethnic minority groups. This chapter reports the findings of a project studying the implementation of trilingual education policies (covering the ethnic minority language, Chinese and English) in Yunnan, Sichuan, Guangxi, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Jilin, Gansu, Guizhou, Qinghai and Tibet. The study identifies four models of trilingual education—accretive, balanced, transitional and depreciative—that have emerged in the different regions, and explores reasons for the various manifestations. While there appears to be consensus among key stakeholders regarding the potential benefits of trilingual education, the differences in the four models reveal tensions in the context of policy implementation.

Keywords Trilingual education • Language policy • Bilingualism • Minority language • Chinese • English

3.1 Introduction

Since 2002, the People's Republic of China (PRC) has instigated language policies in education that have resulted in schools in ethnic minority areas being required to provide trilingual education. These moves form part of a broader movement initiated

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by the State Council to enhance and speed up the reform of minority education (State Council 2002). The three languages are the ethnic minority language (L1), standard Chinese (L2) and English (L3). The rationale behind these policies is that the three languages can play their respective roles in both the social and economic development of the country. Briefly, for a minority group, L1 is crucial for maintaining their linguistic and cultural heritage, thus their identity, and for children's cognitive development (Baker 2011); L2 is equally important for social and economic integration and L3 is helpful for engaging with internationalisation.

Alongside the Han majority (which constitutes approximately 91.6 % of the total population), there are 55 ethnic minority groups that are officially recognized by the Chinese government, and these groups have a total population of around 106 million living in 155 largely resource-rich but economically under-developed ethnically autonomous areas, many of which are located near the country's frontiers (China National Commission for UNESCO 2004).

Although the treatment of ethnic minority languages in the education system has varied between support and suppression since the founding of the PRC in 1949 (Adamson and Feng 2009; Lam 2005), the equality of ethnic groups is enshrined in law and their languages are protected by state institutions. The emphasis on the equality of citizens and their right to education and to use or study their ethnic language are assured by legislation. In China's *Law on Regional National Autonomy* (1984), Article 10 states: "Organs of self-government in autonomous areas responsible for the local protection of all ethnic groups have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written language"; China's *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language* (2000), Article 8, states "all nationalities in China have their own language and freedoms and rights"; and the *Constitution of the PRC* (1982) states: "Each nationality has the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written language."

On the other hand, standard forms of written and spoken Chinese, the mother tongue of the Han majority, are strongly promoted in the school curriculum as the language of national unity and communication. The political and economic capital associated with Chinese obviously endows this language with a high social status. The resources and roles (such as its use as the medium of instruction) ascribed to Chinese are pivotal in determining the status of the ethnic minority language in the curriculum. When Chinese receives a significant amount of curriculum time and is used as the medium of instruction, this scenario is very often detrimental to the well-being of the minority language. To a lesser extent, the same is true for English, although it is very rare for this language to be used as the medium of instruction in schools in ethnic minority regions. In summary, trilingual education–if implemented effectively–can reduce the potential marginalisation of ethnic minorities by enabling them to engage in the social and political life of mainstream society, and to accrue economic benefits through national and international trade, while at the same time allowing them to maintain and develop their own cultural identity and language. On the other hand, however, poorly conceived and/or ineffectively implemented trilingual education policies might have the opposite effect, leading to a greater sense of marginalisation and economic deprivation.

English has been included in the primary school curriculum since 2002 from Grade 3 because of the international economic advantages that proficiency in that

language can bring (Ministry of Education 2001a, b, c). The benefits accruing to ethnic minority regions include increased tourism, joint ventures, international economic activities (such as the important China-ASEAN Expositions held annually in Guangxi) and other 'open-door' activities (Blachford and Jones 2011; Huang 2011; Sunuodula and Feng 2011). The importance ascribed to English in contemporary PRC has "reached unprecedented heights, although fundamental cultural and political tensions remain" (Gil and Adamson 2011: 30). These tensions include the perception that the current expansion of English language education is inevitably widening the economic gap between the Han majority and minority groups and augmenting the educational inequities that minority peoples already face in the traditional system (Beckett and MacPherson 2005).

In the PRC, as elsewhere in the world, the term "trilingual education" is used in different ways. In one, narrow, sense, it refers to the use of three different languages as the media of instruction to teach different subjects across the curriculum: for instance, the use of English to teach mathematics and science, while standard Chinese is used for social science subjects and an ethnic minority language is used to foster cultural and mother tongue literacy. A broader meaning of the term can extend this definition by including the teaching of the three languages in the curriculum, but using only one or two language(s)—usually the mother tongue of the minority group or standard Chinese, or both—as the medium of instruction for most school subjects. This chapter is concerned with trilingual education in the latter sense.

Trilingual education has proved controversial on the grounds of equity and social justice. The approaches to trilingualism, although legislated at the national level, are heavily influenced by regional and local factors. Feng and Sunuodula (2009: 699), for example, in their analysis of language education policies for minority groups found a 'weak link' at the regional, prefectural and county levels in Xinjiang with regard to English language provision for the minority students. The decentralisation of policy-making that was enshrined in the educational reforms of 1985 produced a plurality of education systems within the PRC (Lewin et al. 1994). As a result, provinces and autonomous areas now enjoy a high degree of independence in education policy. In regions where there are significant populations of ethnic minorities, this flexibility has produced a variety of responses in terms of language policy. Generally speaking, such language policies reflect the social status of the ethnic minorities in that particular region and their position in relation to the majority groups (Adamson and Feng 2009). Supportive policies in respect of minority languages can help to preserve and revitalise these languages, as well as contribute to the conservation of cultural heritage; suppressive policies can result in linguistic decline, social marginalisation and economic disadvantaging (Edwards 2004).

Controversy also surrounds the linguistic and cognitive demands the policy of trilingual education places on students. Can students cope with learning three languages? There appears to be agreement in the literature that bilinguals are normally better at learning a third language in schools than monolinguals are at learning a second language and that they have a cognitive advantage over the latter (Cenoz and Jessner 2000; Clyne et al. 2004; Hoffmann and Ytsma 2004). Cenoz (2003) and

Cenoz and Valencia (1994) demonstrate with empirical evidence that bilingual students (Spanish and Basque in their case) achieved higher proficiency in the English language than monolingual Spanish counterparts learning the same language. However, the European cases of trilingual education are characterised by relatively close linguistic distance between the three languages and relatively rich linguistic environments. As a result, the European model of trilingualism promoted in the literature usually calls for early introduction of the three languages (Ytsma 2001).

However, in the emerging literature on trilingual education in the PRC, despite occasional reports that give support to the hypothesis, many educators and researchers argue that minority students experience various cognitive, cultural and psychological problems in learning the third language, in this case English (e.g., Zhang 2003; Jiang et al. 2007). The European model, therefore, does not seem appropriate for the PRC (Jiang et al. 2007; Zhang 2003). This indicates the need to establish indigenous Chinese models of trilingual education that take into account the range of contexts in which they operate.

This chapter reports on a project that studied the implementation of trilingual education policies across ethnic minority regions in the PRC, including Yunnan, Sichuan, Guangxi, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Jilin, Gansu, Guizhou, Qinghai and Tibet. Using first-hand data collected from each region, the research team examined language policies and curricula, as well as language allocation in the classroom and in the community, and analyzed them in their specific historical, socio-political, demographical, economic, geographical and cultural contexts. Three years of research by the teams yielded substantial data and exciting findings which will be reported in Feng and Adamson (2014). Given the confines of this chapter, we will restrict ourselves to a summary of the findings by answering the following two questions:

1. What are the common and diverse features of language policies promoting trilingualism at the planned (policy-making) and implemented (classroom) levels in different regions of the PRC?
2. What are the main factors that account for these commonalities and diversities?

The team uncovered four models in schools, each incorporating a different view of trilingual education and thus producing students with different levels of trilingual competence. These models have only superficial similarities to the European model, as they have to take account of the complexities of the Chinese context. Analysis of the factors influencing the four models reveals various tensions in the context of policy implementation.

3.2   Complexity of the Context

Implementing the policy intentions to foster trilingualism is complicated by a number of geographical, economic, political and linguistic factors. The relative remoteness and poverty of many regions—with some notable exceptions—where ethnic minority

groups live creates problems in resourcing language education policies. A survey conducted in rural areas of western China, home to many minority groups, found that "37.8 % (of the schools) do not have enough desks and stools; 22.3 % have unsafe classrooms or offices; and about 32.5 % do not have enough funds to buy teaching aids, ink, chalk, and other supplies" (Yang 2006: 20). A common problem facing school management is finding sufficient teachers of English who are able to teach through the ethnic minority language. In many areas, primary students have to learn English through Chinese, adding to the cognitive and linguistic demands of mastering an already complex and alien language. English is linguistically-distant from the second language, Chinese, in terms of syntax, vocabulary, pronunciation and written form. Both English and Chinese are often linguistically-distant from the minority language. Under these circumstances, ethnic minority students tend to have a high drop-out rate, while those who stay in school often perform worse than their Han majority counterparts (Hu 2007a; Jiang et al. 2007; Tsung 2009).

The problem of medium of instruction was exacerbated in the past by unfavourable official attitudes towards the minority languages. Despite some periods during the 1950s and 1980s when minority languages and cultures were more respected, for decades the dominant mentality of policy makers and educators has been to standardise China's education in terms of the curriculum, textbook materials and school activities. A culturally and linguistically homogenous education system oriented towards socialisation was the chief aim (Hansen 1999). Linguistic assimilation among policy makers can be best illustrated by the claim made by the then influential personal secretary of the former all-powerful paramount leader, Mao Zedong, that the central "government must eliminate Han dialects within 10 years and eliminate minority languages after we develop them into *Hanyu Pinyin* scripts" (Tsung 2009: 88). Such an attitude on the part of the key policy makers meant that minority languages were hardly valued. Minority pupils found it difficult to compete with their majority counterparts as they had to depend on their second language, not their mother tongue, for studying school subjects.

The homogenous approach was what Cummins (2004) describes as a coercive policy that avoided the complications arising from the diversity of ethnic minority languages in the PRC. The ethnic minority languages may be categorised into three types (Zhou 2000, 2001): Type 1 group refers to those that possess both the spoken form and traditional written form of the language of wide usage and have had regular bilingual education since 1949. Type 1 groups include Uyghurs and Kazakhs living mainly in Xinjiang, Tibetans in Tibet and Qinghai, Mongolians in Inner Mongolia, and Koreans in Jilin. Type 2 groups are those that have functional writing systems of only limited usage and have had only occasional bilingual education since 1949. This type consists of Dai, Jingpo, Lisu, Lahu, Miao, Naxi, Va and Yi minority groups living mainly in the south-west of the country. The remaining 42 minority group communities belong to Type 3 which are defined as those that had no fully functional writing systems before 1949 and since that time have had limited or no bilingual education.

Lack of access to languages with high social and economic capital can create marginalisation (Beckett and MacPherson 2005; Adamson and Feng 2009), which can be exacerbated by a perception in the mainstream that ethnic minority groups are difficult to assist, hard to reach in both the geographical and social sense, conservative, culture-bound, and lacking the know-how to help themselves (Abdulrahim 1998). Even today, the life opportunities of many minority pupils depend on 'preferential policies' (Feng and Sunuodula 2009; Adamson and Xia 2011). One important policy of this type is to allow minority students to enter higher education institutions with lower marks in the high-stakes National College Entrance Examination. Once attending the university, however, minority students are often found to struggle in order to keep up. When they graduate, they find themselves seriously disadvantaged in the job market.

While many regions where ethnic minorities live are remote and poor, not all minority groups suffer from what Vaughan et al. (2005) label marginalisation through "spatial and economic poverty". Zhou (2001) reports that some minority groups such as Koreans and Russians have a higher percentage of college degree holders than the national average, including the Han. The Korean and Russian groups are particularly advantaged owing primarily to the fact that South Korea and Russia play important roles in the world economy. There is, for example, a high demand for Korean graduates in neighbouring South Korea and by the companies set up by Koreans inside China (Lin 1997). As a minority group inside China, the Koreans have become empowered not because they are linguistically or culturally assimilated into the mainstream society, but rather because they have demonstrated a strong sense of identity, as well as multilingual and multicultural competence.

Some groups receive more state attention than others. The location of many of the ethnic minority groups on the geographical fringes of the PRC means that some groups have ties of ethnicity and language that stretch across the border outside China, which could be seen as a positive for trade purposes but as a negative in some instances for political reasons if the state feels there is a danger of "separatist" sentiments developing, as in the case of Xinjiang and Tibet. There can be differences in state policies among the minority groups because of these factors. Groups such as the Koreans are in a strong position to negotiate their identity and bargain for linguistic rights, creating a dynamic relationship with the state or regional government (Schluessel 2007). Some groups including Uyghurs, Yi, Dai, and Kazakhs managed to overturn the policy made in the 1950 to change their writing scripts and retained their original ones. During the 1980s, many groups re-established the minority language as the medium of instruction in primary schools (Tsung 2009), which matched the preference of parents for their children's education (Postiglione 1999; Zhou 2000, 2004). Nowadays, in addition to standard Chinese, the high-stakes national College Entrance Examination is administered in Tibetan, Uyghur, Mongolian, Korean, Kazakh, and Kirghiz (Mackerras 1994), all of which are the languages of minority groups in border areas where there are strategic economic and political considerations to be taken into account.

3.3   The Project

Clearly, the issues surrounding the provision of trilingual education in the PRC are complex and sensitive. However, research into the diverse ways in which trilingual policies have been conceptualized and implemented in different parts of the country has hitherto often been limited to one individual region or education institution (e.g., Huang 2007; Jiang et al. 2007). Feng and Sunuodula's (2009) research into three minority dominated regions (Xinjiang, Guangxi and Yi Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan)—their findings are reported in Adamson and Feng (2009), Feng (2007, 2008), Feng and Sunuodula (2009) and Sunuodula and Feng (2011)—was more comprehensive, but largely based on small-scale studies and documentary analysis of policies. Their research found that many minority pupils fail to acquire age-appropriate competence either in their minority home language or the majority language (standard Chinese) and thus are unlikely to avoid the negative consequences of this for their social and economic development; second, while some minority regions have responded to the official 2001 English Curriculum Standards by enhancing English provision, some only seem to pay lip service and their priority remains the further enhancement of the teaching and learning of Chinese. The low standards in English resulting from the (lack of) regional policy have a detrimental effect on the students' life chances.

To date, little multilevel, comparative work has been carried out in mapping the different forms of policy and their impact across the country. Our earlier study (Adamson and Feng 2009) examined the tensions behind trilingual education policies by comparing the implementation of policies for three minority groups: the Zhuang, the Uyghur and the Yi people. It found that ethnic minority languages are at a disadvantage compared with Chinese and English, and that additive trilingualism (the learning of three languages without mutual detriment) is facilitated by strategies such as supporting the development of not only speaking competence but also literacy in the minority languages and provision of space in the school curriculum for all three languages; while the barriers to additive trilingualism include the low social status ascribed to minority languages because of their lack of associated economic and political capital. However, as already mentioned, this report was not a comprehensive nation-wide study.

Bearing this in mind, our 2009 project started with the establishment of the network of nine research teams across the PRC, in Gansu, Guangdong, Guangxi, Inner Mongolia, Jilin, Qinghai, Sichuan, Xinjiang and Yunnan—teams studying Guizhou and Tibet joined later. The results of these regional projects provide an overview of the policies and the implementation of trilingualism and trilingual education, the forces that shape them, and the implications for social equity, in different parts of the PRC. Multiple-case studies were conducted in three areas in each autonomous region or prefecture covered by the network. To ensure that the data from each region was comparable, the research teams chose three sites that demographically represent the population typology of the region or prefecture, geographically represent the whole region or prefecture in terms of typography

and transportation, and economically, represent the region or prefecture in terms of GDP. At each site, four schools (three primary schools and one secondary) were chosen using criteria similar to those used for determining the sites. Primary schools are as representative as possible in terms of resources, history, demography and geographical location. Only one secondary school (an ordinary school attended by minority children) was chosen because minority children from remote village schools tend to go to a secondary school in a town specially catering for minority children. They are unlikely to go to the privileged 'key schools' (*zhongdian zhongxue*) dominated by the Han majority children.

The research teams include members who are proficient in the minority language and Chinese, or other local language(s). The field visits took place over an extended period (several weeks) and included questionnaire surveys, documentary analysis of policies in each region, observation of classroom practice and interviews with stakeholders such as policy makers, and focus groups of teachers, parents and children.

In order to provide coherence across the project, an annual symposium was held, bringing together all the teams and the principal investigators to decide on common approaches to data collection, analysis and presentation, and to report their findings. These symposia facilitated the application of comparative education research methods. The added value of using a comparative perspective is that the contextual factors (geographical, economic, political, linguistic, etc.) are brought into sharp relief by juxtaposition.

3.4 Results

The project distinguished four policy models of trilingual education. All four models were found to be present in some regions such as the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (IMAR), while three of them were found among Korean communities in north-eastern parts of the country, and at least two of the models were present in all other regions.

The first model focuses strongly on the ethnic minority language. In a typical school in remote areas in the IMAR, for instance, the 9 years of compulsory education from Grade 1 in primary schools to Grade 3 in junior secondary schools is provided through the medium of Mongolian. A similar situation is also found in many schools in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (Zhang et al. 2014). Chinese and English are taught as subjects in the curriculum. The school environment, as manifested by the slogans on the wall, notices, portraits (including prominent figures in their history), school documents and spoken interactions between the teachers and students emphasizes their own language and culture. Take for example one school situated in a remote region where the vast majority of people are Mongolian. Han students attending the school tended to be bilingual in Chinese and Mongolian (Dong and Narisu 2014). In this model, the ethnic language tends to have strong vitality, being widely used and supported by the community. Where favourable

conditions exist with regard to resources and regional policies, the other two languages are equally robustly promoted by being allocated sufficient time in the curriculum for the students to acquire a high degree of competence in Chinese (L2) and a developing competence in English or another foreign language (L3) (Zhang et al. 2014). This model is likely to produce additive trilingualism, by which we refer to complementary competencies in L2 and L3 that pupils acquire in school and in society while maintaining a high standard of their L1 and their ethnic identity. For the purpose of comparison with other models, we call this an Accretive Model.

The second model is a balance between Chinese and the minority language. The balance is evident not only in terms of the medium of instruction but also in terms of the ethnicity of the teachers and students. In one school visited by the research team in Inner Mongolia, the ratio of Han teachers to Mongolian teachers was 30:70, and that of Han students to Mongolian students was 60:40. As well as using both languages as the medium of instruction, the school encourages a bilingual environment through the use of both Chinese and Mongolian notices. The playground language was also bilingual. English is taught as a school subject and the teacher used either Mongolian or Chinese to explain difficult points, depending on the preferred language of the students in the class and the ethnicity of the teacher. The second model is more nuanced than the first model, as the school and the local community display more ethnic diversity. The ethnic language is supported, while the educational needs of the students to learn through a familiar language is respected. The bilingual pupils are likely to perform well in other school subjects, including English, their L3. Again, for comparison, we label this a Balanced Model.

The third model often exists in two different forms. First, in some mixed communities such as towns and cities where there is a substantial minority population (see Dong and Narisu 2014), the medium of instruction can be the reverse of the first model, that is, Chinese is used as the medium of instruction. However, the dominant ethnic minority language in the region is taught as a school subject to all students in the school, irrespective of their own ethnicity or mother tongue. This might be seen as an attempt to maintain the minority language, but there is little role for the minority language to play in later years of schooling. Second, in many remote village schools in which one minority group dominates, the minority language is used as the medium of instruction for the first 2–3 years, with Chinese taught as a major school subject. Starting from Year 3 or Year 4, all school subjects are taught in Chinese. In both cases, English is again taught as a school subject, with Chinese being used when necessary in those lessons.

The two forms are included in Model 3 because they have one feature in common, that is, the transit to using Chinese as the medium to teach all school subjects. The second transitional form of bilingual education is widely seen in many Type-2 and Type-3 communities (Zhou 2001) which possess a weak degree of ethnolinguistic vitality. In some Type-1 communities such as Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang, as the transitional model privileges Chinese, there is concern to preserve the ethnic minority language and to propagate it among non-native speakers. This model is especially applicable in regions where there is a significant Han population but the ethnic minority language also possesses a strong degree of vitality. However, while the

cultural value of the ethnic minority language might be acknowledged, its vitality is often insufficient for it to be used as the predominant language in the school. The third model, in these two forms, is therefore termed a Transitional Model.

A fourth model is represented by schools that proclaim to be ethnic minority language schools but, in reality, do not use the minority language as the medium of instruction nor even teach it as a school subject. Such schools also claim to be bilingual, in the sense that Chinese and English are studied as languages in the curriculum and Chinese serves as the medium of instruction. In these cases, the bilingual label reflects the curriculum content, while the trilingual label reflects the ethnic profile of the students. The outcome is almost inevitably the loss of pupils' L1 and eventually their ethnic identity. This is a Depreciative Model.

Table 3.1 summarises the four models with key features ascribed to each of them. It can be seen that these four models form a continuum, moving from the predominance of the ethnic minority language at one end to the predominance of Chinese at the other. In all the models cited English is taught as a school subject, with some schools in cities or towns providing earlier and better quality than those in remote areas, even though in some parts of the PRC—most notably the richer areas of eastern China—English is used in some schools as the medium of instruction for teaching a certain percentage of school subjects (Hu 2007b, 2008) and immersion programmes in English are also mushrooming in these areas (Qiang et al. 2011). The medium of instruction used to teach English in minority regions follows the line of the continuum.

As the aims and outcomes of different models specified in Table 3.1 indicate, the Accretive and Balanced Models are likely to help pupils develop additive trilingualism, whereas the Transitional and Depreciative Models may result in subtractive trilingualism, that is, the gaining of L2 (plus some competence in L3 if it is taught) at the expense of L1. How can we explain the existence of the four different models? The data from our analysis of policy documents and our interviews with key informants reveal that each model exists within a complex ecology that is determined by geographical, linguistic, pedagogical, historical, economic and political factors. The first model of language policy tends to be found in areas that are more remote and where the ethnic minority group forms the majority of the school population. In these areas, there is also a degree of economic stability that allows schools to recruit a sufficient number of teachers proficient in the ethnic minority language—the model often breaks down when such teachers are unavailable because potential recruits have joined other adults from the local community seeking employment as migrant workers in the big cities.

The vitality and prestige of the particular ethnic minority language is also related to economic factors. For example, Korean, Mongolian and some of the languages found in Yunnan Province have high economic capital because of the opportunities they afford for cross-border trading. Another factor is political: the first model is supported by the local, regional and central governments where the language and the associated minority people are not perceived as representing a threat to the integrity of the PRC—it has become less common to find these schools in Xinjiang, for example, where more measures are being taken to assimilate the minority

Table 3.1 Summary of the four models found in the trilingualism-in-China project

Models	Aims	Key features	Likely outcomes
Accretive	To maintain L1 and ethnic identity	Strong ethno-linguistic vitality	Strong competence in L1 and strong sense of ethnic identity
	To foster real trilingualism	Using L1 as medium of instruction (MoI) as minority pupils dominate	Where favourable conditions exist, it is likely to develop:
		Strong presence of L1 culture in school environment	Strong performance in all school subjects
		Given favourable conditions, L2 and L3 are promoted robustly as school subjects	Additive trilingualism
Balanced	To develop both L1 and L2	Mixed Han and minority groups	Strong competence in L1 and L2
	To promote ethnic harmony	Using both L1 and L2 as MoI	Strong performance in school subjects
		Strong presence of L1 and L2 cultures in school environment	Likely to foster additive trilingualism
		L3 could be introduced according to state policies	
Transitional	To eventually shift to L2 as MoI	May be mixed Han and minority groups or a single minority group where ethno-linguistic vitality is weak	Acquiring competence in L2 at the expense of L1 (leading to subtractive bi- or trilingualism)
(a) L2 as MoI but L1 taught	To assimilate pupils into the mainstream	L2 emphasised in classrooms	Unlikely to foster trilingual competence
(b) L1 as MoI in early years to change to L2 as MoI		Pupils' L1 is only deemed useful as a stepping stone	
Depreciative	To aim usually covertly for monolingualism	Claiming to be minority school with mixed minority groups or a single minority group of pupils	Acquiring competence in L2 at the expense of L1 (leading to subtractive bi- or trilingualism)
	Linguistic and cultural assimilation	L2 is the only MoI and L1 is ignored	Little chance to develop trilingual competence

groups and Mandarin Chinese is being more forcefully promoted than ever before (Tsung and Cruickshank 2009).

The second model tends to be found in areas such as medium-sized cities where there is more of an even balance between minorities and Han Chinese. It can also be located in regions where there is a high degree of historical assimilation by the ethnic minority group into the mainstream Han society, as is the case with the Zhuang in Guangxi Province (Adamson and Feng 2009) and with the Yi in towns and cities in Liangshan, Sichuan Province (Liu et al. 2014). Again, there needs to be a degree of economic stability to ensure a sufficient supply of bilingual teachers, so that the use of both the minority language and Chinese as the medium of instruction can be assured. An interesting insight into the dilemmas and preferences of people living in such areas was provided by the principal of one of the schools visited by the research team in Inner Mongolia. The principal had chosen not to send his son to his own school, preferring instead that he should attend one that offered just Chinese and English, and that used Chinese as the medium of instruction. "It was tough to make a decision whether to send him to my school or a Chinese school. Thinking about his future, Chinese is more useful than Mongolian when he is grown-up," he said (Dong and Narisu 2014).

As noted above, the two transitional forms of the third model are primarily found in big cities or towns in regions dominated by one ethnic minority group. In these cities, there is often a very large Han population and considerable economic interaction with the rest of the PRC, which requires proficiency in Chinese. Many schools in cities in Inner Mongolia, for example, adopt this model. The transitional model is also widely seen in village and town schools in regions where a minority group (usually a Type-2 or Type 3 community) dominates but only maintains the home language in its spoken form. Pupils in these instances need home language support in the early years of schooling but that language quickly gives way to Mandarin Chinese in late primary school years. Zhuang in Guangxi and smaller ethnic minority groups in many counties in Yunnan, Guizhou, Sichuan and Hunan often adopt this transitional model.

The fourth model is found in areas where there is a low political commitment to the maintenance of the ethnic minority language, or where there is considerable difficulty in recruiting teachers from the ethnic minority community. It also tends to occur in schools where there is a mixture of ethnic minority students, making the provision of teaching in those languages economically inefficient and difficult to accommodate in the curriculum.

In addition to these major models, other practices are found for students from specific contexts—often in those areas that are deemed politically sensitive. For example, in Xinjiang, minority and Han schools are sometimes merged as *Min Han Hexiao* (Tsung 2009); another practice is Tibetan and Xinjiang Neidiban—classes usually located in schools in relatively developed inland cities in other provinces but attended by Tibetan or Xinjiang secondary students away from their minority communities.

3.5 Conclusion and Discussion

These four models are underpinned by prevailing attitudes towards the three languages—the ethnic minority language, Chinese and English. It appears that in some localities the minority language is barely tolerated, and it is only promoted in contexts where it has high economic capital. Chinese is strongly preferred because of the economic, social and political benefits that are associated with the language. This phenomenon represents a contradiction between national policy and practice at the grassroots, which stems from the political and economic complexities of the local context. There is a further contradiction with regard to English. Although the language is taught in the majority of the schools studied in the project, and its value as a language for international trade and communication, as well as for access to higher education, is recognized, many schools struggle to recruit teachers with a reasonable competence in English or the ability to teach the language through the students' mother tongue. This logistical problem tends to undermine the efforts of national policy to produce trilingualism in ethnic minority students.

The tentative conclusion of our research is that trilingual education that does not have a detrimental effect on minority pupils is only really flourishing in schools that use the first model and to some extent the second model if it is used appropriately. The effectiveness of the first two models is clearly fully demonstrated by Zhang (2008) and Zhang et al. (2014) in Yanbian where the minority language is powerful in economic and socio-geographical terms and where many pupils are trilingual or multilingual. These strong forms of trilingual education may well serve as good models for minority groups such as Russians and Kazakhs in Xinjiang and Mongols in Inner Mongolia which are areas with potential for easy cross-border trading and communication. More encouragingly, in some areas where the minority language does not seem to have much current economic values, some small-scale but significant work has been done to revitalise the home language and empower the minority pupils with bilingual or trilingual competence (Geary and Pan 2003; Finifrock 2010). Such work demonstrates that for a minority group the value of trilingual education goes beyond mere financial benefits to include greater confidence in one's own culture and identity and better cognitive development.

Unfortunately, in our nation-wide analysis to date, the first or the second model has rarely been found—most schools studied in the project appear to follow the third and fourth models, which are seen as weak or subtractive by definition (Baker 2011). The implication is that much work remains to be done in the PRC if the national policy of fostering trilingualism in ethnic minority regions is to be achieved. It is important that this work is carried out as issues of social justice are at stake. Failure to support the language of an ethnic minority group runs the risk of weakening their sense of identity and linguistic and cultural maintenance. Research also shows that without a fully-developed mother tongue, minority pupils usually suffer cognitively and academically, which causes them to lag behind their majority counterparts. Inadequate provision of English can affect their life chances, as it reduces access to higher education and lucrative employment, which in turn may affect ethnic harmony and social stability.

However, stronger models do exist in specific contexts in China. The challenge—which is familiar to everyone engaged in comparative education —is transferring stronger models to other contexts in ways that are appropriate and effective.

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Chapter 4
Margins, Diversity and Achievement: System-Wide Data and Implementation of Multilingual Education in Ethiopia

Kathleen Heugh

Abstract Language education policy based on system-wide implementation of multilingual education in Ethiopia has much to offer the international fields of language policy and bi/multilingual education. In this chapter centralised language policy in the capital, Addis Ababa, will be compared with a decentralised approach taken in the most linguistically diverse region, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (SNNPR). System-wide assessment demonstrates that student achievement in the more linguistically complex and decentralised setting exceeds that in the centralised and more limited bilingual system of Addis Ababa. Attention will be drawn to the influence of policy on teacher education, learning materials development and student achievement.

Keywords Language education policy • Mother tongue medium education • Teacher education • Assessment • Local languages • Amharic • English • Multilingual education • Minority language • Decentralized education

4.1 Introduction

Language education policy based on system-wide implementation of multilingual education in Ethiopia has much to offer the international fields of language policy and bi/multilingual education, particularly minority education. Since 1994, Ethiopia has implemented the only contemporary system of multilingual education across a country of nine regions and two city-states, and approximately 80 ethnolinguistic communities. Early critiques of this policy suggested that the larger linguistic communities, namely, speakers of Amharic and Afaan Oromo (also known as Oromifa), together comprising 60 % of the population, would be

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advantaged over the smaller minority communities, especially those in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (SNNPR), home to 56 of the country's languages. In this chapter the implementation of a bilingual policy (Amharic and English) and student achievement in the capital, Addis Ababa, will be compared with the implementation of multilingual education in 14 languages in SNNPR. Implementation is more centralised in Addis whereas, owing to the scale of diversity in SNNPR, there is far greater administrative decentralisation and multilingual education is more widespread here than in any other region of Ethiopia. Contrary to the expectations of critics, including Wagaw (1999) and Cohen (2007), education provision in SNNPR has ensured the development of multiple (minority) languages for primary education. Furthermore, student achievement in three languages (a local language, Amharic and English) exceeds that of students in the capital state where they receive education in only two languages (a dominant Ethiopian language of high status, Amharic, alongside English). This may be the first time that data has been brought forward to show how major regional languages, minor regional languages and local or minority languages, can be developed and used in the system-wide implementation of multilingual education.

The implementation of a multilingual education system between 1994 and 2004, across the country progressed surprisingly rapidly for a poor country. Simultaneously, the rising impact of globalisation came to be understood in Ethiopia as symbolically and materially connected to English. A change of the federal education minister in 2002 was followed by increasing emphasis of English, with significant federal resources being re-routed from multilingual education towards an English Language Improvement Programme (ELIP) from 2004. From this point, the trajectory of the multilingual education system has become partly derailed by the allure of English.

Ethnographic data collected in 2006 (reported in Heugh et al. 2007) show several phenomena which may be useful to the field of bilingual and multilingual education in other settings. Firstly, they show that it is possible to implement multilingual education across an entire country, particularly where educational responsibility is devolved to regional authorities. Secondly, in Ethiopia, some regional authorities have facilitated the accommodation of languages used by smaller ethnolinguistic communities, through a process of further decentralisation to zones and even to local (woreda) levels. Thirdly, even where a country is poor, and resources are minimal, decentralisation appears to encourage more obvious signs of community participation in education. Fourthly, decentralisation has led to local skills enhancement (communities working alongside linguists and education officials to develop languages and materials for primary school education). Fifthly, minority students in SNNPR, who have three languages (a local or minority language; the national language, Amharic; and English) demonstrate higher school achievement than those with only two languages (the dominant national language, Amharic and the internationally dominant language, English) in the capital. This finding: that students in a rural-remote region, SNNPR, outperform students who are closer to the resources of the country's capital, Addis, is particularly important. Sixthly, once the focus of attention is diverted from a multilingual approach to education and repositioned towards a privileging of one language, English, the earlier progress in the development

of local languages slows down. Contradictory trends (support for multilingual education and earlier displacement of local languages by English) compromise earlier gains.

The chapter draws on a growing body of research on language education policy in Ethiopia (e.g. Bloor and Tamrat 1996; Wagaw 1999; Markakis 2003; Gebre Yohannes 2005; Cohen 2007; Smith 2008), a system-wide evaluation of the implementation of language education policy (Heugh et al. 2007) and more recent system-wide student assessment data (MoE-NoE 2004; GEQAEA 2008). Analysis of these data (e.g. Gebre Yohannes 2009; Heugh et al. 2012) has focussed on policy and/or implementation of policy across the entire system, and as such, attention has not yet been drawn to what we may learn of the differences of implementation and student achievement between the two sub-systems which are the subject of discussion here. Of particular interest is that in addition to the use of Amharic and English, SNNPR has developed 12 (minority) languages to be taught as subjects through 8 years of primary education, with students learning to read and write in three languages by the third grade of school. Given that the achievement of these students, who are spatially distanced from the country's centre, exceeds that of students in the country's better resourced capital city, and who learn to use only two (dominant) languages through primary school, these data appear to be counter-intuitive. Several sets of data (ethnographic field data including close observation, interviews, and two sets of systemic assessment data) are triangulated in order to attempt to explain under which conditions minority students demonstrate higher levels of achievement than do students from a dominant ethnolinguistic community, in the multilingual system in Ethiopia.

4.2 Educational and Linguistic Context

Formal education provision reached significantly fewer students in Ethiopia than most other African countries until the 1990s. Although there had been a very long history of literacy and education via Coptic Christianity (dating back to the second century) and Islam (dating back to the seventh century), the transition to formal education facilitated by Western missionaries and colonial administrations had passed by Ethiopia. Ethiopia, was never colonised although it did experience two short periods of Italian occupation, the second between 1936 and 1941 (Pankhurst 1972). No colonial infrastructure, which included the transplanting of a European education system, took root in nineteenth and early twentieth century Ethiopia. The imposition of Amharic, spoken by 27 % of the population (CSA 2008) as the main language of administration and education in the country, was resisted by the more numerous (34 %), speakers of Oromifa (Afaan Oromo). Despite attempts at modernisation during the stewardship and rule of Haile Selassie (from the 1940s to 1979), formal schools beyond the country's capital Addis Ababa and a few other major urban settlements, were rare. A politically oppressive period under Dergue rule did little to extend education between 1979 and 1990. A change of government in the early 1990s resulted in a new approach to education. Each ethnolinguistic group would, in theory, be able to claim and insist on 8 years of mother tongue/home

language medium education (MTM) (Ministry of Education/MoE 1994). A federal system of governance has encouraged a decentralisation of education to each of nine regions and two city-state administrations (effectively, eleven authorities) beyond the federal Ministry of Education (MoE). Different conditions have resulted in variations of policy implementation. All secondary and further education is to take place through the medium of English. Eight years of primary school were intended to be conducted through the regional language which corresponds most closely to each student's home language. While this has been the case in several regions, there are variations with fewer years of MTM. Amharic continues to have special status in the country, functioning as the national 'working language', or language of wider communication. English has assumed the position of language of highest status, being associated with access to the global markets, both material and symbolic (Bourdieu 1991). The majority of the population of 84 million live in rural or remote regions of the country, and of these about 20 % are pastoralists (nomads) whose mobility has led to significant degrees of marginalisation, and limited access to resources, including formal education. This does not, however, preclude pastoralists from exercising their agency and voice (e.g. PACT 2008).

Despite much initial scepticism about the capacity to implement the Education and Training Policy of 1994 (MoE 1994), including fear of the larger linguistic communities being advantaged above those from minority communities and related fears of ethnolinguistic conflict (e.g. Wagaw 1999; Markakis 2003; Cohen 2007) the reality on the ground is different. With a few exceptions, there has been remarkable progress in policy implementation within 10 years. Bloor and Tamrat (1996) however warned that the policy might, in time, succumb to increasing emphasis towards English. With the distribution of languages (two very widely used languages, Oromifa and Amharic are the home languages of more than 60 % of Ethiopians; two smaller regional languages, Tigrinya and Somali, together spoken by 12 %; and another 28 languages used in schools), it is possible to offer education in the home language of at least 85 % of Ethiopian primary school students[1], while the remainder receive primary education through Amharic as a second language. This is an achievement which has not yet been matched in any other linguistically diverse setting.

The position of English in Ethiopia and in its education system is unusual in Africa. Whereas in other 'Anglophone countries' English was used during colonial times as the language of governance and up to 20 % of the population came to be proficient in the language, this is not the case here. English is the language of 0.3 % of the population according to the most recent (2007) census data (CSA 2008); however, it is more likely that with recent increased use of the language for trade, diplomacy, and in limited educational functions, it is probably likely that 1 % of the population is able to use it for specific purposes. Most of those who are able to use English are located in

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[1] This is a conservative figure. Up to 90 % of students could receive home language education for at least for four years, and 75 % could receive MTM to the end of the eighth grade, if regional authorities were prepared to share and use resources developed for languages, curriculum and learning materials across different parts of the country.

Addis Ababa, since this is the political and economic capital of the country, and Addis is also the headquarters of the African Union and the United Nations in East Africa. These contextual factors mean that there is need for senior officials to communicate with international development agency personnel. Diffusion of English across the rest of the country is extremely limited, however, and there is little functional use of English in the daily lives of the majority of citizens. Very low primary school retention rates, and extremely low throughput to secondary school (17 %, of which most are boys) or beyond, mean that exposure to English through the schooling system has been limited and the residual impact of impoverished teaching of the language is negligible.

Data which emerge from this setting therefore offer a unique opportunity to those who have concerns about or interest in how it is that multilingual education might be provided and resourced in minority, small regional, and larger regional/dominant languages across an entire country. Given the increasing pressure towards English, the data from Ethiopia also contribute to the growing body of research on the educational outcomes for students of a transition from the local language/s to English medium in settings where English is a foreign language.

4.3 Implementation of a Multilingual Education Policy

While there is a single policy, the Ethiopian federal system allows a degree of regional autonomy in regard to implementation. This means that in fact, different models or interpretations of policy have been adopted by the different regions. In some regions students have a bilingual (Amharic and English) education system. In other regions students have a trilingual system (a local/regional language, plus Amharic plus English).

As discussed elsewhere, the period 1994 to 2004/2005 was one of enormous enthusiasm and industry in regards to diverse language education within the country (cf. Benson et al. 2012; Heugh et al. 2012). Thus far, insufficient attention, however, has been drawn towards the conditions under which minority languages were nurtured and developed for educational use.

The Ethiopian education system is accompanied by regular system-wide assessment at the end of the fourth and eighth years of primary schooling. This means that it is possible to track student achievement trends against policy implementation or variations in policy implementation. As implied above, several regions have ensured that most students have 8 years of MTM; several others offer 6 years of MTM, others offer 4 years of MTM, and in others, students receive Amharic as a second language medium of education for 6 years.

Teacher training until recently was conducted in the regional language corresponding to primary education, but since 2006 the tendency has been to conduct all teacher education through English. Downward pressure of English in teacher training and earlier transition to English medium education in some regions has begun to undermine the multilingual principle of the education policy, as predicted by Bloor and Tamrat (1996).

4.4   A Comparison of Multilingual Education in Addis Ababa and Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (SNNPR)

In this section, the language education setting of each of the two regions is presented in conjunction with findings recorded in the data collection phase of the study of medium of instruction in the primary schools of Ethiopia (Heugh et al. 2007). Attention is drawn towards the privileging of the dominant Ethiopian language, Amharic, in Addis Ababa, compared with the development and use of multiple (minority) languages in SNNPR. Data gathered from one minority community, the Gamo-speaking community, are used to illustrate the findings at a micro-level. Community involvement in education and the positions of informants in the two regions are compared. Finally student achievement is compared. The following table offers a summary of the kind of data collected, much of which will be discussed below (Table 4.1).

4.4.1   Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa, the federal capital is physically located in the middle of the largest region, Oromiya, and surrounded by speakers of Oromifa. For political and historical reasons, the language of administration in Addis is Amharic. The Addis Ababa Regional Education Bureau (REB) has designated Amharic as the regional language to be used as the medium of instruction in primary schools. Amharic corresponds with the home language of only about 50 % of school students in Addis, which means that the remaining students receive Amharic as a second language (L2) medium education. Students with home languages from many different parts of Ethiopia are located in schools in Addis, but owing to the geographic location of Addis, most of those who are not speakers of Amharic are speakers of Oromifa. Although the education policy requires 8 years of MTM, the REB decided to use Amharic as the only Ethiopian language medium of instruction for 6, rather than 8 years. Amharic is provided as if it were the L1 of all students, there is no provision of Amharic being taught or used as an L2 in this system. At the same time, it is likely that most school pupils have already learned to use Amharic as a lingua franca in their neighbourhoods before reaching primary school. Amharic medium is followed by a switch of medium to English in the seventh grade. English as a subject is taught throughout the schooling system, in order to prepare students for the switch in medium 2 years earlier than required by federal policy. Despite the intention to switch medium to English in Grade 7, even in the oldest and possibly most prestigious school in Ethiopia, classroom observation revealed that teachers are not able to make the switch to English medium at this stage. Even in Grade 9, where this switch is mandated by federal policy, observations revealed that teachers continued to have considerable difficulty in using English medium, even

Table 4.1 Summary of data collection in the two regions

Region	School observations and interviews	Teacher training Institutions	Questionnaires	Other
Addis Ababa	3 schools; 7 (urban/ urban outskirts) classroom observations	Kotebe College of Teacher Education	4 regional education bureau officials; 1 school principal; 8 teachers; 11 teacher trainers	Addis Ababa University (AAU); Ethiopian Languages Research Centre, AAU; Centre for Curriculum Development; National office for Education Assessment
SNNPR	2 urban, 7 rural schools; 10 classroom observations	Arba Minch Teacher Training College	9 regional and zonal education officials; 18 teachers; 96 students; 10 parents	Informal discussions, over 4 days, with residents of Arba Minch and surrounding villages, often initiated by residents curious about the presence of the researchers

after they had completed a recent 200 h in-service English Language Improvement Programme (ELIP) provided by the federal Ministry of Education (MoE).

In effect, the switch to English in Grade 7 has been an unrealistic and impractical wish of the city administration rather than an educational reality. Observations showed teachers changing the scheduled topic of the lesson to one which could be presented in English; monosyllabic 'safe-talk' question and answer practices for both teachers and students; and teachers making glaring semantic and spelling errors in English.

Whereas teacher education for primary school teachers was provided through the medium of Amharic for the first 10 years of the multilingual policy for the country, i.e. until about 2004, a federal decision was made to change to English medium teacher education for teachers who would be teaching students beyond Grade 4. This coincided with the British Council advised ELIP intervention mentioned above and adopted by the federal ministry. Interviews with teacher educators at

Kotebe College, the country's most highly esteemed teacher education institution, in Addis, revealed a tension between the new English language policy, introduced here earlier than elsewhere, and the reality that student teachers do not have the English language skills to make meaning from training in English. The drive towards English at the college is co-ordinated by the head of English who is also head of the English Language Improvement Centre (ELIC) at the college and which falls under ELIP. ELIP is directed and managed by a British consultant hired by the MoE (see: McLaughlin et al. 2005). In effect, the ministry's consultant has set the agenda for the ELIC in every teacher education institution, and for the roll-out of ELIP, across Ethiopia.

In terms of other changes to teacher education introduced in 2002 (MoE 2002) students who enroll in the country's teacher education college programmes are those who either leave school midway through secondary (end of Grade 10) because they have not achieved sufficiently high grades to remain in secondary school; or those who have completed Grade 12, but with grades that would not allow them access to university. With the switch from teacher training in Amharic to English, in this college, as advised by the ELIP consultant and supported by the ELIC head, student teachers in the colleges have neither the English language skills to study teaching through English, nor do they exit with the English language skills to teach through English by the time they leave the college. According to teacher educators who were interviewed, and who offered insights during a teacher educator conference held at the college[2], the main challenge at the college was that students are not able to understand English. An English lecturer who has been at the college for nearly 20 years said that since the change from Amharic to English medium the students 'pass through the college untouched'. He meant that they had very little meaningful access to the curriculum. It was the view of at least two of the interviewees that the changes to teacher education policy had compromised the quality of teacher education.

If this is the situation in the country's capital, Addis Ababa, where access to educational resources and English is greatest, one would expect that the situation would be less promising in the more remote regions of the country. In order to illustrate the enormity of the challenge for students, Hussein (2010) offers compelling data in an auto-ethnographic account of the psychological effect of both what he calls 'the prized face' and 'the feared face' of English in the education system of Ethiopia. By this he means that Ethiopian students are encouraged to nurture unrealistic expectations of their access to high level use of English, yet they suffer painful disappointment and shame when they find their hopes dashed.

In another context, the principal of the oldest primary school in Ethiopia contributed the following insights during an interview and in response to a question regarding his views on the efficacy of the in-service ELIP being rolled out across Addis and the whole country. The teachers in his school had already completed the programme: 'ELIP has improved the teachers' professional skills, but teachers feel that they still need more English to feel comfortable with teaching the language and

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[2] This conference was attended by the author.

through the language' (Personal Communication, 13 October 2006). The principal identified a complex matrix of difficulties in achieving quality education in the school: large classes; inadequate learning materials and facilities; and English language difficulties. 'Grade 7 pupils do face difficulties when they face the transition [to English]. Learners do not have English in their home or local communities. The school is the only place they find English' (Personal Communication, 13 October 2006). The school policy is to encourage teachers to use English even though school management recognises that both learners and teachers find this difficult and that both resort to code-switching.

What we found in Addis Ababa was that only one Ethiopian language, Amharic, was being used in the education system to serve the home language needs of students in this city administration. Little consideration was given to the linguistic needs of up to 50 % of students who are speakers of languages other than Amharic in this region. Secondly, Amharic was being offered as a medium for 6 years, not the full 8 years of primary education. Thirdly, the switch to English medium in school was clearly not successful in the seventh grade; and neither the students nor the teachers appeared to be coping with English medium even by the ninth grade. Fourthly, student teachers in Kotebe College were not coping with their teacher education programme being delivered in English. Fifthly, we did not find evidence of community involvement in the schools we visited in this region. School informants attributed this to parental expectation that the federal and regional authorities should assume full responsibility for resourcing schools.

4.4.2 Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (SNNPR)

SNNPR lies to the east and south of Addis Ababa, along the Rift Valley and bordering Kenya in the South. It is the most ethnolinguistically diverse region of the country, and the region is home to the smallest of the minority communities. The Regional Education Bureau (REB) initially made provision for the development and use of eight languages as languages of learning and teaching for the first 6 years of primary school (between 1994 and 2006). There was a short-lived attempt to 'harmonise' four closely related languages (Wolaita, Gamo, Gofa and Dawro) into one written language, 'Wogagoda', for the purposes of providing more cost-effective learning and teaching resources. However, owing to ethnolinguistic rivalries and suspicions of hidden agendas (see related discussion in Shohamy 2006) this resulted in vigorous resistance from civil society in 1999 and the attempt was shelved (Markakis 2003; Cohen 2007; Smith 2008). Increasing emphasis towards English from the federal MoE from 2004 onwards, with the implementation of the ELIP was accompanied by numerous visits by the ELIP team to SNNPR. Just as had been the case at Kotebe College in Addis, these visits encouraged greater use of English medium in teacher education, even amongst the pre-service student teachers who would be required to

teach through the medium of the local language. After 2 years of regular visits from the ELIP team, 2004–2005, the REB introduced changes to the implementation of the MTM policy in schools. From 2006, MTM was reduced from 6 to 4 years, although the local/minority language would continue to be taught as a subject to the end of Grade 8. However, although the use of MTM was reduced, the number of minority languages to be used as mediums of instruction in primary was increased. Since 2006 it has been possible for students to receive MTM in one of 12 languages to the end of Grade 4 and to continue to develop reading and writing skills in one of these languages (as subjects) to the end of Grade 8. Education officials in the zones accounted for the change of policy as having come from above (the REB) and distanced themselves from the decision, but they were prepared to offer some explanations. In part this policy change may have followed simmering tensions over the attempt to introduce Wogagoda and an alternative strategy to try to reach more minority students in the region. Offering MTM for 4 years, but in more languages, might have seemed more democratic and less exclusionary for minority communities. A second contributory reason was sensitivity towards increasing pressure from the federal MoE and the ELIP representatives towards earlier introduction of English.

Owing to the scale of linguistic diversity in SNNPR, decision-making is decentralised to the next two tiers below the REB, i.e. to the Zonal Education Bureaus and then to the Woreda (local) Education Bureaus. This also means that materials production in the various languages of the region are decentralised to the zones and woredas. This has increased participation and encouraged the development of local skills and industry (translation, printing school books etc.). While there is a perception that the skills-base in the zones cannot match those of the regional office or that of the federal offices, linguists from the Ethiopian Languages Research Centre at Addis Ababa University have in fact been working with local language developers and they have provided expertise in the development of minority languages.

Visits to both rural and urban schools in this part of SNNPR revealed significant information regarding different stakeholder views of the functional roles of various languages in the community as well as of their roles in the teaching and learning processes. In order to illustrate the situation, data from the Gamo-speaking community of the Gamo-Gofa Zone are discussed here. Arba Minch is a large town which is the centre of the zone and it is an educational hub for this part of the region, with a teacher training college and a new university.

The research team found significant evidence of community participation and informed decision-taking (agency) in rural schools in this region. For example, the school principal of a small rural village school, about 60kms from Arba Minch, demonstrated highly sophisticated, articulate and complex positions relating to language choice, use and student achievement:

> Students in this school always do well in the Ministry's exams in Gamo . . .they would like to be able to study in Gamo in secondary school since they think that this would assist overall achievement. . .
>
> The students who got the best achievement in Gamo (subject) were the ones who got the best scores for all areas of the curriculum. . .

Those who got poor results in Gamo were the ones who failed the national examinations. . ..
Teachers use Gamo and English side by side on the blackboard. . . (Rural school principal, 24 October 2006).

Even though neither the principal nor any of the teachers at the school were familiar with the theory of bilingual education, they recognised the educational advantages for students of MTM education and they also practised bilingual pedagogy. Students here assert their own agency and 'linguistic citizenship' (Stroud 2001) over their language repertoires while the principal exhibits his ability to engage with language planning activities 'from below' (e.g. Liddicoat and Baldauf 2008; Hogan-Brun 2010).

Such evidence from the school setting is seldom recognised by educational authorities, whether in Ethiopia or elsewhere in 'Anglophone' Africa. Instead, officials are more likely to claim that students, teachers and parents favour the earliest possible introduction of English medium education (e.g. Bamgbose 2000; Ouane and Glanz 2010, 2011). Civil society participation in education in the rural areas was evident here and in other rural contexts. Village communities cultivate dedicated tracts of land for the purpose of funding school requirements not supported by government, and they provide labour and materials to build classrooms, and to fashion tables and chairs for students.

In contrast, a school principal and other senior school management at an urban school, with closer proximity to Arba Minch Teacher Training College (TTC), and the influence exerted by the ELIP team, exhibited different positions. Although Gamo was supposed to be the medium of instruction in the first 4 years of this school, the principal informed us that the teachers had to 'translate' into Amharic, suggesting that he viewed bilingual practices as illicit. He also claimed to believe that it would be better to teach students in English from early on. There are two points here. Firstly, the code-switching between Gamo and Amharic are practical responses to the contextual needs of bilingual Gamo-Amharic urban dwellers. Secondly, the principal appeared to be advocating a deviation from explicit policy towards earlier introduction of English medium, as implicit in ELIP supported changes at the Arba Minch TTC. However, it was clear that he was uncomfortable speaking English and he made his excuses to escape from the researchers as quickly as possible. We were left in the company of the deputy principal and several teachers, including the head of English. The English teacher expressed a different opinion from the principal and suggested that students would learn more if they were allowed to learn through the medium of Gamo or Amharic beyond Grade 4. This deviated from the accepted script of the school and the deputy-principal quickly intervened to recast what the English teacher had told the researchers. The deputy-principal agreed that students and teachers could not express themselves well but that the solution was for all teachers to complete their ELIP training. The teachers who had completed their training initially offered almost identical, positive, reports of the programme that we had heard elsewhere in Somali and Harari Regions and also in Addis Ababa. These included the belief (and hope) that participation in ELIP would offer teachers liberation from the classroom and access to university and thus other higher paying employment. So, although the intention of ELIP was to increase

capacity in the schools, the agenda of the participating teachers was to use this as an opportunity to escape the classroom. However, teachers also admitted that their early enthusiasm for the efficacy of the programme had been short-lived. They soon forgot most of what they had learnt because there was little opportunity to use English outside of the classroom. This we had also heard in other regions. Classroom observations at this school were carefully monitored by the deputy principal. He allowed us into only carefully selected classrooms, those of teachers whom he thought were more proficient in the use of English. Teachers were observed reading bits of text-book material in English and asking students to respond to questions in ways that only required 'safe-talk' responses, for example:

Teacher: Is that so?
Student response: Yes, that is so.

The deputy principal was satisfied with these performances and upon departing from the classroom, did not notice the researcher lingering outside the classroom, eavesdropping on classroom discourse which switched back to more coherent and meaningful use of Gamo and Amharic.

So, what we found in Arba Minch, the urban context, was that senior educators expressed views which were not aligned with official explicit language education policy. At first sight they seemed to be at variance with policy. However, they were closely aligned with the implicit policy changes being advanced via ELIP, towards English, and thus in close alignment with the implicit move away from MTM as earlier set out in federal policy documents (MoE 1994, 2002). In other words we found alignment with the 'hidden agenda' or less explicit policy favouring English, and this was certainly evident in the views of several education officials in this zone and in the regional office visited a week later.

Our informants in Arba Minch expressed a range of often contradictory views about language preferences and practices. The closer the physical proximity to the office of the education authority and the TTC, the more the position was likely to mirror the accepted or official line of argument; the further away, the greater the latitude to differ. The principal in the rural school, at the furthest point from the reaches of the regional/zonal office, was able to express entirely contrary views to those of the principal and deputy principal of the urban school. His views, in fact, were very much in alignment with the explicit policy as set out in 1994. The principal, teachers and students at this school seemed to adopt a pragmatic stance towards using the minority language, Gamo, alongside Amharic for most communicative functions.

4.4.3 Comparison of Ethnographic Data Findings

Classroom observations and interviews with teachers, teacher educators and education officials in the two regions revealed that teachers were able to use Amharic medium with confidence in Addis, and both Gamo (minority language) and Amharic medium in the Gamo Zone of SNNPR. We noticed that students in the lower primary schools appeared to be able to cope with learning to use two scripts for literacy in two languages

in Addis and in three languages in SNNPR. In both settings, however, it was clear that making meaning from reading and writing skills in English was limited. Amharic is written using the Ethiopic script while Gamo and English are written using the Latin script. In each case, as soon as the transition or switch to English medium was supposed to occur (Grade 7 in Addis and Grade 5 in SNNPR), it became obvious that teachers and students were obliged to resort to code-switching and 'safe talk' (monosyllabic question-response) practices. However, where code-switching was regarded as illicit, teachers appeared to lack confidence and evidence of student writing in English showed disturbing signs of 'pseudo-writing' (in the urban schools in both Addis and SNNPR) (cf. Reeves et al. 2008). Where the simultaneous use of two languages was encouraged (in the rural school in SNNPR), both teachers and students appeared far more confident and classroom discourse appeared to extend beyond safe talk.

There is no doubt, however, that the pressure to use English for teaching and assessment in secondary school in Ethiopia was having a washback effect on teaching and the implementation of language policy in primary schools. Owing to the very low diffusion of English for functional purposes across Ethiopia, whether in the country's capital, or whether in the most linguistically diverse region, SNNPR, teachers are not ready to use English with confidence, and students are making little progress in English. There is much pretence about using English medium, but it is at best a mirage. Secondly, despite claims from both the federal MoE and the REBs that most people (including teachers and parents) are pressurising education authorities to switch to English medium education earlier and earlier, we found other countervailing evidence. Stakeholders hold multiple positions towards all languages: the local regional language, Amharic and English. Informants express clearly articulated positions regarding the functional use of different languages. In other words, we did not find preferences based on 'either-or' scenarios. Rather we observed informants demonstrating a functional approach towards the linguistic diversity of their local context. In other words they practised 'functional multilingualism' (Heugh 1995) and they wished to continue developing their linguistic repertoires. What was noticeable was that informants closer to the centre of power (e.g. in Addis Ababa), appeared to be more accepting and uncritical of the views of the central authorities, particularly in regards to the explicit policy relating to the national working language, Amharic, and the implicit policy changes regarding English (e.g. in the urban school in Arba Minch and several settings in Addis). In contrast, the data shows that informants, who are some distance from either the zonal/regional or federal authority, appear to be able to exercise a greater degree of autonomy or agency, and they hold a more pragmatic view of language use.

4.4.4 Comparison of Systemic Assessment Data of Student Achievement

The federal MoE has conducted system-wide assessment of students at Grade 4 and Grade 8 at 4-yearly intervals from 2000 onwards. The 2000 and 2004 assessments can be linked to the implementation of the multilingual education policy before the

Table 4.2 Year 2004 Grade 8 achievement scores by region and years of mother tongue medium education (MTM)

Region	MOI	English %	Maths %	Biology %	Chem %	Physics %	Average %
Addis Ababa	MTM 6 and Amharic L2 ±50 %	42.3	40.5	33.7	35.9	31.1	36.7
SNNPR	MTM 6 and Amharic L2 ±50 %	41.0	39.7	36.8	37.5	31.3	37.4

Data from MoE-NoE (2004); and Table 10.3, Heugh et al. (2012:247)

Table 4.3 Year 2008 grade 8 achievement scores by region and years of MTM, after investment in and earlier introduction of English medium

Region	MOI	English	Maths	Biology	Chem	Physics	Ave 2008	Ave 2004
Addis Ababa	MTM 6	39.6	33.4	34.2	31.9	30.5	33.92	36.7
SNNPR	MTM 4	40.0	34.7	36.6	34.9	31.6	35.56	37.4

Data from GEQAEA (2008); and Table 10.4, Heugh et al. (2012: 249)

pressure towards English began to escalate. The 2008 data appear to show the impact of the increasing emphasis towards English in the system. Grade 8 student achievement in Addis and SNNPR are compared in Tables 4.2 and 4.3. Between 1994 and 2004, the multilingual direction of language education policy was in place across most of the country, including these regions. One or more Ethiopian languages were offered as the language/s of learning and teaching to the end of the sixth grade of primary school. Although there were murmurings in the federal MoE regarding greater emphasis towards English, this had not had an impact on school teaching or on the measurement of student achievement by the time the 2004 systemic assessment was carried out. Table 4.2 shows a summary of the achievement in the two regions in 2004.

When we compare the average student achievement in Addis and SNNPR we see that as expected, students in Addis achieve higher scores in English and mathematics than do students in SNNPR. However, students in SNNPR have a higher overall achievement, which was somewhat surprising.

At the time, we estimate that probably about 50 % of students in Addis and SNNPR received Amharic L2 rather than L1 medium. So there are some similarities, in that a cohort in each region receives MTM while a second cohort receives Amharic L2 medium education in primary. The main differences are that Addis is at the centre and closer to resources, whereas SNNPR is distant and relatively resource-poor. The Regional Education Bureau (REB) in SNNPR at this time provided education in eight regional languages plus Amharic, thus it was dividing its resources into language development activities for multiple languages. Therefore it is somewhat surprising that students in SNNPR achieve more highly overall than in Addis.

As mentioned earlier, the emphasis towards English increased from 2004 onwards, with ELIP being rolled out across most of the country between the latter part of 2005

and 2006. In conjunction with the in-service English courses for all teachers, the English Language Improvement Centres (ELICs) were established in all of the teacher training colleges (TTCs). The influence of ELIC was very obvious at both Kotebe and Arba Minch TTCs. In SNNPR, the earlier practice of training teachers to teach in the languages of the region came to an end in 2006, even those for teachers of the first 4 grades of primary. Increasingly the advice of the ELIP team had been for teacher education to be conducted in English only. In SNNPR, the use of eight languages for MTM over 6 years of primary was downgraded to 4 years, followed by a switch of medium to English in the fifth grade. The changes in SNNPR were therefore more intense at both school and teacher education levels, whereas in Addis Ababa, English medium was not introduced earlier in primary school. The most significant change here was the switch to English medium teacher education.

Another factor complicated matters in SNNPR: instead of eight languages being offered for 6 years of MTM, this number was increased to 12 languages, used for 4 years of MTM. Then these languages would continue to be taught as subjects to the end of Grade 8. Between 2004 and 2008, the proportion of students in SNNPR receiving at least 4 years of MTM increased from about 50 % to about 75 %; whereas in Addis, the proportion remained about the same: 50 % Amharic L1; 50 % Amharic L2.

The 2008 student achievement data might be expected to demonstrate higher achievement in English as a subject and also in those subjects where students have made the switch to English medium before reaching Grade 8. Table 4.3 above shows the achievement scores in 2008, with a comparison of the average scores for 2004 in the right hand column.

What we find is that despite the additional investment in English (42 % of the federal teacher education budget between 2004 and2006) the overall achievement of students has not improved in either region, and it has not improved in any subject, not even in English as a subject. What is disturbing is that the overall achievement has fallen by nearly 3 percentage points in Addis and by nearly two in SNNPR. However, the gap between students in Addis and SNNPR has widened. Students in SNNPR have outperformed those in Addis in all subjects.

4.5   Towards an Explanation for the Findings

Elsewhere, the research shows that students need to learn through the medium of a language which is as close as possible to the one used in home or the immediate community, for at least 6 years in well-resourced conditions, and 8 years in less well-resourced conditions (e.g. Heugh et al. 2012). What we find in Ethiopia across all regions is that student achievement is poor and only in one region do more than 50 % (Tigray 61.4 %) of students achieve at the basic or above basic level at the end of primary school. Students in those regions which offer 8 years of MTM achieve the highest of all students in the country (Tigray, Oromiya; and a mix of 8 and 6 years of MTM in Amhara regions). In all other regions, where students receive

6, 4 or 0 MTM (but some Amharic L2 medium) more than 50 % of students achieve at below the basic level after 8 years of school. This includes both Addis Ababa and SNNPR. In regard to student achievement, SNNPR ranks fifth whereas Addis ranks ninth of the eleven administrative regions in Ethiopia. Most of the students in both Addis and SNNPR do not achieve well enough to be able to enter or be retained in the secondary school system. Nevertheless, SNNPR demonstrates greater success than Addis. Therefore, the relative success of students in SNNPR needs to be understood against the larger picture. The following contextual factors may have contributed towards the relative success of students in SNNPR:

- The REB managed to establish the most linguistically diverse education system of the country, accommodating 75 % of students in MTM, in 14 (of which 12 are minority) languages by 2008.
- Despite the daunting scale of linguistic diversity in SNNPR, this has served as a challenge to inspire civil participation in this region. The researchers found significant evidence of community (including parents') participation in the running of schools, especially in rural areas.
- Language education policy has been decentralised to zones and woredas (local government) and this has served to increase participation, encourage skills' development, and burgeoning small language industries (translation services, printing of school books etc.).
- Communities demonstrate a pragmatic view of 'functional multilingualism' in practice.
- The data seem to indicate that the learning of three languages may have advantages over the learning of two languages (when compared to student achievement in Addis).

The following factors may explain why students in Addis have not achieved as well as those students: with three rather than two languages; or students in other regions who have also only had two rather than three languages in primary school.

- The REB in Addis Ababa by 2008 had not made any serious attempt to accommodate approximately 50 % of students whose home language is other than Amharic in the language policy of this administrative region. Students who receive Amharic L2 education followed by a switch to English in Grade 7 are likely to achieve less well than those who are home language speakers of Amharic.
- The researchers found little evidence of community participation in schools in Addis Ababa. It seemed as if parents believed that they had to await resources and delivery from the REB.
- Language and other educational matters (curriculum, materials and assessment) are regarded as centralised matters for the federal ministry and regional authority and there is no apparent need for decentralisation of these responsibilities in Addis.
- Most economic activity in Addis is conducted in Amharic and unlike informants in SNNPR, those in Addis, did not indicate that they employed linguistically

diverse practices or 'functional multilingualism'. Nor did they demonstrate the kind of linguistic assertiveness or 'linguistic citizenship' which had been evident in SNNPR.

It seems that the most significant differences between the two education administrations are that in the more diverse SNNPR, the devolution of educational authority has encouraged a widening of community participation in education, and that this may be one of the important factors to enhance student performance. Secondly, continued development of local languages for use by up to 75 % of students, even if only for 4 years, broadens the base of MTM, and may provide a stronger foundation for school retention and achievement.

In Addis, the increasing pressure towards English is especially noticeable with the significant presence of the federal MoE, the United Nations and the African Union. While the heavy investment in English is clearly most noticeable in Addis, and its influence may contribute towards the lack of linguistic diversity in the school system, this has clearly not resulted in a positive return for student achievement in Addis. Achievement across the entire education system has fallen, but nowhere more noticeably so than in Addis.

4.6   Concluding Notes

In Addis, which is better resourced than other regions, students are not achieving well enough to proceed through secondary school, and they are not matching the achievement of students in other less well-resourced and linguistically complex settings, for example, SNNPR. Furthermore, students in Addis with 6 years of Amharic L1 or 6 years of Amharic L2 are not performing as well as students in SNNPR where students have 4 years of MTM plus another 4 years of the MT as a subject. Although the SNNPR students have fewer years of MTM, they are able to continue to develop reading and writing in their MT for another 4 years, plus they have Amharic and English. Their language curriculum is thus enriched in comparison with students in Addis. Whereas the earlier research suggests that students need between 6 and 8 years of MTM, the data from SNNPR suggests that an enriched language curriculum (three languages) may have greater significance in student achievement than previously understood. At this stage, not enough research has been done on the cognitive factors which might explain these findings. What we can say, however, is that there are contextual factors which may have contributed to the differences in achievement in Ethiopia.

We are also able to see that a change of emphasis in policy which is fundamentally at odds with multilingual education can alter the educational landscape very quickly. Investment in English at the expense of local languages over the last 10 years has not achieved expected educational rewards in Ethiopia. However, decentralisation appears to be central to the successful expansion of linguistic diversity in education. Data from SNNPR show that it is possible to resource and

implement a highly diverse education system even where resources are not plentiful, where communities recognise their own agency in the education process, and where they develop expertise and economic enterprises that support local education in minority languages. Perhaps most importantly of all, the inclusion of three languages, one of which is a minority language, in primary education appears to offer students advantages over two languages.

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Chapter 5
A New Model of Bilingualism for Singapore: Multilingualism in the Twenty-First Century

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Abstract Singapore's present bilingual policy requires Singaporeans to be proficient in English and in one of the three officially assigned Mother Tongue Languages (MTLs) – Mandarin (Chinese), Malay (Malay) and Tamil (Indian). However, the twenty-first century Singapore will need more complex language policy and planning; instead of producing a bilingual population, Singaporeans will need to be multilingual in order to prosper in an increasingly multilingual environment. This chapter discusses Singapore's present bilingual policy, i.e., 'English + 1' language policy and argues that a new model of multilingualism is necessary in order for Singapore to continue to achieve global and educational success in the twenty-first century. It discusses the possible challenges and side effects inherent in carrying out this new model of multilingualism.

Keywords Bilingualism • Multilingualism • Economic development • Language learning • Language policy • Mother Tongue Languages

5.1 Introduction

The twenty-first century is marked by a new form of globalisation which has changed the way people live, communicate, work and trade. Although this globalisation process began when merchants in early European civilisations traded jewels, silk and spices with Arabs and Turkish traders, it was during the eighteenth and nineteenth century that the Industrial Revolution and technological advancements catapulted globalisation into a new phase. In particular, better technologies enabled more successful colonial expansion which led to the growth of international trade, investments and massive transnational migration. Such

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migration not only changed the demographic, cultural and linguistic structures of many countries, it also resulted in the creation of new varieties of language. For example in Singapore, the arrival of the British in 1819 has led to the introduction of English into the local culture. This integration of English and local languages has created a new variety of English known as *Singlish*, which has been widely used by many Singaporeans as their first language (Chua 2011). This is because the introduction of the coloniser's language and culture had resulted in the fusion of the coloniser and colonised languages (MacGillivray 2006), which are by-products of a trans-cultural synthesis of coloniser and colonised languages. Beside languages, the process of colonisation had a significant influence in the creation of unique system of practices in these colonised countries. For example, Singapore postcolonial bilingual policy demands Singaporean children to acquire English as the first language (a colonial language), and one of the native languages (also known as Mother Tongue languages) as the second language in schools. The bilingual policy is unique because it adopts,

> …an East–west model that allows Singaporeans to attain competency in the use of the English language, the language of the West, and in the use of the Chinese language (or other indigenous languages, such as Tamil and Malay), the language of the East (Goh and Gopinathan 2008, p. 15).

By the twenty-first century, further improvement in the transport and telecommunications had enabled many people from different parts of the world to cross national boundaries easily. These new waves of migration are more ethnically diverse and more multicultural than pervious migrations (Kellner 2002). With the rising of material wealth, environmental stress, and human population growth, many countries and larger cities will flourish even more (Smith 2010). Smith (2010) pointed out that countries like Canada, Iceland and Norway will experience faster population increase by 2050. Such expansion in population in these countries and their cities means that the demographic and linguistic structure in future will be more diverse and complicated. In the world today, there are more than 6,000 different languages spoken by different people living in the different parts of the world with English functioning as the lingua franca (Martí et al. 2006). As the world becomes more integrated and intertwined, there will be an increase in international pressure to be multilingual. Given the rapidly changing global economy, there is a growing need to create a workforce that has multilingual and multicultural skills. What this means is that in most situations language policy and planning in the twenty-first century has to be restructured in order to prepare future generations of students to communicate and work more effectively in a more diverse and multilingual environment.

This chapter discusses the linguistic challenges facing Singapore in the twenty-first century in relation to the changing world economy, i.e., economic power and its influence on the fast changing multilingual Singapore society. It points out the need to relook at Singapore's language policy, i.e., its bilingual policy, as the country becomes more multilingual and diverse. In this context, I argue that Singapore should consider new policy goals, such as introducing an international

language (+I) in the school system, and that is, 'English + 1 (+I)' language framework that aims to empower Singaporeans through learning an additional 'big' international language in school, namely Arabic, French, German, Portuguese or Spanish.

5.2   Language Learning and Economic Development

Taking a constructivist approach, language is dynamic; it creates reality because language frames the way people experience the world as meanings are constantly renegotiated (Wright 2004). The choice of an additional language is usually linked to the economic standing of those using that language, and that choice of language becomes critical as it shapes how the learner experiences the world and how meanings are constructed and reconstructed. For example in Singapore, English has enabled many Singaporeans to connect with the rest of English-speaking world, and such connections have influenced the way Singaporeans work, retrieve information, and set out their thoughts (Han et al. 2011).

In today's context, learning English is seen as a determinant of socioeconomic success (Grin et al. 2010), while other languages such as Arabic, Mandarin, and Japanese are fast becoming popular languages to learn in many English-speaking countries like the United States (Ruiz 2008). Bilingualism is becoming more common because many individuals are acquiring English as their second language (McKay 2005). With English spoken in 112 countries as official or major language (Lewis 2009), it has become the lingual franca in today's global culture.

Bilingualism is often used to refer to people who have the ability to converse and the habit to communicate in two languages proficiently. Bilingual language acquisition occurs when one is exposed to more than one language continually at the very early age (De Houwer 1995). Over the last century, different researchers have defined proficiency in a language rather differently. For example, Bloomfield (1933) defined proficiency as "native-like control" (p. 56), whereas Haugen's (1953) understanding of proficiency was having the ability to produce complete and meaningful utterances. According to the social interactionist interpretation of speech and language development, the biological and environment factors are complimentary as social interactions help in the development of language (Hulit and Howard 2002). Therefore the ability to use a particular language depends largely on the need for the language in daily encounters. This is because language learning occurs in everyday activities where words and phrases are learned within a context. With such constant exposure, it gives the learners the opportunities to hear and use the languages in different activities. Therefore, the more opportunities that they are given, the more competent in that language the individuals will become (Wang 2008).

5.3   The Power of Language: Multilingualism

In this era of rapid change, to be productive in an innovative economy requires people to be competent in English language as it has become "a near-universal basic skill" (Graddol 2006, p. 15), and given the material advantages that English is perceived to possess, it will remain the main language of communication for countries like in Singapore for the foreseeable future. Although Crystal (2003) has argued that English (and possibly other varieties of Englishes) will become the global language for communication and businesses, in future it is the understanding of the various countries' cultures through knowing their languages that will give one a greater advantage. According to Kay (2010), in order for students to engage more successfully in the twenty-first century, there is a need for future students to be able to communicate in languages other than English. In addition, future students will need to have better social and cross-cultural skills which can be acquired through learning various languages and cultures.

In Singapore, the then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew explained that "mastering a new language is like having another window to understand humankind" (Lee 2011b, p. 9). Furthermore, the Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong added that "in a world where English is increasingly the lingua franca, it is useful to have learned other languages, and to appreciate that there are other ways in which people see themselves and the world" (Lee 2011a, p. 244). Although the political rhetoric highlights the benefits for individuals to learn other languages, the focus is still on competency in English language but with more Singaporeans mastering the Chinese language. In Singapore, one of the purposes of learning Mandarin is for the unification of the Singaporean Chinese. However, since 2009 the provision of subsidies by the government for Singaporeans to learn the language for business use has shown that learning Mandarin is no longer only for uniting the Singaporean Chinese or for inheriting the Chinese culture. According to Pek (2012), it is for more Singaporeans to tap onto the growth of the Chinese economy. Essentially, investment in language learning in Singapore is more than just individual development; it is about good investment from the perspective of the Singapore economy as a whole.

Multilingualism is not an uncommon phenomenon in Asia and Africa, and is increasingly promoted in the European Union countries due to globalisation and migration (Barnes 2006), but more importantly, to give the Europeans a greater access to a wide variety of employment opportunities. As mentioned previously, the successive waves of immigration over the years have made many countries more diverse in ethnicity, culture, religion and language, and such diversity is further promoted by countries that have an active interest in spreading their languages worldwide (e.g. Ammon 1992). For example in China, efforts have been made to promote diversity of linguistic learning by requiring that foreign languages institutes be set up in the different parts of the country, such as the German Goethe Institute who has set up its branch in Beijing while the Alliance François has branches in nine Chinese Cities (*Xinhua News Agency* 2009). These attempts show that deliberate efforts have been made by various organisations to promote the learning of languages other than English. However, at the governmental level,

large scale language planning involves a more massive approach in which the purpose is to put in place in order to establish the structures needed to ensure that the language policies are effectively carried out. For example in Sweden, the Swedish government has drawn up specific actions and strategies to promote the use of the Swedish language alongside English throughout the country (Chua and Baldauf 2011).

5.4   Understanding of Language Planning and Policy

Language planning and policy refers to a set of actions that affects societies globally. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) described such activity as "a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities" (p. 3). According to Spolsky (2009), "language policy is all about choices" (p. 1); it refers to "official planning, carried out by those in political authority, and has clear similarities with any other form of public policy" (Ager 2001, p. 5). Thus, language planning and policy are organised and intentional interventions that manipulate the status of a particular language(s); they facilitate the shaping of societies around the world through four approaches to planning involving status, corpus, acquisition and prestige planning.

Status planning refers to the specific selection and allocation of functions of a language. Corpus planning refers to the codification and standardisation of the language. Acquisition planning happens when languages are learned, most often through education, and is also known as language-in-education planning (Ager 2001; Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). Prestige planning complements status and corpus planning and usually involves official interventions by the government to add value to a language(s) (Haarmann 1990). Essentially, language planning and policy is about plans, policies and activities that are deliberately designed to sustain or provide the conditions to construct the desired society. For example in Singapore, language planning is intentional, visible and deliberate, as the government has adopted all the four phases of language planning in, for example, its promotion of English (Chua 2011):

1. Status planning

   British English was selected as the variety to use

2. Corpus planning

   Inherited from the British – use British norms
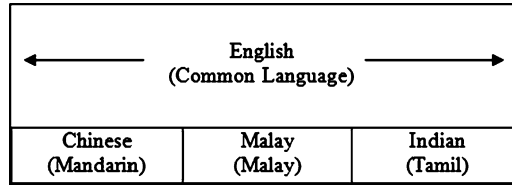   Local English teachers were trained to teach the chosen variety

3. Acquisition planning

   Main medium of instruction in schools

4. Prestige planning

   Speak Good English Movement

Fig. 5.1 Singapore's *'English+'1* bilingual policy

According to Lee (2011b), the adoption of such relentless approach to language planning by the government has given Singaporeans greater prospects for employment and advancement in education, work and life. Basically, language planning and policy in Singapore has been targeted to transform an already multilingual and multicultural society into a well constructed and defined multilingual society whereby individuals are categorised into distinctive ethnically-based categories (see Fig. 5.1).

Figure 5.1 shows how the Singapore government through policies has compartmentalised the various languages into three main categories related to the three main ethnic groups – i.e., the Chinese take Mandarin; Malays take Malay; Indians take Tamil. This is because uncontrolled linguistic diversity has been seen by the government as detrimental to the overall growth of Singapore (Rappa and Wee 2006). To understand how this transformation has occurred, it is necessary to provide some historical background.

5.5 Historical Background of Singapore

The language ecology in Singapore has always been rich and complex; it has been a multi-racial, multilingual and multi-cultural society since its colonial days (Turnbull 2009). In 1819, Sir Stamford Raffles found Singapore and transformed it into a flourishing colony. From the founding of Singapore, its location as a trade hub had attracted many migrants particularly from Asian countries such as China and Indian. Thus, Singapore has a long history of being a multiracial, multicultural and multilingual society. This meant that many Singaporeans were able to communicate in a variety of languages, in particular, simplified Malay and Hokkien (one of the Chinese dialects). Basically, the language situation in Singapore was highly diversified where several languages and varieties of languages exist together (Leong 2002; Turnbull 2009). In 1965 Singapore attained independence with Mr. Lee Kuan Yew becoming the prime minister for the next 31 years. At independence, under the one party dominant political system (Singh 2012), the Singapore government has made English the first language for all Singaporeans in all formal domains, such as the main medium of instruction in schools, in businesses and in all other government sectors. The standard of English is then maintained through its education system, and through public language campaigns.

The general education journey for a Singaporean consists of 6 years in primary school, 4 or 5 years in secondary school, 2 or 3 years in junior college (JC) or 3 years in polytechnic, and finally 3–4 years in a local university. In addition to
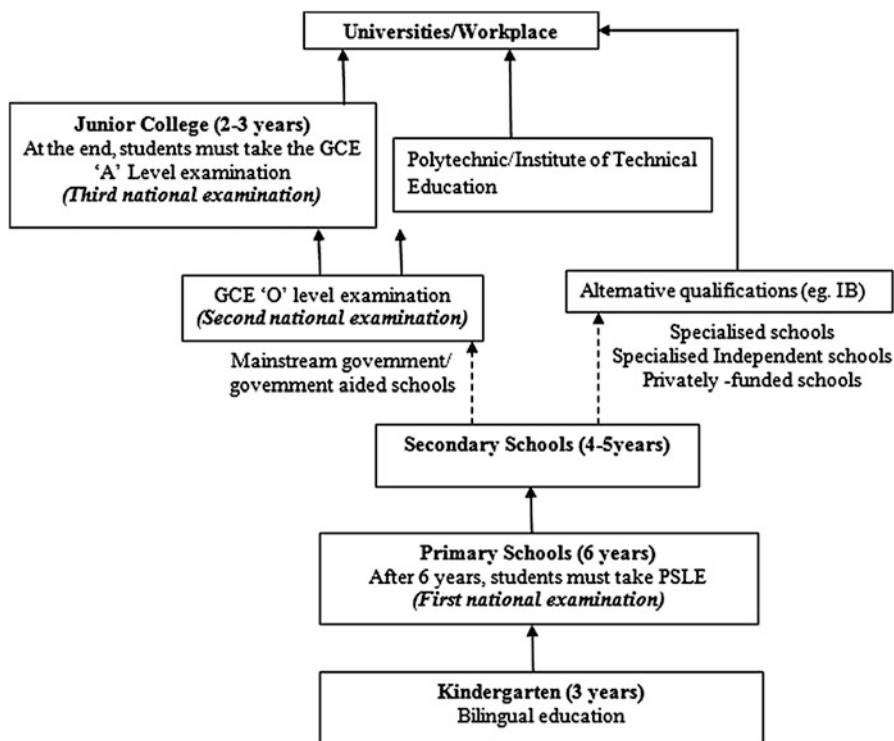
Fig. 5.2 A summary of the key milestones in the Singapore Education system (Adapted from MOE 2011)

the standard education pathway, there are also alternative routes by which students may – after their 6 years of primary school – choose to attend Specialised Independent Schools or privately funded schools in which they may obtain such alternative qualifications as the International Baccalaureate (IB) (MOE 2012).

Figure 5.2 shows that students must take three national examinations: the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE), taken at the end of the sixth year of primary school education, the General Cambridge Examination (GCE) 'O' Level, taken at the end of the 4 or 5 years of secondary education, and the GCE 'A' Level examination, taken at the end of 2 or 3 years of college education. These three national examinations in Singapore (including candidates for the IB) reinforce the need for proficiency in English because English is the primary medium of instruction in the education system (except for mother tongue language lessons and examinations) (Chua 2011). This approach to language planning has proven successful at the international level. The *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS)* results show that, Singapore is number one for Grade 4 Science and is number two for Grade 5 Mathematics, indicating that the standard of English in Singapore is sufficient for most students to acquire mathematics and science content at a high international level (Dixon 2009).

5.6   Key Language Policies and Initiatives in Singapore

As noted earlier, Singapore policy makers have set their language planning goals to equip Singaporeans with bilingual and literacy skills. Underlying these language policies are a series of fundamental governing ideologies adopted by the government, including pragmatism (survival), elitism, meritocracy and multiracialism (Mauzy and Milne 2002). The concept of pragmatism is defined as the "commitment to rationality and practical results" by adopting the "best available course of action" to ensure Singapore's economy survives (Mauzy and Milne 2002, p. 52). The concept of elitism accepts that since individuals are not born equal because of inherent difference in capabilities, "the ideal is that benevolent rule should be by the most able and virtuous" (Mauzy and Milne 2002, p. 53). The idea of meritocracy stresses that an individual's merits are obtained through his/her hard work and not on his/her race, ethnicity, or language background. Lastly, the concept of multiracialism emphasises the importance of ethnic tolerance and respect for all the different ethnic groups (Mauzy and Milne 2002). These four ideologies have formed the fundamental principles on which Singapore's language policies including the bilingual policy, Speak Mandarin Campaign, Streaming policy and Speak Good English Movement, are based.

5.6.1   Bilingual Policy (English + 1) Framework

The bilingual policy was introduced in 1966. A mentioned previously, the government believed that it is a pragmatic choice to ensure the survival of the country (Dixon 2009). At the same time, English provides equality for all Singaporeans as it was a foreign language and therefore it does not bestow any special advantages on any group (Lee 2011b). Adopting this model put in place a meritocratic system based on merit and not on language background. In 2011, the government proposed a review of the bilingual policy due to the changing societal needs. One important indication of a change in the understanding the bilingual policy was the proposal for a S$100 million Lee Kuan Yew Bilingualism Fund in 2011, targeted at enhancing the teaching of mother tongue languages to pre-schoolers. For 46 years, the bilingual policy in Singapore has been broadly understood to begin in Primary School (the age of 6), but before the age of 6, the child's language proficiency and preparation were seen to be dependent on 'family background'. According to Education Minister Heng Swee Keat, the MOE is currently reviewing guidelines on teaching mother tongue languages in pre-schools, and these guidelines are expected to be released in 2012 (*FY2012* 2012). The fund was motivated by Lee's concern that fluency in the mother tongue, especially Chinese, was decreasing because of the growing dominance of the English language. Lee was quoted as saying:

> . . .that the best time for a child to learn another language is in the first few years of life, where it is the most absorptive period of the mind for learning languages. . .if children start early enough from kindergarten one or even nursery, by Primary Six, they will be bilingual, with a strong foundation in the mother tongue for life. After Primary Six, at age 12, they can concentrate on their master language, which is English in Singapore. (*Channel News Asia* 2011)

As reinforced by Herschensohn (2007), age is seen as playing a critical role in successful language acquisition. Thus, with this early intervention programme the government is taking a further step to enhance bilingualism and that is by intervening in the early years of children's education. They believe that younger children will have greater success in learning the mother tongue languages as they will be exposed to the languages in the formative stage of their education (at the kindergarten and primary levels).

5.6.2 Speak Mandarin Campaign

The Speak Mandarin Campaign was launched in 1979 to radically modify the linguistic structure of the Chinese community in Singapore. At independence, the ethnic Chinese of Singapore spoke a variety of Chinese dialects, such as Cantonese, Hakka, Hokkien, Teochew, but not Mandarin (Dixon 2009). The government felt that such an extreme measure was needed to ensure that Mandarin would become the common language of the Chinese Singaporeans. To further enhance Mandarin among Singaporeans, the Special Assistance Plan (SAP) was also introduced in selected schools in 1979. The government hoped to create a group of elite Singaporeans who were effectively bilingual and who were steeped in deep traditional Chinese values (Lee 2011b). In the recent years, China's growing economy and the economic value of Mandarin have further reinforced the value of Mandarin in Singapore, providing the ability for Singaporeans to work in China (Lee 2011b). Under the newly reviewed bilingual policy, the government will be allocating more resources to enhance the use of Mandarin (and other mother tongue languages) as early as pre-school so as to equip the students with the necessary linguistic skills for the twenty-first century (*FY2011* 2011).

5.6.3 Streaming

In 1980, the government introduced a tripartite system of ability streaming whereby the students were channelled into designated streams at both primary and secondary school levels depending on their proficiency in English and in their mother tongue. In primary schools, students are classified into three categories (see Table 5.1).

The government believed the streaming exercise was needed to reduce attrition rates, but more importantly to teach the children at the pace and level at which they

Table 5.1 Streaming in primary school

EM1	Study both English and the mother tongue as first languages;
EM2	Study English as a first language and the mother tongue as a second language; and
EM3	Study a more simplified version of both English and the mother tongue

*E stands for English and M stands for Mother Tongue

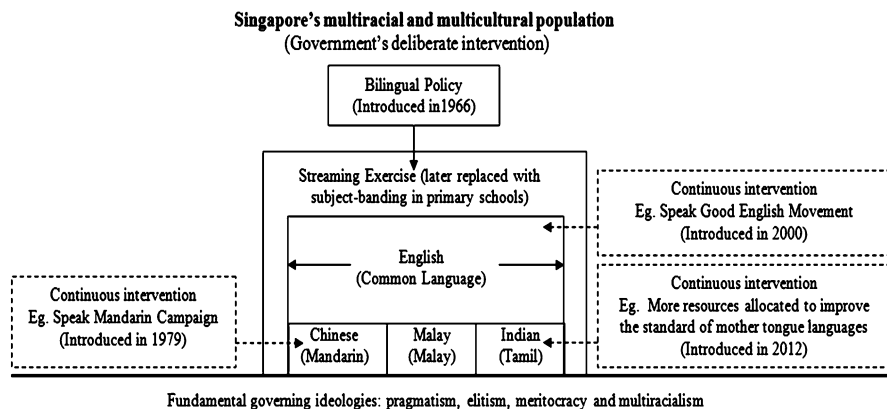**Table 5.2** Examples of differences between English and *Singlish*

Standard English	*Singlish*
Where are you going?	You go where?
Don't worry about it.	Sorright lah, sokay neh mind
Shall we meet up tomorrow?	Tomorrow, you what time can?
Would you be prepared to lower the price?	Make lower can consider. Lower some more, maybe can consider

Taken from Gartshore 2003; pp. 101, 104, 119

could comprehend (Lee 2011b), as policy makers believed that not all individuals are born with equal talents and learning abilities. This streaming system was later replaced by subject-based banding in 2008. Although this new policy allows greater flexibility for primary school students by giving them choices to take either standard or foundation (lesser degree of difficulty) subjects (MOE 2011), the medium of instruction for all subjects is still English.

5.6.4 Speak Good English Movement (SGEM)

In 2000 an island wide language policy initiative has been the *Speak Good English Movement (SGEM)* that seeks to promote and safeguard the standard variety i.e., British English among Singaporeans. To the government, it is a pragmatic choice that has to be made so as to ensure that the standard and image of English is maintained at all times. With the support of the English Language Institute of Singapore (ELIS), Singaporean schools have been asked to strive towards improving the communicative effectiveness of English-medium teachers so as to ensure that schools (and society) are at the frontline in promoting the use of Standard English (Goh 2011), and not *Singlish*, a local colloquial variety of Singaporean English. In Table 5.2 samples of *Singlish* utterances show how it is different from Standard English. Due to Singapore's polyglossic linguistic environment, Table 5.2 shows that *Singlish* uses English lexicon, combined with the syntax and phonemes of local dialects and lingos, as well as other languages such as Mandarin (Leong 2002). For example the *Singlish* phrase "You go where?" uses the Mandarin phrase substrate structure "你 (you) 去(go) 哪里 (where)?" with an English lexicon.

Singapore's multiracial and multicultural population
(Government's deliberate intervention)

Bilingual Policy
(Introduced in 1966)

Streaming Exercise (later replaced with
subject-banding in primary schools)

English
(Common Language)

Continuous intervention
Eg. Speak Good English Movement
(Introduced in 2000)

Continuous intervention
Eg. More resources allocated to improve
the standard of mother tongue languages
(Introduced in 2012)

Continuous intervention
Eg. Speak Mandarin Campaign
(Introduced in 1979)

| Chinese (Mandarin) | Malay (Malay) | Indian (Tamil) |

Fundamental governing ideologies: pragmatism, elitism, meritocracy and multiracialism

Fig. 5.3 A summary of Singaporean language policies from 1966 to 2012

In summary, these key language planning events show that the bilingual language policy and its planning in Singapore are multi-dimensional as seen in the implementation of the bilingual policy, Speak Mandarin Campaign, the streaming exercise and Speak Good English Movement (see Fig. 5.3).

Figure 5.3 demonstrates the policies and practices that have been used in Singapore to produce an artificially created linguistic diversity. This artificial language situation has been constructed in Singapore through the promotion of these four languages and a strong discouragement of the use of the small ethnic languages, particularly the various Chinese dialects. Basically, the government replaced the policy of egalitarian multilingualism with a policy of 'artificial' bilingualism (Martí et al. 2006).

As shown in the Figs. 5.1 and 5.3, the population is categorised into three distinct ethnic groups – Chinese, Malay and Indian. Each race is then being assigned a mother tongue that students need to learn in schools regardless of their dialect groups, e.g., Singaporean Chinese are to use Mandarin in place of other dialects. Basically, the education system provided no place for other Chinese dialects. Coupled with the decreasing availability of dialects in the media, Singaporean Chinese Mandarin has become the 'dialect' spoken at home for many younger Singaporean Chinese (Tan et al. 1997). To a large extent, language planning and policies have successfully transformed Singapore into an English-speaking country i.e., a high literacy rate of 96.1 % (*Singapore Statistics: Literacy & Education* 2011). Nonetheless, the drawbacks to this 'English + 1' language policy are firstly, the marginalisation of the various local dialects, such as the Chinese dialects. Secondly, in recent years there has been a steadily decline in the number of households speaking Mandarin, as many have replaced Mandarin (and other mother tongue languages as well) with English (Lee 2011b). Thus, the major challenge to Singapore's bilingual policy would be to develop new strategies to reduce the risk of creating a group of Singaporeans who are mono-lingual English-speaking 'natives'.

5.7   A New View of Bilingualism – "English + 1" + (I) Model

With the growing number of Singaporeans speaking English, it seems likely to remain as the lingua franca for many Singaporeans. However, the increase in the movement of people across national boundaries has affected the demographics in many countries including Singapore. Although not all migrants move because of economic opportunities, much of "the international migration is directly linked to the globalised economy since half of the migrants live either in the developed world or those developing countries with vibrant industrial, mining, or petroleum extraction economies" (Rowntree et al. 2009, pp. 22–23). Even countries, such as Japan and South Korea that have relatively homogenous populations have seen a substantial increase in the number of migrants in recent years (Rowntree et al. 2009).

In 2009, the total population of Singapore was about 5 million with about 3.2 million Singaporean citizens and about half a million (541,000) Permanent Residents. The remainder consisted of foreigners who were working or studying in Singapore (*Singapore Statistics: Population* 2011). Most of the today's migrants coming into Singapore are from Bangladesh, Canada, China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and the United States (*The World Bank* 2011). The Singapore government proposed that in order for Singapore to stay ahead economically, the country needs to integrate better qualified permanent residents into its society. Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong stated that the influx of foreign workers has boosted the Singaporean economy and that "immigration had also been a key component of Singapore's population and economic strategy, given the failure of other incentives offered since 1987 to arrest a birth-rate decline, such as tax breaks, subsidies and cash bonuses" (Bloomberg 2011). In his 2011 national day rally speech, PM Lee Hsien Loong advocated that Singapore needs to continue to welcome immigrants, pointing out that foreign workers and immigrants have provided Singapore with "considerable benefits" economically and in terms of population growth (*Prime Minister* 2011).

Given the historical background and open-door immigration policy discussed previously, bilingualism has become an even more essential resource in Singapore because the increased number of migrants means that English is also becoming the de facto language for use between Singaporeans and foreigners. Moreover, the upcoming enhanced bilingual programme would see new initiatives implemented from pre-school level to further strengthen the bilingual policy in Singapore, and also to ensure that Singaporeans will continue to remain bilingual and not monolingual in future. Together with the on-going *Speak Good English Movement* and the *Speak Mandarin Campaign*, bilingualism will remain an essential component in the overall development of Singapore in the twenty-first century.

However, for Singapore to stay ahead in the globalised economy, a new model of bilingual policy is needed. This is because "the competitive advantage which English has historically given its acquirers (personally, organisationally, and nationally) will ebb away as English becomes a near-universal basic skill" (Graddol 2006, p. 15). For example in China, the learning of English has been considered an

asset in the twenty-first century as bilingualism in English will give the young Chinese a tremendous head start in their career advancement (Feng 2007). Although unlike Singapore where English is used as the main medium of communication, in China English is regarded as a foreign language. Consequently, more parents are sending their young children to learn English as they see English as a vital skill for preschoolers to learn and necessary for their children's future in the globalised economy. In China, children are starting to learn English when they enter primary school and many have hired private foreign tutors to coach their children even before they enter primary schools (Ho 2011). When this happens, many younger Chinese children will become English-speaking bilinguals, and with this trend occurring globally, more people will become bilingual in English.

The other phenomenon that is occurring is that more foreigners are also becoming bilingual. For example, it was reported in *The Sunday Times,* a Sunday supplement of the local English-language newspaper *The Straits Times*, the number of expatriates in Singaporean government schools has been increasing, and these foreign children are learning the mother tongue languages particularly Mandarin (Vasko 2011). With this growing trend of foreigners learning Mandarin in countries like Singapore, many will be able to converse in that language in future. Thus, it will be a great advantage if Singaporeans can master another language in addition to English and Mandarin as it will offer them a better chance to engage successfully in the twenty-first century workplace. As Li et al. (2002) have pointed out,

> [I]n today's world, the economic strength of a nation on the world market is not associated with how many monolingual speakers it may have but how many bi- and multi-linguals it has. The number of bi- and multilingual speakers a country produces is often seen as an indicator of educational standard, economic competiveness and cultural vibrancy of the country. (p. 3)

Thus, with the increasing number of bilinguals in Singapore and in other countries, in order for Singapore to increase its educational standards, economic competitiveness and cultural vibrancy, the government needs to increase the number of multilingual Singaporeans. Therefore, for one to maintain an economic advantage in the future, s/he has to move beyond just knowing English (Graddol 2006). Hence, with this changing linguistic environment, language policy and planning must be redesigned in order to remain relevant and beneficial. As Mr. Lee Kuan Yew (2011b) had poignantly pointed out, "language policy is a never-ending journey" (Lee 2011b, p. 211), and therefore the education system needs to be flexible and evolve according to the changes taking place in the society. Thus, in order for Singapore to continue to prosper in the twenty-first century, its bilingual policy needs to be reviewed.

Based on the argument that learning English and Mandarin is for economic reasons, an additional language will give Singaporeans more economic opportunities (see Fig. 5.4).

Figure 5.4 illustrates the modified bilingual policy model where it is proposed that there be the study of an additional international language. However, unlike the
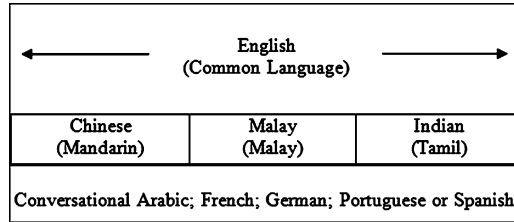
Fig. 5.4 Future 'English +1 (+I)' bilingual model

current bilingual policy where proficiency in English and mother tongue language is needed, this new model requires all Singaporean students to obtain the basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) for the additional language. Although the current language policy and planning provisions in Singapore offer Arabic, French and German as third languages at the Ministry of Education Language Centre together with Bahasa Indonesia, Mandarin, Japanese and Malay (Chua 2010), the number of students learning these languages is still low as it is only offered to those who have high academic results. However, this new model for a bilingual policy proposes that all students would be given the opportunity to learn one of five foreign languages, that is, Arabic, French, German, Portuguese and Spanish. Unlike the current "English + 1" bilingual policy where students are required to master two languages well, these foreign languages are taught as conversational third language in local schools. Schools would also be given the option to choose any one of these foreign languages to offer in their school. In comparison to cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) needed for English and mother tongue languages whereby students are required to learn more advanced language skills, these basic interpersonal communication skills are easier to learn as students only learn the fundamental language skills needed to interact in social situations or in day-to-day communication (Cummins 1979).

Taking a utilitarian approach to languages, learning more languages will enable Singaporeans to better plugged into the world economy. One particular benefit is that having an additional foreign language skill is widely seen as an asset in many institutions and companies. Moreover, these languages are selected because of the utility of the languages and for their economic values. According to Lewis (2009), the top languages are Mandarin, Spanish, English, Arabic, Hindi, Bengali, Portuguese, Russian, Japanese and German. And since language and the economy are closely related, and their dependency on each other means that it will be an advantage to be able to speak those languages that are spoken by countries with strong or emerging economies. For example, with China's economy developing at a tremendous speed (The Economist Online 2011), Singaporeans' ability to converse in Mandarin has allowed Singapore to benefit from this growth. Although French may not be one of top spoken languages, the increase in economic activities in Africa, learning French and Portuguese will give Singaporeans an added advantage as many of the emerging African economies, such as Mauritius which uses French, and others like Angola, the number one fastest-growing economy in the world from 2001 to 2010 (The Economist Online 2011), uses Portuguese as its official language.

Furthermore Brazil, a country that has a population of about 200 million and has overtaken the United Kingdom as the world's sixth largest economy, has Portuguese as its main language of communication (*BBC News Business* 2011). Hence, learning French and Portuguese will enable Singaporeans to venture into these new markets more easily. Likewise, learning Arabic will enable Singaporeans to open up more market opportunities with the Middle East whose fast growing population means an even bigger market for importing more goods and services from other countries like Singapore. As reported by *The Sunday Times*, "Saudi Arabia is Singapore's largest trading partner in the Middle East, with bilateral trade worth \$16.4 billion in 2010, up 28.1 % from S12.8 billion in 2009" (*ESM Goh meets* 2011, p. 30). Thus having the ability to speak Arabic in addition to English will benefit Singapore more in the twenty-first century. Similarly, after English and Mandarin, Spanish is the next most spoken language in the world. If more Singaporeans are able to communicate in Spanish, more Singaporean companies would be able to tap into the Hispanic market. For example, Spanish speaking countries such as Argentina, Chile, Columbia and Venezuela have been experiencing positive economic growth with an average Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ranging from 4.2 to 9.3 in 2011 (*The Economist* 2011–2012). As for learning German, the language is spoken by many European countries, particularly Austria, Liechtenstein and Switzerland. More importantly, Germany is the largest economy in Europe and is heavily export oriented (*Trading Economics* 2012). In view of this, for Singapore to maintain its economic advantage, a multilingual language policy will bring about more economic benefits for the country in the twenty-first century.

5.8   Conclusion

As already noted, English-knowing education in Singapore has enabled Singapore to attain international standards for educational achievement. The present strategies are to strengthen Singapore's economic standing by ensuring that Singaporeans are proficient in English and in the mother tongue languages particularly Mandarin. However, recent examples of economically driven bilingual policy that are already found in many countries such as Australia, United Kingdom and United States means that Singapore will face stiffer competition in the future as current forms of bilingual competency will not give Singaporeans extra benefit. From the macro perspective of global changing trends in language learning, Singapore's bilingual policy will have to be re-evaluated in order to remain relevant and competitive in the twenty-first century (see Fig. 5.5).

Figure 5.5 illustrates the modified language policy that adopts a multilingual approach. For many years, the Singapore government and the Ministry of Education have been moving towards multilingualism (or trilingualism) (Chua 2010), however the proportion of Singaporeans taking up a third language remains small.

As shown in Fig. 5.5, the multilingual model differs from the present model as it puts more emphasis on 'individual multilingualism' instead of 'community
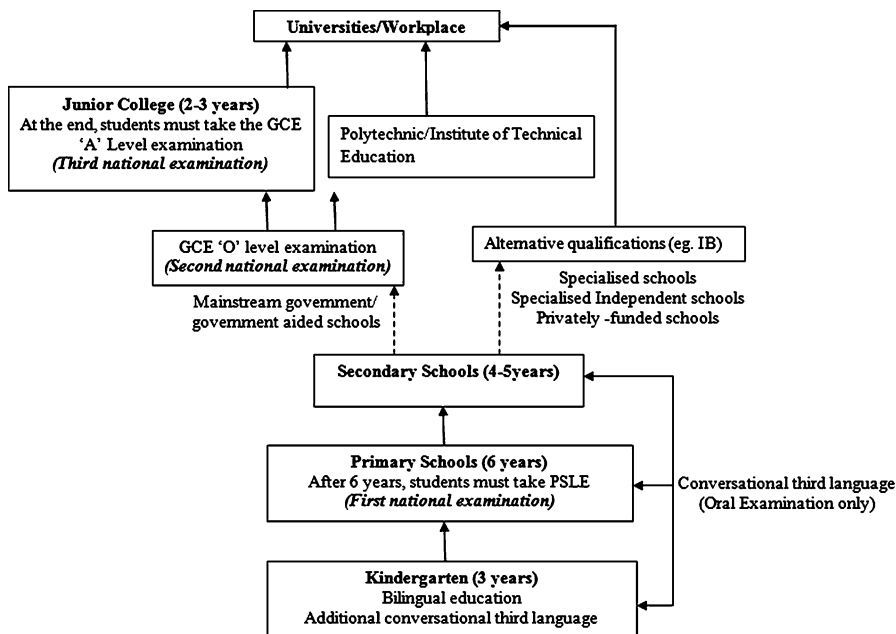
Fig. 5.5 Multilingualism from Kindergarten to secondary level

multilingualism' i.e., the three mother tongue languages. Essentially the (+I) international language is taught at the kindergarten, primary and secondary levels to all students, and for those who have the aptitude would be able to continue to learn the language at a higher level in the ministry language centre. These conversational languages would be tested as a form of oral examination in primary and secondary schools as such examinations would allow students to demonstrate their presentation and speaking skills.

However, similar to any other major language planning and policy exercise there will be challenges in the implantation process of this new model of multilingualism. The challenges are firstly, kindergartens in Singapore may not have the resources and manpower to include a third language programme effectively as they are run by the private sector with each offering different programmes. Consequently, the curriculum and standard would vary significantly across the schools. Secondly, any attempt to introduce an additional language in Singapore might be rejected by the public. One particular reason to reject this call for additional multilingualism is that learning English has already caused some reduction in mother tongue fluency, and therefore it would not be appropriate to learn a third language. Thus, parents would likely oppose this new model because many Singaporean students are already struggling with their mother tongue languages. Furthermore, parents would view this additional subject as extra pressure on their children especially when academic performance in school is highly valued by most of the Singaporean parents.

From the policy planning perspective, more complex planning would be needed for the ministry particularly in the areas of recruitment of teachers for teaching of these languages. Although there has been an increase in foreigners from countries like the United States and Canada in Singapore (Vasko 2011), which could provide some of the teachers needed to teach Spanish and French in schools, more qualified teachers would be needed to teach these languages. Other challenges include the construction of curriculum, the allotment of curriculum time and the allocation of the languages in schools, as well as the selection of suitable expertise for programme review.

The other challenge is that given Singapore's success with its bilingual policy, the introduction of an additional language could be deemed unnecessary and a possible waste of resources. Nevertheless, leveraging on the current bilingual policy and with the one-party dominant system that believes in adopting tough top-down policies, it is possible for the government to provide the funding, adequate training and the resources needed to make this policy a reality if the government believes that by doing so will improve the quality of the Singapore education system, which in the long run will ensure the survival of the country in the future.

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Chapter 6
Language Education and Canada's Indigenous Peoples

Mela Sarkar and Constance Lavoie

Abstract This chapter presents an overview of the language situation of Canada's Indigenous peoples and their educational struggles. The authors situate policies, programs and pedagogical strategies in the complex historical and socio-political Canadian context. After an outline of the historical and socio-political context for the language education of Indigenous peoples in Canada, contemporary Indigenous policies, programs and pedagogical strategies around language education are presented, in the aftermath of the Indigenous struggle for self-determination and increasing mainstream awareness of Indigenous language and education issues. A surge in Indigenous population growth resulting in an increasingly youthful population profile, a pull towards urbanization, and the rise of new technologies are all factors that are affecting the landscape of language and education in Indigenous (or Aboriginal) Canada. Drawing on data from a language maintenance project in a Quebec Innu community and a language revitalization project in a Mi'gmaq community in the Maritimes, the gamut of Indigenous responses to the challenge of not one but two colonizing languages is demonstrated. These initiatives are placed in the wider Canadian context.

Keywords Mi'gmaq • Innu • Indigenous language • First Nations • Indian education • Bilingualism • Revitalization • Canadian Aboriginal education • Endangered languages

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6.1   Background to Canada's Indigenous Peoples and Languages

Canada has traditionally been home to many different ethnolinguistic groups that predate the arrival of European explorers and settlers by many thousands of years. In the far North live the Inuit, who are speakers of several different dialects of Inuktitut (Allen 2006). Several dozen First Nations peoples live across Canada, speaking over 50 still-living languages among them, though many are technically considered moribund (not expected to survive) by linguists, because they are not being transmitted to younger generations (McIvor 2009; Task Force 2005). Finally, a people of mixed origin, the Métis, arose over three centuries ago from unions between First Nations peoples and French explorers and evolved a unique contact language, Michif, mainly from French and Cree with elements from other European languages (Kulchyski 2007; H. Souter, personal communication, January 2010). A dozen or so distinct language families are represented in Canada alone. Among the languages spoken by Canada's first peoples, only Cree, Ojibwe and Inuktitut are considered strong enough to be able to survive into the twenty-second century (Norris 2007) on the basis of survey and census data. However, many of the smaller languages are now the focus for vigorous language retention and revitalization efforts by those who claim them as their heritage.

In this chapter, we outline the complex historical and socio-political context underlying language education for this diverse and growing population. We then discuss relevant policies, programs and pedagogical strategies, in the context of the ongoing struggle for self-determination and increasing mainstream awareness of the issues involved. Drawing on our own data from a preschool project in a Quebec Innu community and an adult language revitalization project in a Maritimes Mi'gmaq community, we demonstrate the gamut of responses across the lifespan to the challenge of not one but two colonizing languages (English and French) and place these initiatives in the wider Canadian context. This wider context has come to include, in recent years, rapid urbanization, the advent of digital literacies and an increasingly youthful Indigenous population profile. These factors have all contributed to new challenges and opportunities for Indigenous languages in Canada and for their speakers.

6.1.1   Terms in Use, Terms of Use/Abuse

We preface our summary of the sociocultural and linguistic history of the earliest settlement of what is now Canada by outlining terms we will and will *not* use. It should be noted that thoughout the history of contact between the original inhabitants of Canada and more recent arrivals from Europe, systemic racism has left a linguistic legacy, unfortunately far from eradicated on the lips of many

Canadians (Lepage 2009; Paul 2006; Razack 2007), which must be recognized so that it can afterward be avoided.

6.1.1.1 Indigenous, Aboriginal or Native?

In line with internationally recognized usage (for example at the United Nations (Cyberschoolbus n.d.)), the term we prefer for the first human inhabitants of a given territory is *Indigenous*. This eliminates the confusion that can arise when Australian first peoples (traditionally called "Aboriginal" in white settler nomenclature) are part of the discussion. However, in Canadian official discourse the term *Aboriginal* is preferred. In Canadian government parlance, "Aboriginal" is used to cover First Nations, Inuit and Métis (INAC 2002). The term *Native peoples* was at one time very widely used in Canada "to describe the descendants of the original peoples of North America" (INAC 2002). Although many consider *Native,* as either a noun or an adjective, somewhat dated, it is still not uncommon to hear Indigenous Canadians referred to as "Natives", and perhaps even more common to hear *non-*Indigenous Canadians referred to as "non-Native" in everyday speech. The term "Native" survives in academic and other written contexts as well, for example in the name of the well-respected *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, in existence since the mid-1970s.

6.1.1.2 First Nations ("Indian"), Inuit and Métis

The terms "Inuit" and "Métis" each refer to a historically distinct people with their own territory and language, which may include several varieties, as with Inuktitut (Allen 2006). The term "First Nations", however, refers not to one ethnolinguistic identity but to several dozen, and specifically excludes Inuit and Métis. Canada's "First Nations", were, nevertheless, all lumped together until quite recently under the term "Indian", a word which still has legal force although it is technically inaccurate. (It is easy to demonstrate accurate use of this adjective, as it happens: the first author of this chapter was born in India and was Indian until becoming a naturalized Canadian at the age of 8.) Various pieces of legislation reflect this familiar but now less preferred usage, as did the name of a department of the federal government in Ottawa until recently. Canada's Department of "Indian and Northern Affairs" changed its name only in May 2011, to "Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development" (AANDC 2011, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/).

6.1.1.3 "…savages…primitive cultures…"

Terms such as "primitive" and "savage(s)", or, in French, *"primitif", "sauvage(s)"* were routinely applied to Canada's original inhabitants until very recently. The implication of this kind of discourse, namely that the people referred to were

inferior (and thus fair game for exploitation and oppression), is one that many non-Indigenous Canadians have tended to absorb at an early and impressionable age (Paul 2006). Government and academic rhetoric, as well as (one hopes) most textbooks and other instances of language use in the public sphere, have now been overhauled (Lepage 2009). But cleanup, even if only cosmetic, is more complicated in the case of speech communities, and many misconceptions about Indigenous Canadians persist in ordinary language (for example, *CBC News* 2008 outlines some damaging recent effects of the continued prevalence of the "drunken Indian" stereotype).

6.1.2   Before the Arrival of White Settler Europeans

Current research by non-Indigenous scholars (summarized for general audiences in many easily accessible works, e.g., Diamond 1997; Wright 2003) generally holds that the first human inhabitants of North America entered at the western tip of Alaska about 12,000 years ago (estimates differ slightly), crossing from Siberia. Under conditions of nomadic hunter-gather population spread as they are currently understood, it would not have taken long for humans to explore both new continents, and in fact the archaeological record indicates that there was settlement at the southernmost tip of South America within 2,000 years.

Geography determined the lines of human settlement 10,000 years ago, as it has continued to do to the present day. Indigenous languages in Canada roughly follow these lines, which generally run north-south rather than east-west, and are traversed by waterways used over many millennia for human travel (Carlos and Lewis 2010; Saul 2008). Remnants of the original language families and sub-families—which developed as the earliest settlers fanned out, down and across the continent—can still be discerned beneath an overlay of European white settler colonization, much of which sought actively to decimate or outright wipe out the original inhabitants and their languages (Paul 2006; Wright 2003). But we still have traces of a large grouping of languages along Canada's west coast, many of them now extinct or moribund (FPHLCC 2010); a broad western area where Athapaskan languages are spoken; another huge area spreading across the plains and into Ontario and Quebec, where the Algonquian languages Cree, Ojibwe and Oji-Cree are still in regular use in many communities (other languages in this area have not been as fortunate although many are still spoken by older people); other Algonquian languages spoken in Canada's Maritime provinces, the most widespread being Innu and Mi'gmaq; Iroquoian languages, chiefly Kanien'keha (Mohawk), spoken in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence river basin area; and a wide northern region roughly north of the 60th parallel where various dialects of Inuktitut are still the main and sometimes the only language spoken by an estimated 35,000 people (AANDC 2011; Allen 2006).

6.1.3 From Trading Partners to Colonial Subjects/Objects of Assimilatory Practices

6.1.3.1 First Contact, or, "If we had known they planned to stay this long..."

More than 100 years elapsed between the first incursions into what is now Canada by adventurers financed by French or English ruling houses, to the establishment of permanent colonies. The first settlers from France arrived in the Maritime provinces in the 1530s; their descendants, the French-speaking Acadians, are still thriving in the province of New Brunswick. Other colonists from France spread through what is now Quebec and continued further west. French settlement of the St. Lawrence basin and then of the Great Plains predated English settlement by more than a century. Concise, up-to-date mainstream histories are numerous (e.g., Morton 2006) and since there is not room to go into detail here, we do no more than sketch an outline from the Indigenous point of view, as a tale of conquest and resistance (Wright 2003) to which no one can as yet predict the ending. Indigenous and non-Indigenous sources agree, however (Kulchyski 2007; Paul 2006; Saul 2008) that European "exploration" and settlement would not have been possible without the cooperation, and, for several hundred years, the active assistance, of Indigenous peoples (since the European explorers were in no instance the first people to figure out the lay of the land, words like "explorer" and "discoverer" are misnomers).

One of our Indigenous teaching partners puts it this way: "Sure, we welcomed them, and showed them how to live here—but if we'd known they were planning to move in for good, maybe we wouldn't have been so nice!"

From the early sixteenth century through the mid-nineteenth century, Indigenous-European relations over much of Canada were much more equal than they have since become. The main impetus for establishing good relations was spurred by trade; the European appetite for furs laid the foundation for over three centuries of commercial relations between Indigenous hunters and trappers on the one side, and European merchants, especially the Hudson's Bay Company, on the other, (Carlos and Lewis 2010; Saul 2008). However, the nineteenth century ushered in an era of modernization and industrialization. Aggressive colonial policies were put in place by European powers, designed to "open up" the North American continent. This, coupled with the decline of the fur trade, put an end to the former relationship between equals.

6.1.3.2 One Hundred and Fifty Bad Years: The Indian Act and the Residential School Era

The key piece of legislation regulating the lives of Canada's Indigenous peoples insofar as their relations with white settlers and the white settler government is the Indian Act, first enacted in 1876. It is still very much in force (in a modified form

dating back to 1951), despite generations of Indigenous activism. In 1867, the British Dominion of Canada acquired the status of a more or less independent nation; the federal government therefore was solely responsible for drafting and enacting the Indian Act. No Indigenous participation was sought at the time, nor were subsequent attempts by Indigenous leaders to influence policy accepted for nearly a century. By internal fiat, the federal government in Ottawa has arrogated to itself the responsibility of administering Canada's Indigenous peoples on their behalf ever since, including in matters of education. As one team of two Indigenous teacher-researchers and a non-Indigenous academic drily puts it, "Euro-Canadians have been making decisions about the education of Aboriginal peoples for some considerable time" (Orr et al. 2002, p. 331). Good short summaries of the Act and its provisions exist (e.g., Kulchyski 2007). The educational provisions led to a policy of overt assimilation designed to "kill the Indian in the child". The intent of this unsuccessful and ultimately disastrous policy was to eliminate Canada's "Indian problem" within a couple of generations.

Following the Indian Act, the 1880s therefore saw the first "residential schools", run by religious communities of various denominations, which were eventually established across Canada with the express purpose of removing Indian children from their homes and communities (using physical force and/or psychological coercion in many if not most instances), eradicating their cultures and languages, and assimilating them to white settler culture. By the 1930s there were 80 such schools. The last residential school was not formally closed until 1996 (Milloy 1999). As we have been told personally by survivors, and as the literature amply attests, Indigenous languages were systematically "beaten out of" the young inmates of residential schools (Blacksmith 2011 and Knockwood 2001 are first-person accounts). Punishing children for speaking their Indigenous languages by beating them or washing their mouths out with soap was official policy. Some other forms of abuse (including widespread child sexual abuse by priests) were not, but are widely attested in the academic and survivor literature (Fournier and Crey 1997; Milloy 1999).

In 2008 the Canadian government formally apologized to Canada's Indigenous peoples for the residential schools and acknowledged responsibility for the havoc they wreaked (Atleo and Fitznor 2010; McIvor 2009), without, however, offering much in the way of solutions; cash handouts by way of recompense were a gesture that did nothing to bring back vanished languages or to rebuild decimated, impoverished communities. It is now generally acknowledged that "[t]he effect on families and communities was devastating, and resulted in the serious social conditions endemic in Aboriginal communities in Canada, and a fear and mistrust of formal schooling and care settings" (Hare and Anderson 2010, p. 20).

As Canadian public intellectual John Ralston Saul has said, from about 1850 through to the end of the twentieth century were 150 bad years in the relationship between Indigenous and white Canadians (Saul 2008); as he and others have also said, it's time to move on. But that ugly century and a half in which the resources of a powerful government were used to enforce openly genocidal policies in education have left a legacy of lasting trauma that is very difficult for individuals and

communities to overcome (Atleo and Fitznor 2010). The miracle is that so many Indigenous peoples—and, even more impressively, their languages—have in fact survived into the twenty-first century. As we will see, the process of recovery is now under way. But forces of modernization and globalization may yet succeed, ironically, in "pulling" Indigenous youth away from their cultural roots, even though generations of brutal official "pushing" did not quite manage to destroy their parents' and grandparents' link to their ancestral identities.

6.2 Policies, Programs and Pedagogy: From the Twentieth to the Twenty-First Century

6.2.1 Patchwork Semi-solutions to Perennial Problems

In addition to the system of residential schools, "Indian" children also attended local schools both on- and off-reserve (Metallic et al. 2012). In Canada, education is a provincial jurisdiction, except in the case of First Nations children living on reserve. Under the Indian Act, responsibility for children on reserve falls to the federal government. This situation has resulted in a patchwork of local responses to the challenge of educating Indigenous children which persists to this day, as federal and provincial authorities engage in continual, quite literal buck-passing about who should pay for what. While the educational climate itself is not as bad as in the days of the residential schools, it is still the case that Indigenous Canadians are seriously underschooled compared to the non-Indigenous population, and can, in fact, be compared to developing-country populations on many other measures, such as access to clean water, health care, decent housing, and employment opportunities (Salée et al. 2006). The question of providing language education, therefore, must be seen against a backdrop in which education in general is all too often underfunded and inadequate.

6.2.2 Indian Control of Indian Education

A number of developments in the Canadian political landscape in the 1960s led to a gradual reassertion of control for Indian education by the Indian bands themselves. *Indian Control of Indian Education* was the title of a landmark 1972 policy paper used successfully by the Indigenous leadership to put pressure on the federal government. After 1972, many First Nations communities were able to set up their own schools. It became apparent in the early 1970s as well that language shift toward the majority language was occurring in many Indigenous communities. A "three-generation" sequence is often described under colonialism. Grandparents, living traditional lifestyles, are monolingual in the ancestral language, parents

become bilingual as a result of the pressures of schooling or employment, and grandchildren are monolingual in the colonial language (Nettle and Romaine 2000). This pattern started to play itself out in community after community from the 1960s on, almost certainly aided by the advent of television and the resulting presence in every home of a source of non-stop English input (J. Vicaire, personal communication, September 2008).

Fluency in a colonial language was and is considered the main linguistic priority for Indigenous children by governments and band councils. Therefore, "Indian control of Indian education", although it led to the building of many more schools directly controlled by the communities themselves, did not in fact mean education in Indigenous languages except in the early grades and for a small minority of Indigenous children. The present situation as far as the languages of schooling across Canada's more than 600 First Nations and Inuit communities can be understood in terms of two factors:

– Is the Indigenous language still being passed down to children through intergenerational transmission?
– Does the community want its members to be fluent in the Indigenous language as well as the colonial language?

If the answer to both questions is Yes, then the Indigenous language is more likely to be used in the early grades and to be continued as a school subject. However, in communities where this is the case, at present the second half of primary school and all of secondary school take place in the colonial language. In such communities, young children are typically fluent speakers of their language upon school entry (perhaps even monolingual speakers, although with the presence of the media and the internet in even the most remote communities, this is becoming more and more rare). If the children are bilingual in the colonial language as well, this may be an Indigenized variety (Peltier 2010; Sterzuk 2011) rather than the mainstream variety required for school success.

If the answer to both questions is No, then usually language shift has advanced to the point where there is little or no role for the Indigenous language in schools. There may be "culture classes" in which the children are introduced to artistic activities such as beadwork or drumming, encouraged to learn traditional songs and stories (in the colonial language), told about ancient lifeways, and so forth.

If the answer to the first question is Yes, but fluent bilingualism is not a concern (the answer to the second question is No), this may be because of a lack of awareness of how rapidly community language shift can proceed (Allen 2006; Fishman 2001). Or language shift may not be much on people's minds. As it so often happens, communities may not realize how much their language means to them until they lose it. In this situation, again, there is little or no role for the Indigenous language in schools. Schooling may be entirely through the medium of the colonial language.

Finally, if the answer to the first question is No, but the answer to the second question is Yes—that is, the community is losing or has lost the language, but hopes to re-establish it as a community language, at least in certain domains—then the

way is open for language revitalization initiatives. Immersion education is one example: all schooling is through the Indigenous language, at least in the early grades (it is a second language for the children) followed by the continued presence of the language as a school subject, with eventual fluent bilingualism being an explicit goal. However, at present, even in communities with immersion schools the second half of primary school and all of secondary school take place in the colonial language. Other language revitalization measures, such as adult classes of various kinds (Richards and Maracle 2002; Sarkar and Metallic 2009) may be put in place.

6.2.3 Dreaming and Doing

At present, as far as we have been able to determine, the majority of Indigenous children, whether they attend Indigenous-run or provincially-run schools, are schooled solely through the medium of a colonial language (with the Indigenous language possibly being offered as a school subject). This is by far the most common model. A second model, available for a minority of Indigenous children, is found in those schools where the first few grades of primary education are through the medium of an ancestral language. This may be in a mother-tongue context—for example, the Quebec Innu, discussed below, and most Inuit children across the North. Alternatively, it may be in an immersion school. Some examples of communities with well-established immersion schools are:

§ the Mi'kmaq of Eskasoni (http://www.eskasonischool.ca/) ("Mi'kmaq" and "Mi'gmaq" are alternate spellings, used in Quebec and Nova Scotia/New Brunswick respectively);
§ the Kanienkehaka (Mohawk) of Kahnawake, Quebec (http://kec.qc.com/);
§ the Cree of Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (http://creebeyondwords.com/);
§ the Secwepemc of Adams Lake, BC (http://school.chiefatahm.com/).

In cases of which we have some personal knowledge, it seems that the immersion model has been successful as a strategy for Indigenous language revitalization. Young people are starting to speak the language to each other again, even though their parents may not speak it (K. Dyebo, personal communication, 2009, for Mohawk in Kahnawake; M.A. Metallic, personal communication, 2011, for Mi'kmaq in Eskasoni).

A third possible model that does not in fact exist at present, but that as advocates of multilingual education we would strongly support, would be bilingual education with instruction in both the Indigenous and the colonial languages throughout the period of compulsory schooling (i.e., to age 16), with the balance between the languages depending on the language situation in the community. If the Indigenous language is strong, the presence of the colonial language alongside it from the beginning of schooling might not pose a threat and might in fact lead to balanced bilingualism and to more opportunities for post-secondary education for members of remote communities. If the Indigenous language is *not* strong, as in communities that have undergone some degree of language shift, immersion education in the

Indigenous language would be preferable, and, from our point of view, preferred, with the introduction of the colonial language as a language of instruction being deferred to later grades.

If it existed, this would be a true additive-bilingual model. Given that post-secondary education is available only in the colonial languages, there is clearly a good argument for promulgating this model as the most desirable one for *all* Indigenous children, just as many educators would promote some form of additive-bilingual education for all children regardless of ethnolinguistic origin (Cummins 2000; Lo Bianco 1987).

This model would be truly multilingual and additive. In addition to instruction in *both* the Indigenous and the local colonial language through the years of compulsory schooling, the other colonial language not prevalent in the region could be taught as a subject and *well* taught. While this is certainly possible in theory, in the current educational landscape in Canada this trilingual model does not exist for Indigenous students. Some Indigenous communities in Quebec offer the "other" colonial language as a subject through secondary school (for example, French, in the English-language secondary school at Kahnawake, close to Montreal; English, in the French-language secondary schools attended by Innu adolescents in eastern Quebec). We have known a few rare individuals who emerged as fluent trilinguals as a result, but they remain the exception.

Another way of becoming trilingual in an Indigenous language, French, and English, is to go to French-medium school in a community in which the Indigenous language and English are both community languages. This happens fairly frequently in situations where it is possible, for example in northern Quebec Inuit communities where parents have the choice of an English or a French school, as a technique to ensure that families will command all possible language resources among their members. However, it is impossible to know how widespread the practice is—exact figures are hard to come by—let alone what level of proficiency in all three languages would typically be reached by such students.

6.2.4 Two Examples from Quebec

6.2.4.1 Quebec, a Distinct Society Within Canada

It is no coincidence that the province of Quebec is the most likely place to look for examples of Indigenous multilinguals or of multilingual educational policies for Indigenous populations, although even there they are thin on the ground. Quebec has historically been a locus for the working out of Canadian desires and conflicts around language in the abstract, as well as more concrete language contact situations generally. The historical reasons that have led to this are many and complex (Oakes and Warren 2007). The outcome has been that the historical tension between a people descended from French colonists and a people descended from British colonists shifted from religious (Catholic vs. Protestant) to linguistic

(French vs. English) ground without losing any of the nervous energy that propelled it from the seventeenth into the twenty-first centuries. Until quite recently, government rhetoric still relied on the convenient fiction of "two founding peoples", ignoring the prior presence of hundreds of Indigenous peoples (and their hundreds of languages).

French-speakers and English-speakers therefore have for some time seen themselves as endlessly in competition for services in their own languages, in a way that speakers of other immigrant languages do not. Outside Quebec the numerically much less powerful French-speaking communities, though they exist all across Canada, do not generally compete with English-speakers as equals. In Quebec, however, the majority French-speaking population has succeeded in maintaining a privileged space for their language (protected by legislation from the late 1960s on) notably through the provincial Charter of the French Language enacted in 1977. In this province, the question of which official language will be adopted by non-Francophone communities—whether long-time white settler residents, more recent arrivals, or Indigenous peoples—is a matter of intense public concern and often fierce debate.

We now turn, therefore, to a consideration of two Indigenous communities, Unamen Shipu and Listuguj, which, although they are both in Quebec, have taken contrasting paths with respect to their choice of colonial language. In both communities a language belonging to the Algonquian family is spoken—Innu in Unamen Shipu, Mi'gmaq in Listuguj. But the two communities are geographically very far apart, and differ in many other ways. In Unamen Shipu, Innu is the main language of the community, and the challenge for educators is to ensure that children acquire a colonial language—here, French—well enough to have access to education outside the community if they wish it. In Listuguj, Mi'gmaq is in danger of being lost, and the usual language of the community and the school is a colonial language—here, English. The research projects we discuss here are with young children in one community, adults in the other. Yet in both places, use of new and creative approaches to language teaching has imbued speakers with confidence and has shown that fluency in the colonial language and a strong grasp of the traditional community language *can* coexist and be developed in tandem. We will first show how this is being done in Unamen Shipu, then move to a discussion of Listuguj. We are not ourselves Indigenous. In our capacities as academic researchers, we were invited to come into these communities to help with ongoing language education projects initiated by local school authorities and teachers.

6.2.4.2 When the Indigenous Language Is the Community Language: Innu Kindergarten in Unamen Shipu

Unamen Shipu, Quebec, with a population of about a thousand (AANDC 2011), is in the Quebec interior, north of the north-eastern coast of the St Lawrence River, 400 km north-east of Sept-Îles or 100 km north-west of Natashquan. The community is only accessible by plane, boat or snowmobile and is therefore quite isolated

compared to some other First Nations communities. The community is named after the river ("shipu" in Innu) LaRomaine, which merges into the St Lawrence River at this location. The Innu have traditionally lived across large parts of what is now the north coast of the St Lawrence River in Quebec and southern Labrador. Of the residents of Unamen Shipu, 99 %, from children through to elders, speak Innu. In the kindergarten of Unamen Shipu community, half the day is taught in Innu and the other half in French, by two different teachers. From grade one on, French is the language of instruction. In primary school, Innu is taught on a weekly basis as a subject for 2–3 periods of 45 min. However, in secondary school, the Innu language is not taught at all (see Model 2, above). Community educators have decided to prioritize French, the language of higher education and of employment opportunities in Quebec. While monolingualism in French is certainly not seen by the community as a goal of this policy, we maintain that over time there is a danger of community language shift.

At preschool level, the children's dominant language is Innu. An example of a lesson by the two kindergarten teachers from Tshishenniu Mishen preschool illustrates how overt instruction can use multimodal and multilingual resources to facilitate the expression of pluralistic learners' cultural imaginations. The teachers used talking circles during one classroom project to discuss the hunting of Canada geese. The Innu-speaking teacher also shared a hunting story during the talking circles. During these sharing activities, she taught new words in Innu related to this traditional activity. For example, she explained the origin of the word *tshinashkumitin* (I give you a goose). This word was translated by the French colonizers as 'thank you', because Innu, rather than baldly expressing a sentiment of gratitude, offered a goose as a symbol of their appreciation and satisfaction. In the second half of the same day, the French-speaking teacher encouraged the students to tell the same hunting story to her in French and taught them related French vocabulary. By sharing, students and teacher learned from each other.

The two teachers also helped the students turn their stories into a mural, posted in the corridor between the two kindergarten classrooms. Through this project, the children learnt communicative competencies (to express themselves in a group of peers and with elders, to use technologies to include images, etc.), spiritual knowledge (rituals related to hunting) and values (sharing material, space, tenacity). This visual representation helped the children to remember what they had learnt and to keep them motivated for the ongoing talking circles about the Canada geese. The mural and the talking circles in French and Innu were simultaneously learning and conceptualizing occasions and multimodal learning resources. They then planned to turn the mural into a book. By looking at the mural, students would have to remember collectively what they had learned about hunting Canada geese and tell the story. Teachers could write it down in both languages. The bilingual book would be an opportunity to build on the children's story-telling skills and help them make the transfer to pre-reading abilities. This also helped the children remember the stories learnt from their elders. Reapplying what they learned in each language in a new context is a way to sustain learning and to indigenize the curriculum.

6.2.4.3 When the Colonial Language Is the Community Language: Mi'gmaq Revitalization in Listuguj

In contrast to the isolated community of Unamen Shipu, Listuguj (with a band membership of 3,360, of whom 40 % do not live in Listuguj but in larger centres), is on a busy interprovincial highway at the eastern border of Quebec, just across a bridge from the regional centre of Campbellton, New Brunswick. In Listuguj, the proportion of speakers of Mi'gmaq is less than 20 %, nearly all older people, and declining yearly. Fuelled by concern at the high rate of Indigenous language attrition in the community, starting in 2006 the Listuguj Directorate of Education undertook an innovative language revitalization initiative. Language instructors have developed an approach to teaching Mi'gmaq to adult learners that is grounded in Mi'gmaq grammar, without reference to European theoretical-linguistic frameworks or language teaching methods.

In the Listuguj classrooms for adult learning of Mi'gmaq, all language teaching is based on carefully selected and structured sequences of colourful and attractive images, chosen to embody the grammatical structure of Mi'gmaq. Arrays of pictures are displayed in patterns to illustrate basic grammatical distinctions such as animate/inanimate noun classes and the very complex Algonquian system of verbal affixes to indicate manner and direction of motion, for which the instructors have found ingenious and simple visual representations (see Sarkar and Metallic 2009, for a lengthier discussion).

From the first class, instruction is related to the learners' family and community contexts. Their real kinship networks and daily activities in this small and tightly knit community form the basis of classroom interaction. The myriad ways in which the complex structure of Mi'gmaq differs from English are carefully, continuously explained in English, and also, as the learners improve their comprehension, in Mi'gmaq.

As the adult learners progress, they make conscious choices about what to focus on in terms of further language learning, and are themselves the most active participants in selecting contexts for language practice both inside and outside the classroom. The instructors encourage them to be pro-active learners and to draw on all the resources available to them (family, elders, friends). Learners recognize that they will be able to use Mi'gmaq in some community contexts, but, given the language use patterns in this community, not in all. For example, one learner decided as her main challenge of one term (about 40 h spread over 12 weeks) to focus on the language of ritual greetings and prayers, because her job with the Listuguj government required her to travel to formal meetings and greet elders at other communities. With the help of the instructors, she devised a speech entirely in Mi'gmaq, all of which she had herself worked out lexically and grammatically. She was able to use this language in a way that was very meaningful and emotionally charged, not just to her, but also to her community and to the others she visited. The elders she had occasion to address were extremely moved that a young woman in her 30s, not previously a speaker, had been able to make the journey back to

re-acquisition of her ancestral language in this linguistically complex, culturally highly significant context of use; they saw this as a source of new hope for their own communities.

6.3 New Population Movement, New Technologies, a New Demographics for Indigenous Peoples

6.3.1 Urban Indigeneity and Language

Taking a wider and more issues-based perspective, we now move away from the two small, non-urban Indigenous communities where we have worked with language educators over the past few years. Indigenous Canadians themselves are in fact moving to the big cities in increasing numbers. Their original home may be in a remote and isolated northern community like Unamen Shipu, one where the ancestral language is strong and the connection to living on the land still an everyday reality. Or they may be from a semi-suburban community like Listuguj where the language is slipping away and most people have adopted a lifestyle not appreciably different from that of their non-Indigenous neighbours in adjoining towns. Census data from 2001 on indicate that more than half of Indigenous Canadians live in urban areas, and this figure is increasing (Tomiak and Patrick 2010).

The new reality of "Urban Indigeneity" inevitably has an impact on language learning and retention, as yet understudied (Patrick and her colleagues in Ottawa, working with urban Inuit in the nation's capital, are a notable exception). While opportunities to learn the language from elders living on the land are fewer, a critical mass of Indigenous language learners in a given location has the potential to mobilize urban resources—for example, in support of community-based second language classes in cities such as Toronto (J. Koostachin, personal communication, October 2010)—where members of several different communities who share the same ancestral language may come together. Proximity to better schools and services may enable growing networks of language learners to team up with educators to develop innovative approaches to Indigenous language revitalization. These, in turn, have the potential to spread back to the land base and to learners there.

6.3.2 Social [and Linguistic] Networking

The use of digital tools to aid in language teaching and learning is one example of technological innovation being used in the service of Indigenous language revitalization. We have documented the development of a Facebook site for learning

Mi'gmaq, initiated by a teacher in Listuguj, M.A. Metallic, that attracted hundreds of members in just a few months and that was an active locus for language learning over a large geographical area even though most of the members had never physically met (Sarkar and Metallic 2009). Many such sites can be in operation for shorter or longer periods of time, uniting learners on a pragmatic basis in fluid and changing configurations; younger learners more at ease with the technology can and do team up with older fluent speakers to create and manage digital language learning resources.

The movement to put new technologies to work in the service of Indigenous language revitalization is of course not confined to Canada, but is burgeoning worldwide. The February 2012 annual meeting of the American Association of the Advancement of Science featured a session on "Endangered and Minority Languages Crossing the Digital Divide" that, among other things, asked the question "What new possibilities are gained through social networking, video streaming, twitter, software interfaces, smart phones, machine translation, and digital talking dictionaries?" These are just a few examples of current technology; more and more "new possibilities" will be added to this list every year. Mainstream media are making a wider public aware of endangered languages and ways in which technology can help them (for example, Amos 2012).

6.3.3   This Population Is Not Aging

Finally, it is important to point out the simple demographic fact that, in contrast to the rest of the population of Canada, statistics for the First Nations, Inuit and Métis show that this population is not only growing (Saul 2008) but growing rapidly. Canadian Indigenous populations are youthful populations, with a much younger average age than any other ethnically defined group in Canada because of a high birth rate. In the context of a mainstream population which is aging at an alarming rate, threatening to put an intolerable burden on health and social services before many more decades have passed, the existence of a more youthful demographic among Indigenous peoples is not only cause for cheer, it may eventually be all that can save the idea of Canada as an expansive and generous place in which to live the good life—meaning, among other things, one with free universal health care and a social welfare buffer adequate to the needs of the less fortunate.

Statistics show how few Indigenous youth have until now managed to successfully navigate an educational system which they have such good historical reasons to dislike and in which the odds are so heavily stacked against them (Salée et al. 2006. These statistics are appalling. However, public awareness of Canada's need for *all* her citizens to be given access to rich educational resources is growing. For example, the groundbreaking CBC documentary *8th Fire* (aired January-February 2012) showed both failures and successes in the long saga of Indigenous experience of white settler education, and pointed out—in the words of an ex-Prime-Minister of Canada, Paul Martin, featured on the show—that "We can't

afford to waste a single talent" (CBC 2012). Also featured on the show were several heartening educational success stories, for example from First Nations University in Regina, Saskatchewan (interested readers can watch the documentary episodes themselves through the "TV" link on the site). Up-to-date production values and a completely contemporary, media-savvy style of informal presentation did much to make the message easy to understand. These are signs that Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians may be ready to put their differences behind them and start working together on ways forward.

6.4   Conclusion

At present the language education of children of Indigenous heritage in Canada is not covered by any coherent policy across the whole country. Not just one, but a network of many new policies is needed. These policies would, first, honour the linguistic traditions of the ancestors. Second, they would respect the possible wishes of parents and families to preserve those traditions in healthy multilingual communities. Finally, they would support children's potential to grow up as multiply-identified individuals. Young Indigenous Canadians could become adults in whose lives the ability to speak their Indigenous language (as well as one or both of Canada's colonizing languages) might figure as an important part of their identity as Indigenous Canadians. The contribution that a wealth of such individuals would add to the much-vaunted Canadian cultural mosaic (Day 2000) is not yet considered by "the mainstream" as something that might enrich all Canadians and make Canada stand out in the world with respect to its treatment of Indigenous people and issues.

Many Canadian Indigenous children live in communities where the ancestral language is still strong. These communities are usually fairly remote and isolated, far away from the urban centres those children will have to move to if they pursue post-secondary education. If these young people stay home and keep their language and culture intact, the price is all too likely to be continued economic marginalization. Fewer and fewer young people are willing to pay that price, as census figures on population movement, urbanization and mother-tongue shift show. If they move away to pursue better educational and employment opportunities, they put distance between themselves and their Indigenous languages that can result in permanent language shift in one or two generations.

All this could change if multilingualism in Indigenous and colonizing (or for that matter other) languages were recognized as an asset, a personal and societal gain with no unavoidable concomitant loss when parents, communities and educators are supported by progressive policies. The frequent cases where the Indigenous language is no longer the community language can potentially be turned around through appropriate second language programs and pedagogy, in a "Reversing Language Shift" model of the kind theorized and amply documented by Fishman (2001). Indigenous mother-tongue or immersion education throughout the period of

compulsory schooling, combined with effective programming for adult learners, need not be seen as an unattainable utopian dream. It has been achieved elsewhere—the case of Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand is an outstanding example (Ratima and May 2011). In this regard, language educators have a special responsibility to be activists, to attempt to influence policy, and to mobilize the public in the cause of school- and society-based reform.

We have, therefore, endeavoured to show how with a modicum of collective effort and societal goodwill, the basis for recognition of the worth of a multilingualism that includes Indigenous languages is at least beginning to be laid in Canada, in a community here, a community there. Small-scale projects similar to the ones we describe here are being undertaken all across Canada and in many other countries. What is principally needed is a more sensitive ear on the part of majority-language speakers everywhere, especially monolingual ones, to the multilingual voices of speakers of Indigenous languages. Their message comes down from the distant pre-colonial past, but the voices are contemporary. They speak to our present and to our future.

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Chapter 7
Policy and Teaching English to Palestinian Students in Israel: An Ecological Perspective to Language Education Policies

Muhammad Amara

Abstract The chapter examines policy and teaching English among Palestinian schoolchildren in Israel, relating them to their complex linguistic repertoire, the Israeli context, and English as a global language. Today, Arabic is the language of instruction in Palestinian schools in Israel. Hebrew is learned as a second language by all the Palestinian pupils from the third grade on. English is then added on, a third language for the Arabic speaking pupils, or a fourth considering the spoken language used as the home language and for on-going communicative needs.

Palestinian language education serves different purposes: Arabic is the language of personal, cultural and national identity; Hebrew is an important language for social mobility, for higher education, and for shared citizenship; English is a global language, and a window on the wider world.

English is as important to Israeli Palestinians as to other Israelis because of its status as international language. Many English words have been borrowed into Arabic by way of Hebrew. There is no distinct English curriculum for the Palestinian students, and they study it like other Israelis in all streams of the Hebrew education.

Keywords Language policy • Language education policy • Ecological perspective • Linguistic repertoire • Curriculum • Identity • Arabic • English • Hebrew

7.1 Introduction

The results of 1948 war between Israel and the Arab countries, the defeat of the latter, and the establishment of Israel led to far-reaching political transformations among the Palestinian people. A majority under Ottoman and British rule, the

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Palestinians who remained within the State of Israel and were granted citizenship became a marginal minority (Amara 1999). Today Palestinians[1] in Israel comprise about one-fifth of the population, numbering 1,600,000. They belong to three religions: Muslims (83 %), Christians (9 %), and Druze (8 %) (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 2011).

The political upheavals brought about far-reaching structural and functional changes in various domains of life, including language. The linguistic repertoire of the Palestinians citizens of Israel became progressively more complex and diverse, and the status of language in it changed. Hebrew and Arabic became the two official languages of the state, and English took on the status of a foreign language (Amara and Mari 2002). Language education is an important part of the curriculum at all stages of education. The languages learnt are Arabic, Hebrew and English; French is learnt as well, in several private schools (Amara 2001).

The purpose of this article is to highlight the forces affecting policy and teaching English to Palestinian students in Israel and to examine the new English curriculum, textbooks, and achievements. We will relate these issues to the complex Palestinian linguistic repertoire, the Israeli context, and English as a global language, drawing on an ecological perspective to language education policies. First, an overview to an ecological perspective to language policy is given. Second, language education policies in Israel are briefly described. This is followed by a section on English in Palestinian schools in Israel. Finally, the major factors influencing and shaping English policy and teaching are described and discussed.

7.2 An Ecological Perspective to Language Policy

Language policy has recently reoriented towards an expanded framework characterized by language hybridity and diffusion where intersecting global and local forces shape discourse communities (Canagarajah 2005; Kaplan and Baldauf 2008). This growing recognition of the intricacies involved in interactions among individuals from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds has led to utilizing an ecological perspective for determining, discussing and researching language policy issues (Hornberger and Hult 2007; Mühlhäusler 1996). The ecological metaphor (first introduced by Haugen 1972), refers to an interaction between the organism and its environment, and was borrowed to describe interactions among languages and speech communities, and to enable a comprehensive analysis of all the variables which constitute the language-speaking environment.

To adopt an ecological perspective involves the realization that "language policy exists in the wider social, political, economic, cultural, religious and ideological

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[1] Many identity labels are given to Palestinians who became citizens of Israel: Israeli Arabs, Arab citizens of Israel, Israeli Palestinians, and Palestinians in Israel. I prefer the last label because it is widely used by Palestinians themselves, and more and more used by Israeli Jews.

context that makes up human society" (Spolsky 2004: 218). Therefore, when adopting an ecological approach to language policy, one needs to venture beyond the linguistic data and examine how all the other relevant factors in the particular habitat – social, political, ethnic and others – interact with linguistic issues. Only an understanding of the complex interplay among these factors will make it possible to comprehend the forces at play. However, local forces do not function independently of global ones, and therefore local considerations which shape language policies need to be deliberated within a wider framework of global developments in a given time period (Kaplan and Baldauf 2008).

Having identified these conditions, language policy theory examines the language practices of nations, communities and organizations in different domains, the language varieties used and how other local factors interact with the language/s used. Of no less importance is the process of identifying the beliefs people hold about the language varieties spoken and their functional and symbolic value. Only then, after having established language practices and beliefs, can national or social groups attempt to establish a policy for managing language use in a particular domain or sociolinguistic context, which may be a family, a school, a workplace or a nation (Spolsky 2004).

7.3   Language Education Policies in Israel

The government of the British Mandate[2] recognized three official languages in Palestine: English, Arabic and Hebrew, in that order. After the establishment of the State of Israel, English was eliminated as an official language, and Hebrew and Arabic were retained as the official languages of the State (Amara 2002, Saban and Amara 2002; Pinto 2007, 2009; Yitzhaki 2008).

Though Hebrew and Arabic are both recognized as official languages in Israel, the status of the two languages is not at all equal. The use of Arabic under Israeli law is quite limited, so that for all intents and purposes Hebrew is the language of public life. Hebrew is the common language of bureaucracy, the medium of instruction in higher education (excluding Palestinian colleges), the dominant language of the electronic media, and most importantly, it is the language of those sectors of the labor market that are open to the Arabic-speaking minority. Although Arabic is recognized as an official language, it has no significance for society as a whole, but only in the degree of protection it affords to the internal life of the minority, especially in regard to the right to education in the minority tongue (Saban and Amara 2002; Yitzhaki 2008). Due to the dominance of Hebrew in the

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[2] Following the end of World War I, Palestine was placed for an interim period under a British Mandate, which formally began in 1922. The British Mandate was a turbulent period marked by continual violence between Arabs and Jews, both of whom opposed it. The Mandate over Palestine ended on May 15, 1948 and the establishment of Israel ensued (see Amara 1999: 21).

public sphere, it is extremely difficult for Palestinians in Israel to function outside their home villages and towns without sufficient competence in Hebrew.

During the British Mandate, the Palestinian community and Jewish colonies were expected to run their own education systems. Most Palestinian schools used Arabic, and most Jewish schools taught in Hebrew. Some Arabic was taught in Jewish schools. English was used as a language of instruction in the high schools of the Palestinian and Jewish communities. However, Hebrew was not taught in Palestinian schools (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999; Amara and Mari 2002).

For some months before the time set by the United Nations for the partition of Palestine in 1948, an education committee set up by the Jewish Agency debated language policy for the new state. Various alternatives were proposed, including the use of English, but the final decision, reached a few days before the proclamation of Israeli independence, echoed the policy laid down for former enemy territories under the Treaty of Versailles (1919): each school should use the language of the majority of its students as the medium of instruction, and should also teach the other language (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999). This far-reaching decision meant that schools with native speakers of Arabic would continue to use Arabic as the medium of instruction, but should also teach Hebrew, the dominant language of the State.[3]

Today, generally speaking, Jewish and Palestinian students in Israel study in separate schools. Hebrew is the language of instruction in Jewish schools (except in some ultra-orthodox schools, where Yiddish or other languages are used). Arabic is the language of instruction in Palestinian schools. Hebrew is learned as a second language by all the Palestinian students from the third grade on. Arabic is studied by tens of thousands of Hebrew speakers, mostly in junior high school (Donitsa-Schmidt et al. 2004). English is learned as a foreign language by both Jews and Palestinians (Amara and Mari 2002).

Hebrew is required by the Palestinian minority for instrumental purposes. The extent to which Hebrew is taught to Arabic speakers far surpasses attempts to introduce Arabic in Hebrew-speaking schools. In terms of age, Hebrew teaching in the Palestinian schools starts in third grade while Hebrew speakers who study Arabic usually commence their studies in seventh grade (age 12), with quite a number of schools allowing another language choice (French or Spanish) instead of Arabic. Hence there is an imbalance, for in the Hebrew speaking schools, the additional language introduced in primary school is English (in grade three or earlier). English is then added on as a third language for the Arabic speaking students (Abu-Rabi'a 1996).

To put it in a nutshell, Palestinian language education in Israel serves different purposes: Arabic is the language of personal, cultural and national identity of the Palestinian students; Hebrew is an important language for social mobility, for higher education, and for shared citizenship; English is a global language, and a window to the wider world.

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[3] For additional details regarding the work of this committee, see Amara and Mari 2002: 64–5.

7.4   English in the Palestinian Schools in Israel

English has become a global language, and its importance is evident worldwide, even in remote places (Crystal 2003). Globalization and the rapid diffusion of electronic media in recent decades have greatly contributed to enhancing the status of English.

English is the most commonly used foreign language in Israel; it is vitally important in both the public and the private domain, in the media, in academic scholarship, for access to knowledge in various fields, and as a lingua franca with other countries (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999). In addition, the country's laws are also published in English translation, after some delay.

English is the second most important language in Israel, and is formally the first foreign language taught in both Jewish and Palestinian schools. The study of English is subject to the same national curriculum for both Jewish and Palestinian communities, which come under the same chief inspector advised by the same professional advisory committee.

In recent years English has begun to be taught at an early age at Hebrew schools: 50 % of the schools start teaching English either in the first or the second grade (Inbar-Lourei 2010). In the Palestinian schools in Israel English is taught from third grade.

English is as important to Israeli Palestinians as to Israeli Jews because of its status as the international language of science, technology, commerce and communications and its usefulness in tourism. Just as among other Israelis, there is constant pressure from Palestinian parents to teach their children English, and they are prepared to spend considerable sums to pay for private lessons. The pressure comes particularly in neighborhoods where there are Church-related schools which begin to teach English in first grade. Parents believe that proficiency in English will advance their children, especially those who are interested in pursuing their studies in institutions of higher education (Amara and Mari 2002: 104).

There are, however, unique problems in the implementation of English teaching for Palestinian students. While many Israelis have regular contact with English-speakers – with English-speaking immigrants in the neighbourhood, with English-speaking relatives in the Diaspora, or with English-speaking tourists who come to the cities, Palestinians, citizens of Israel, generally lack direct contact with English-speaking communities. The English language is foreign, then, to many Palestinian students. It is the third language they study. Fewer members of the adult community do not know English, nor do the Palestinian schools have a high proportion of English native- or near-native-speaking teachers. Hebrew poses another challenge for Palestinian learners. For most Palestinians in Israel, Hebrew is the most important second language, even more important than English, and at times and in some domains even more than Arabic (Shohamy and Donitsa-Schmidt 1998; Amara and Mari 2002). Not knowing Hebrew limits the Palestinian citizen in contact with government offices, in employment and in higher education. Hebrew is now the

main source of loanwords in Palestinian Arabic in Israel (Amara 1999; Amara and Spolsky 1986).

All the above conditions make the learning of English more difficult for Palestinian students.[4] However, in recent years through the internet, television, movies, and music Palestinian students in Israel have become more exposed to English, and have more opportunities to use it. Besides, the Palestinian landscape in Israel encompasses many English names and words, reflecting the increasing importance of English in their linguistic repertoire (Amara 2010).

English constitutes an integral part of the educational system in Israel and is defined as a foreign language. Acquisition of English is not among the main interests of the Palestinian students despite their awareness of its importance. English is relegated to secondary preference because Palestinian students must first of all contend with their own Arabic mother tongue, in which there is an immense difference between the spoken and the written language. Then they must become familiar with Hebrew, which is vital to them in daily life, and finally they come to English, a language whose study is teacher-centered and frontal for the most part, and spoken by students only infrequently. These facts show that students must master a number of unique skills at one-and-the-same time in order to be able to absorb the languages taught in the schools, which are so different from each other. Are these factors taken into account in the curriculum and textbooks? What can we learn from the achievements of Palestinians schoolchildren in English? The following sections will answer these questions.

7.4.1 The New English Curriculum

In the curriculum used after the establishment of the State of Israel (1948–1969), English was perceived and taught in Israeli schools as a cultural and literary subject, emphasizing linguistic competence rather than the language's communicative functions.

Major changes took place in the English curriculum in Israeli schools since the 1970s. There was a shift of emphasis from teaching English as a cultural and literary subject to communicative competence (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999: 174).

In 1998, a new English curriculum was approved in Israeli schools. Spolsky and Shohamy argue (1999: 181) that

> The circumstances today, and even more in the foreseeable future, are quite different. More and more pupils have extensive contact with English before beginning formal English instruction or outside of school, whether through radio, television, computers, family, travel, or meeting overseas visitors. Most pupils, at whatever age they start learning English in school, have already learned words and phrases of the language.

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[4] Similar handicaps are faced, it must be noted, by new immigrants and by socioeconomically disadvantaged Israeli Jews.

Considering these changes, curriculum designers set new standards for English. These standards are extremely flexible, giving schools and teachers freedom, for instance, to determine the appropriate methodology to be used and the order of the elements of the curriculum.

The new curriculum differs from its predecessors in important ways. Whereas previous curricula were taught according to the four language skills, the new curriculum puts more emphasis on what should be achieved, along with how the language should be acquired. In the new curriculum, teachers are encouraged to focus on domains rather than skills. Domains are defined as 'areas of language ability or knowledge'. Four major domains are proposed: Social interaction, access to information, presentation, and appreciation of literature, culture and language. Moreover, the domains are viewed as a tapestry of interwoven areas of language learning. That means that the four domains are interrelated and do not operate in isolation.

The English curricula in Israel were uniform in the first two periods, and the sociolinguistic and cultural needs of the Palestinian students were not taken into consideration. This is also true of other disadvantaged Israeli socio-economic groups.

In the new curriculum, there is hope that various groups will adapt English teaching for their unique sociolinguistic and cultural needs. However, this may be a vain hope, since the English matriculation examination is uniform for all students in Israel. This may lead Palestinians and others as well, to adopt the methodology of teaching and the textbooks used by the more established groups in Israel.

7.4.2   Textbooks

Language learning and teaching are of course connected with power. If language teaching is ideologically influenced, as reflected by goals of the curricula and contents of the textbooks, it can be labeled ideological language teaching. Rahman defines it as 'the transmission of ideas, values, and perceptions of reality that create or influence one's world view through language-teaching, especially language texts' (Rahman 2001: 55).

The textbooks of English are the same for Palestinians and Jews in Israel. There are no texts in the readers which are devoted to the Palestinians in Israel, and this upsets the balance that exists in the curriculum. The Palestinian students learn about Jews and Western culture, but they do not learn about their own culture.

The English textbooks are well-designed and produced. However, the Palestinian students are invisible in these textbooks. We barely find a picture or two of Arabs. And while literary texts from various cultures do occur in the readers, there are no Palestinian or Arab ones (Abu-Salih 2011).

Examination of the English textbooks reveals that there is a culturally insensitive socio-cultural-faith-based defect in the learning materials (Abu-Salih 2011). Research (e.g. Valdes 1987; Ellis 1997) has shown that if the learner accepts the

target culture, s/he may accept its language. It has also shown that the reflection of students' culture in various texts in the studied language facilitates the learning process (e.g. Cortazzi and Lixian 1999).

Clearly the first domains mentioned in the curriculum earlier are not reflected in the textbooks when it comes to the Palestinian students.

The curriculum explains the basic principles for choosing contents, which should be unbiased and prejudice-free and take into account different religious, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds, in addition to being stimulating (English Curriculum for All Grades 2001: 15). Contents should also be related to previous students' experiences and knowledge in order to interact with these tasks more effectively. These principles are not reflected in the various textbooks in relation to the Palestinian students.

Opinions are divided on the desirability of writing special English textbooks for Palestinians. Some teachers are in favor and others reject the idea out of hand. The latter believe that such books would have a deleterious effect on the level and quality of teaching. They suggest as a solution to set up a committee of Palestinians and Jews would rewrite neutral contents relevant to both Arabs and Jews in the same reader (Amara and Mari 2002: 113).
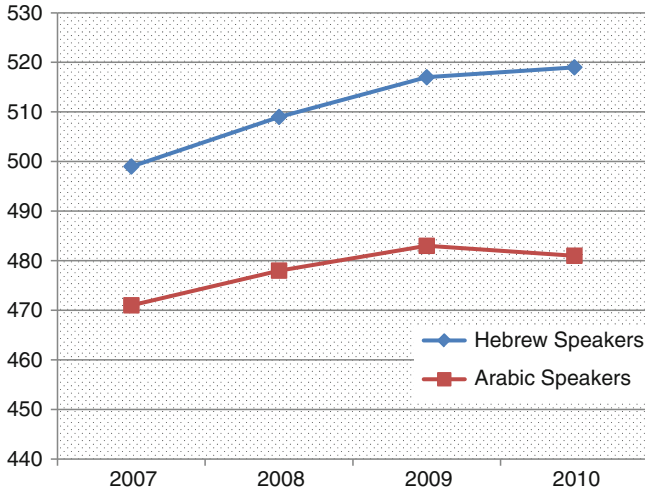
7.4.3   Achievements

Having examined the curriculum and the textbooks, we turn now to briefly note students' achievements in English as reflected in various tests, comparing that with the Jewish students' achievements.

According to national tests administered to all students in the Israeli school system, such as Meitzav (intended for grades five and eight in mother tongue and English), Bagrut (the matriculation exams), and psychometric exam (the university entrance exam) achievements of Palestinian students in English are extremely low (Fig. 7.1). (For more details, see Amara and Mari 2002; Ministry of Education, Final Report – Recommendations of the Committee Examining Achievements in the Palestinian Education 2008).

The above figure shows that Hebrew speakers have results that are higher than those of Arabic speakers. We also see that the gap has slightly widened in favour of the Hebrew speakers: from 28 points in 2007 to 38 in 2010, although both groups share the same school system, the same curriculum and the same textbooks.

This is also true of the matriculation examination for students in twelfth grade. Students may take the English exams at three levels: 3, 4 and 5 units. There is gap of almost one unit and a difference of 10 points on average between Palestinian and Jewish students, again in favour of the latter (Weisblai 2006: 20).

Results for the verbal section of the university entrance exam show that Hebrew speakers score 109–110 points, while the scores for speakers of Arabic in Arabic are 88–91. In the English section, the scores for Hebrew speakers range between 110 and 112, versus 84–87 for speakers of Arabic (Mustafa 2009).

Fig. 7.1 Average results of METSAV examinations in English for grade five from 2007 to 2010 according national groups. (Taken from RAMA (The National Authority for Measurement and Evaluation in Education) 2010: 14)

In short, the achievements of the Arabic speakers in English are much lower than those of their Jewish counterparts in all stages of education.

7.5   Discussion and Conclusions

Though the English curriculum is uniform in all Israeli schools, there are crucial differences between the Palestinian and Jewish communities in terms of contact and exposure to English language and culture, with Jews possessing numerous opportunities for English input outside school. The various tests reveal much lower achievement levels by Palestinian in comparison with those of Jewish students.

In light of the above, an in-depth understanding of the policy and teaching of English among Palestinian students in the Israeli context requires that the complex linguistic repertoire of the Palestinian students, and the diglossic nature of Arabic and its impact on other languages in their repertoire be taken into consideration. For understanding these issues, we draw on recent developments in language policy utilizing an ecological perspective.

Drawing on the ecological perspective on language education policies, we introduce the following contexts and reasons for the current situation of English and the difficulties that Palestinian students encounter in learning the language.

There are many factors that have been noted to impact Palestinian language education in Israel. We will now consider the major ones.

The first factor is bound up with an existing state of diglossia[5] which is influenced by linguistic and social factors. Diglossia, as many researches have shown (Amara and Abu-Akel 1998), is a heavy burden on the Palestinian learner. Standard Arabic is a different language – in grammar and lexicon – than spoken Arabic.

The continuing struggle between the standard and the spoken languages is bound up to a great extent in the ideological principle that the purity of the Arabic language must be maintained.[6] As a result, all the linguistic reforms that have been proposed by linguists and scholars in the Arab world have totally failed (Amara and Spolsky 1986).

The diglossia for Arabic speakers in Israel is more complicated than in other Arab countries and constitutes a heavier burden on its speakers. Despite the fact that Arabic is an official language alongside Hebrew, it is so only in name (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999). The absolute distinction between Standard Arabic and the local dialect limits the use of Standard Arabic to formal areas, such as school, the media, courts, mosques, churches, etc. In other words, the use of Standard Arabic is limited to the public sphere. In Israel, for the most part, Hebrew is the language used in the public sphere. From this, it can be concluded that the Arabic used in Israel is different from the Arabic in the Arab world, since the use of Arabic in the public sphere is quite limited in the former. It is useful mainly in the educational system (and even in education, there are other languages which compete with it), and in places of worship. In other places, Hebrew is the principal language.

The second factor is the socio-political environment. The socio-political circumstances, which changed after the establishment of the State of Israel, turned the Palestinians in Israel into a marginalized minority. Since the necessities of life and preferences have a considerable influence on the knowledge and use of language among the Palestinians in Israel, Hebrew has become a vital language in their linguistic repertoire.

Hebrew is used not only to fill the gaps of parallel elements that are lacking in Arabic, but also "to brag." (See Amara 1986, 1995, 1999; Ben-Rafael 1994; Koplewitz 1990). Hebrew fulfills an important symbolic function among the Palestinians in Israel, as a mark of their will and aspiration to connect to the outside modern world.

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[5] Arabic is considered a diglossic language (Ferguson 1959; Brosh 1996). One of the principal characteristics of a diglossic situation is that the functional division between the literary (high variety, according to Ferguson) and the local dialect (low variety) is absolute. That is to say, the literary language is intended for certain functions and the spoken form is used for the others. The use of one of the variants in the functions of the other is considered artificial and unacceptable.

[6] This principle arose quite likely in the wake of the spread of Islam. The teaching of Arabic to non-Arabs, and the threat of growing differences in varieties of Arabic contributed to the formation of the distinction. Another reason is that the Koran was written in the literary language and thus became a holy language and not just a means of communication. Therefore, all Muslims seek to preserve the language of the Koran, which they see as a religious spiritual asset.

It is important to emphasize that despite the fact that Hebrew is the most important language among the Palestinians in Israel because of the contact with Israeli Jews in diverse areas of life and its role as an agent of change for modernization, there are still sociolinguistic constraints on language convergence. On this Ben-Rafael (1994: 176) has made the following comment:

> However, a barrier impedes this convergence, as expressed in retention of Arabic. The limits each case imposes on the convergence towards the dominant culture respond to the nature and degree of the commitment to the dominant culture. For the Muslim and Christians Arabs, the legitimate language remains Arabic, as expression of their fundamental identity. The penetration of Hebrew as a dominant language does not subtract anything from Arabic, though its deeper influence comes out in borrowings and substitution.

The third factor is the training of teachers and their status. In the three main languages that are learned in the Palestinian school system in Israel, there is a problem involving training of teachers and their status. Many of the graduates of the departments of Arabic language and literature receive their higher training in Israeli universities, where Arabic is studied as a second language (or even as a foreign language), and the training of teachers is not designed for Arabic as a mother tongue. This is also true to a certain extent in the case of teaching Hebrew, since most of the Palestinian teachers of Hebrew receive their higher education in the Israeli universities, like their Jewish colleagues. That is to say, their training in Hebrew is designed for mother tongue rather than second language purposes. In the case of English, the gap is even greater. A considerable percentage of the Jewish teachers for English are native speakers of the language or have spent a number of years in an English-speaking country. In addition to all this, the appointment of teachers in the Palestinian schools is done, for the most part, by the general inspectors, not as in the Jewish schools where it is done by the language inspectors: that is to say, the appointments are not made according to objective qualifications and considerations alone (Rouhana 1997: 86).

The fourth factor concerns educational goals, the study programs and the textbooks. One of the principal goals of Israeli education in Palestinian society is to empty Arabic education of all national content (Peres and Davis 1968; Mar'i 1978; Lustick 1980; Amara and Mari 2002). In this context, Al-Haj (1996: 98) explains, "Instead of the Arab-national component, the policy makers sought to strengthen the religious-cultural component and the Israeli citizenship component."

This policy confirms the definition of Israel as a Zionist-Jewish State, and is applied throughout the curricula. First of all, the old curricula and textbooks that were used during the Mandate period were removed. Second, the new curricula and textbooks strove to tighten the control of the State over the content of Arabic education (Al-Haj 1996). An analysis of the goals of Arabic education, curricula and textbooks shows clearly that the State strove to weaken the Palestinian Arab identity among the Arabs (Peres and Davis 1968; Mar'i 1978; Lustick 1980; Amara and Mari 2002).

The above discussion reveals that English education policy is better understood when considered in relation to the linguistic repertoire of the Palestinians in Israel and the diglossic situation, the Israeli context and the dominance of Hebrew, and

English as a global language. Spolsky (2004) identifies the conditions which help to shape a language education policy: the sociolinguistic situation which will reveal the languages spoken and their speakers; the national or ethnic identity in the community which will have implications on the language or languages chosen for official and educational purposes; the global changes which have occurred world-wide, such as the spread of English and its inherent instrumental value, and a growing awareness of linguistic rights (May 2001).

The issues involved in teaching English to Palestinian students cannot be understood without considering the socio-political contexts. In Israel, learning Arabic, Hebrew, and English are directly related to the dominance of Hebrew and reflect the socio-political context, the status of and different roles that Israelis and Palestinians play in Israeli society, and the wider political conflict in the Middle East (Shohamy and Donitsa-Schmidt 1998) As Arraf explains:

> language in this setting [Israeli Palestinian] cannot be separated from its political context
> . . . politics and national priorities have determined the policy-guidelines of most, if not all,
> the state's institutions towards the minority in question. (Arraf 2003: 254)

In a nutshell, the problems of English teaching in the Palestinian schools are evident in many aspects. The current policy of teaching English, as reflected also in the new curriculum, does not consider the special needs of the Palestinian students. The new curriculum needs to give hope that the striking failure of Palestinian students in learning the language can be remedied. A curriculum that may lead to considerable change of the situation should consider major issues related to their language repertoire: Diglossia and its burden on the Palestinian students; the Latin alphabet as the third writing system learnt; priority among Palestinians given to learning Hebrew; the fact that the majority of Arabs live in villages and are less exposed to English; teacher qualifications; and the texts, which are full of Jewish and Western contents. In other words, adopting an ecological perspective to teaching English among the Palestinian schoolchildren in Israel may provide useful insights and better understanding, and possibly be able to provide more effective ways for learning the language.

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Chapter 8
Interethnic Understanding and the Teaching of Local Languages in Sri Lanka

Indika Liyanage and Suresh Canagarajah

Abstract In precolonial times, equal socioeducational recognition accorded to local languages played a key role in promoting inter-ethnic harmony, co-existence and 'connectedness' between linguistically and ethnically diverse people of Sri Lanka. This history should motivate policy considerations in post-colonial situations in the country. This chapter has its focus on educational issues surrounding the promotion of local languages for interethnic harmony in Sri Lanka, where the promotion of Sinhala among minority Tamils, and Tamil among the majority Sinhalese has been the subject of many current political, policy and popular discourses. Proficiency in the local languages was encouraged actively through policies and practices during precolonial times. However, despite popular thinking that there is an acute need to promote Tamil, its manifestation as a classroom subject in school education curricula for the majority Sinhalese and minority Tamils in post-war Sri Lanka has been lost in the public and policy discourses. Using archival records and opinions expressed in newspapers as data, this chapter explores these ambiguities in attitudes, policies and practices from precolonial times to the present day.

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8.1   Introduction

Sri Lanka experienced forces of colonization intermittently throughout its history. In modern times, it witnessed colonization by various nations of the world. Amongst them, three nationalities – Portuguese (1517 – late sixteenth century), Dutch (1638–1796), and British (1803–1948) – placed their mark firmly on Sri Lanka by introducing their socioeconomic, political and cultural practices. Of these three nationalities, the British, who occupied the country for over 150 years, had the most influence on Sri Lanka's culture, languages, and education. The country, then known as Ceylon, received independence from the British and became an independent member of the Commonwealth of Nations on 4 February 1948.

Sri Lanka, with an estimated population of 20.86 million people (Department of Census and Statistics 2010), has had a diverse ethnic composition with three ethnic groups – Sinhala, Tamil, and Muslim – that make up to 99 % of the total population. At present, the majority community, Sinhala, comprises slightly more than three fourths or 76 % of the people. The Tamils comprise two groups – Sri Lankan Tamils, who are long settled descendents from South India, and Indian Tamils, most of whom are migrant workers brought to Sri Lanka under the British colonial rule (Somasegaram 1969). These two groups comprise 15.5 % of the population. Moors or Sri Lankan Muslims' origin in Sri Lanka can be traced back to the Arab traders of the seventh and eighth centuries (Azeez 1969; De Silva 1977; Silva 1969). They comprise 7.5 % of the country's population. The other minor ethnic groups include Burghers, a community of mixed European descent, and Veddas, who are regarded as the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. These groups account for less than 1 % of the population. The Sinhalese use Sinhala, which is an Indo-Aryan language, as their mother- tongue, and more than 90 % of them are Buddhists. The Tamils speak the Dravidian language of Tamil and are overwhelmingly Hindus. However, there is a sizable Christian population of both Sinhalese and Tamils dating back to the Portuguese colonization of the island in the early 1500s. The followers of Christianity, who form approximately 7 % of the population, are from among the Sinhalese, Tamil, and Burgher communities. The Muslims usually prefer to speak in Tamil and are all strong adherents of Islam.

There is much cultural diversity in the country, and religion pervades many aspects of life as it constitutes a basic element of this diversity. The sociocultural history of the Sinhalese is inseparably intertwined with the religious practices of Buddhism in the country. Hinduism is closely related to the distinctive cultural systems of neighbouring Tamil Nadu. Muslims in Sri Lanka, ethnically largely Malay, have preserved the Islamic religious doctrines, while adapting to the social environment of Sri Lanka. Changes resulting from other forces such as globalization, neo-colonialism, modernization, capitalism, and technology constitute other forms of cultural diversity. More importantly, the different languages and cultures have influenced each other. Portuguese and Dutch have melded with local languages to construct a Creole (Peiris 1969; Peter 1969) that is still used in some circles of mixed-race communities. English has mixed with Tamil and Sinhala to

form a Sri Lankan English that is now well systematized (Gunasekera 2005; Kandiah 1979). More importantly, Sinhala and Tamil have mixed and influenced each other, according to Sri Lankan linguist Suseendirarajah (see Balasubramaniam et al. 1999, pp. 272–280). Having been in close contact in Sri Lanka, these languages have adopted many lexical and grammatical structures from each other, losing their respective family differences.

Primordial ties and rights of people based on ethnicity, language and religion have been the root cause of many wars and disputes between ethno-racial groups in human history. Sri Lanka too witnessed 30 years of war and bloodshed in its modern history for which, according to many, denial of language rights for the minority Tamils has been largely responsible. Although there are other factors like devolution of power, inequitable access to education and social justice, which are seen as equally responsible, the research literature and popular sentiments of people place a strong emphasis on the denial of language rights for the minority Tamils as the single most important factor. At present, Sinhala (sometimes referred to as Sinhalese) and Tamil are the two official languages of Sri Lanka. In a move to politically appease the majority Sinhalese people, Sinhala was made the official language by the Official Language Act in 1965, popularly known as *Sinhala only Act* (Government of Sri Lanka 1956), which in the eyes of many had both immediate and long term consequences. The situation was later rectified by raising Tamil to the status of an official language and English to a *'link language'* by the 13th amendment to the constitution in 1987 (Government of Sri Lanka 1987).

The armed conflict between the majority Sinhalese and the Minority Tamils ended in May 2009, and since then, the promotion of interethnic harmony has been taken up as a the key responsibility by the political leadership. This has also been greatly anticipated by the Sri Lankan public. Political discussions and common anticipation regarding the promotion of interethnic peace and efforts at nation building need to involve the active promotion of Sinhala among the Tamils and Tamil among the Sinhalese. However, this is still confined only to discussion tables. We begin this chapter with a review of how the ethnic communities and their native languages co-existed, breeding mutual respect and harmony among the Sinhalese and the Tamil communities in social, educational and administrative spheres during the precolonial times. We then move on to discuss the developments that occurred around these languages in Sri Lanka during colonial and postcolonial times. The discussion of colonial times pertains mainly to the period of the British. The language education policy of the British, and the united struggle of the Sinhalese and Tamils for coexistence and survival of their local languages in education, will be discussed. Postcolonial times explore how these united efforts by the locals were threatened by political and racial tendencies. In doing so, we attempt to explore the popular sentiments expressed in the media towards the teaching and learning of the each other's language.

8.2 Local Languages During Precolonial Times

Sri Lanka has always been home to a plural multiethnic and multireligious society. Because of the historic fluidity in migration and marriage patterns, the attributes of the ethnoreligious groups are widely distributed. As the historical cannons of *Mahawamsa* and *Chulawamsa*[1] suggest, the majority and minority groups in different regions and times lived amicably and were inseparable microelements of the macro ethnoreligious and ethnolinguistic sociopolitical milieu of precolonial Sri Lanka. Also, with pragmatically motivated language policies based on necessity, mutual respect, and, coexistence, ethnolinguistic affiliations of people were secondary. To a great extent, social groups were not determined by peoples' linguistic codes, as ethnolinguistic hybridity was the norm. Language policies and planning were not conducted officially, as in modern times. However, the unofficial and equal treatment of languages bred mutual respect and congeniality among communities through promoting linguistic and communicative competence of all languages involved in social, administrative, and educational spheres. As one can discern from *Mahawamsa* and *Chulawamsa*, this competence was considered essential and constituted a large part of knowledge and learning. For example, the *Mahawamsa* presents the great Tamil King Elara (204 BC–164 BC) as someone who respected the native Sinhala nobles with the same stateliness as his Tamil associates.

During precolonial times (500 BC–1505 AD), Sinhala and Tamil, the two languages spoken by the three ethnic groups belonging to three religious faiths, had equal social importance. There was no racial discrimination between Sinhalese and Tamils (Perniola 1983). Except for some general terms to identify a "'kind' or 'group', the meaning of which varied according to context", premodern South Asian languages did not have the language categories found in the English language to distinguish between race and religion (Rogers 1994, p. 13). However, there is evidence to say that claims of descent that Sinhalese were from the Aryans and the Tamils were from the Dravidians prevailed in the Sinhalese and Tamil consciousness which led to the development of Sinhalese and Tamil group identities (Samaraweera 1977). However, they did not produce ongoing tensions or clashes in society. According to Samaraweera, underneath the occasional bickering was a strong ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic ambience that promoted strong social and economic relations between the two groups. The Moors also had harmonious relations with Sinhalese Buddhists who spoke Sinhala and Tamil Hindus who spoke Tamil. There is also some evidence to suggest that centuries before colonisation, non-Sinhalese groups were incorporated into Sinhalese social groups while being left enough room to maintain their non-Sinhalese status (Rogers 1994).

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[1] The *Mahawamsa*, the great historical chronicle written in Pali covers two millennia of Sri Lankan history (from the year 543 BC to 1815 AD). The *Chulavamsa* is its companion volume. George Turnour (1837) published the he first printed English translation of the *Mahawansha*.

Therefore, language was no barrier for ethnoreligious coexistence, mutual understanding, and respect in social spheres among the three communities. One might wonder how these three communities cohabited and communicated with each other while maintaining the social and economic relations mentioned earlier, when there was no evidence of a link language to bridge any existing gaps. We find evidence to suggest that all languages were more or less spread across the country, and all three communities were sufficiently competent in each other's language to achieve communicative goals socially. For example, Tamil language and its script were widespread in the coastal areas north of Colombo where the 'majority' Sinhalese lived (Rogers 1994). There is also evidence to suggest that the classical literature of the two languages mutually complemented and influenced each other. This mutual complementation of Sinhala and Tamil found in literary works also shows that the language competence of some sections of the society was not limited to conversational interactions for mere survival.

By the seventh century, education had spread into every village in precolonial Sri Lanka (Kuruppu 1969) and the educational practices of the people centred on indigenous educational systems based on peoples' ethnoreligious affiliations. The Sinhalese indigenous education system was based on Buddhist educational practice, and Tamil and Muslim indigenous educational practices were based on Hinduism and Islam respectively. For the Sinhalese, temples constructed in every village became the nucleus of culture and learning (Ariyapala 1969; de Silva 1969), and social practices of the lay people were built around Buddhist practices. The Buddhist temple was the exclusive place for formal education for monks and laymen alike, where the imparting of knowledge became the sole responsibility of the Buddhist monks (Reagan 2000). Education was imparted in Pirivenas, a form of temple school that can be identified as similar to modern universities (Kuruppu 1969).

The increasing migrations from South India during the ninth and tenth centuries AD brought Hinduism, its culture, and educational practices to Sri Lanka. For Hindus, too, Hindu temples were a prominent part of life in all parts of Sri Lanka, where they became the nucleus of cultural activity (Somasegaram 1969). Although Hindus generally consider Vedas as the source of all religious knowledge, the Tamil Saivites consider 'thirumurais' the sacred body of religious literature (De Silva 1977; Flood 2002). For Muslims, who had established themselves in Sri Lanka during the seventh century AD (Azeez 1969; De Silva 1977), the holy Qur'an is not only a book of religious maxims or a collection of devotional hymns, but also a code of life laying down the correct pattern of conduct (Azeez 1969; Kysilka and Qadri 1997). Education for Muslims begins with the Qur'an and the mosques (Tibawi 1972). In Islam, religious and secular education cannot be differentiated. They were considered inseparable and neither should be emphasised at the expense of the other (Al-Afandi 1980). In precolonial Sri Lanka, the Muslim indigenous education system was organised under 'Maktab' and 'Madrasa' where the curriculum comprised grammar, literature, logic, Islamic law, principles of Islamic law, Qur'anic commentary, mysticism, and religious philosophy.

The media of instruction in the three indigenous educational systems were the languages of the three communities – Sinhala and Tamil – while an equal importance was placed on learning the language other than their own. For example, Vijayabahu Pirivena (1412–1467 AC) had, as part of its curriculum, language studies, which included grammar, poetry, and drama of Sanskrit, Miigadhi (Pali and Prakrit), Sinhala, and Tamil (Kuruppu 1969). Sinhalese people unacquainted with Pali, Sanskrit, and Tamil were considered ignorant. The educated wrote books (e.g., Subhasitaya[2]) for those who did not know Tamil. Proficiency in languages other than people's own, especially Pali and Sanskrit, was considered as an essential qualification of a truly learned man (Abhayawardhana 1969).

Not only were syllabi in place for students to learn these languages, but also the staff were well versed in these languages. For example, history reveals that the well-known Buddhist priest Rahula was well versed in six languages besides Sinhala, Tamil, and Pali (Guruge 1969). Another example is the thirteenth century Sinhala grammatical treatise Sidatsangara (thirteenth century AD), which shows that the author was an eminent Buddhist monk who possessed a wide grammatical knowledge of the languages Sinhala, Sanskrit, Pali, and Tamil, and also shows a very good example of the nature of mutual language resourcing that took place between the community languages and classical languages during precolonial times. The author of Sidatsangara consults the grammars of various languages in writing the treatise. There is evidence to believe that in defining 'Nipa' (articles) the author had been influenced by Sanskrit grammar; in defining 'Kriya' (verbs) by Pali language; and in defining 'Sandi' (euphonic combinations) by the Tamil grammar Virasoliam (Silva 1969), a work of Tamil Buddhist scholars. Another example of language resourcing was the production of a seventeenth century didactic poem Subhasitaya, most of the sources of which can be traced back to Sanskrit sources and a Tamil poem called 'Naladiyar' (Peiris 1969). The level of proficiency and competence in the languages, especially those that were classical, and the command exhibited by authors of ancient grammars between the tenth and thirteenth centuries suggest that the importance placed on learning languages, mainly those that were not their mother tongues, dated back many centuries before this.

Administrative circles in precolonial Sri Lanka also demonstrated plurilingual practices of the communities involved. Ethnoreligious affiliations did not prevent people from being recognised and respected as rulers, and neither did their ethnolinguistic codes. In administrative spheres, all languages had equal importance. According to Indrapala (2005) the status of the Tamil language in the Sinhalese kingdom was a great example of this fact. He mentions that a record inscribed in Sinhala on the walls of the Lankathilaka temple was provided with a full Tamil translation on the same walls. There is also evidence to suggest that Sinhalese high officials in ancient courts of Kings signed their names in Tamil. Sinhalese issued decrees in Tamil and doing so was considered a true characteristic

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[2] Seventeenth Century collection of didactic verse written by Algiyavanna Mohottala. For an English translations see (Wijetunga 1930).

of advancement: "It is significant that even in the reign of the proud defender of the country's independence, namely, Vijayabahu I, an inscription was published in the Tamil language. So were the edicts of the successors of Vijayabahu issued in Tamil" (Guruge 1969, p. 235).

Colonization and the subsequent postcolonial trauma of nation building have damaged much of this fluidity in ethnolinguistic identities. In the next section of this chapter we explore the extent to which the mutual respect the speakers of Sinhala and Tamil had for each other was compromised by policy decisions that made local languages compete for social, educational and administrative dominance and. at times, for survival and co-existence.

8.3   Local Languages During Colonial Times

When the British conquered Sri Lanka in 1815 and brought the previously three kingdoms (Ruhunu, Maya & Pihiti) into one nation-state, they raised the status of English over the two local languages of the country. English became the language of administration, education, law, commerce and polite social discourse for the English-educated. The local languages – Sinhala and Tamil – served the purposes of rural monolinguals and the few Sinhala and Tamil bilinguals.

Although initially the British allowed some regional autonomy for the native ethnic communities, this practice had to be abandoned due to economic reasons. The Colebrook-Cameron commission that was appointed to recommend economic reforms in 1832 believed that administration should be centralized, with English as the working official language (see Wickramasuriya 1976) to streamline the island's colonial administration with the rest of the British empire. To minimise the gap between the locals and the colonial administration, the commission recommended that native administrators should be trained for the lower level jobs of interpreters, court clerks and regional headmen. In order to develop English language proficiency for individuals in these positions, an English education system was set up in the secondary and tertiary levels. However, English education quickly became a 'craze' in the country where the proficiency in it brought about social status and economic affluence (Wickramasuriya 1976).

In order to establish the English language deeply in the Sri Lankan society, colonial administrators also promoted the values and discourses that undergird the language. British colonial occupation of Sri Lanka saw the formation of several school systems in the country (Ruberu 1969; Warnasuriya 1969); English-medium schools for the children of British expatriates and children of local employees of the colonial administration, mixed media (English & Sinhala/Tamil languages) schools for lower middle class, local students (Perusinghe 1969), and, vernacular schools for the large majority of Sinhalese and Tamil students where only local languages were used. In general, all English-language schools that prepared students for positions in the colonial administration were regarded as providing a superior education while vernacular schools were seen as inferior, a distinction made on

the basis of the social status of the parents rather than students' intelligence (Wijetunga 1969). With the expansion of colonial government administration, more and more jobs became available for which the only requisite qualification was English language proficiency (Ruberu 1969). This created an increased demand for more and more English schools from the upper classes for their children and brought private schools into existence to provide English language as both a curriculum focus and medium of instruction. However, due to the limitations of resources and native English teachers, the few English schools were concentrated in the towns, leaving the rural folk vernacular-educated and monolingual.

There was no value attached to the teaching of vernacular languages in English and Anglo-Vernacular schools (De Alwis 1969). It was not only believed by the educationists in the colonial government that Sinhalese and Tamil literature were full of 'filth' and were not conducive to the moral and spiritual well-being in the country but also that the teaching of them would have a negative effect on the acquisition of 'good English'. For example, De Alwis (1969, p. 976) quotes Rev. Father C. H. Lytton, the Rector of St. Joseph's College as saying:

> I would exclude the Vernaculars from all English Schools. They will not be introduced into St. Joseph's College. Our course is arranged so that the best students may be rendered fit to complete their education in an English University. Tamil literature not only does not elevate the mind, but degrades it by obscenities with which it is replete

He also quotes (1969, p. 976), Rev. W. A. Stone, Warden of St Thomas College as having a similar view on both Sinhalese and Tamil literature:

> We have the belief that higher education in Sinhalese literature and Tamil literature is not for the moral or spiritual welfare in Ceylon from our point of view but rather the opposite. If you wish to find filth in literature you will find it equally in both and those who know most about it are forced to admit it. I would rather teach French novels.

The native languages were fighting a losing battle against the English language which was growing in importance and prestige. However, the Sinhalese and Tamils were united in their efforts to fight for their languages, and significantly, the schools that were operated in the local language media (Sinhala & Tamil) survived and remained alive until the British colonial times ended (Perusinghe 1969).

Thus, during the British colonial occupation in the country there were distinct traditions in education as far as English Language Teaching (ELT) is concerned: one for the privileged few, perpetuating or leading to affluence and positions of prestige; the other for the under-privileged majority, designed in the minds of many (Perusinghe 1969) to reconcile the poor to their poverty. This resulted in a huge division in the country between those who knew English and were socially and economically capable or could strive to be so, and those who did not – and were marooned in their social and economic disadvantage. However, the association of English with colonial administrative hierarchy, with the social upper classes (Karunaratne 2003), and by extension with opportunities for locals of socioeconomic advancement continued beyond independence.

8.4 Local Languages and Ethnic Conflict

When Sri Lanka gained independence in 1948, the Sri Lankan polity comprised the local elites who were English educated and for whom the language was not an important issue. However, with the need to pacify the majority Sinhalese monolinguals and to secure the political power, Sinhala was made the official language in 1956. This denied Tamil the official language status and the two communities who formed a common alliance and showed characteristics of a collective identity in the face of the spread of English were divided. The division was so severe that according to many this was the root cause for the Tamil insurgency that engulfed the island nation for over 30 years. The 'official language' issue, which widened the patterns of coexistence between the two main communities in the country also brought about policies that led to unfair treatment of Tamil speaking people of the country.

Apart from fuelling an ethnic conflict, it also affected the trilingual situation of the country. Although Sinhala became the official language, and Sinhala and Tamil became the media of instruction in primary and secondary schools for the two ethnic groups, English kept its prestige in the society. Sinhala became the symbolic official language where the elite positions in the society were still dominated by the English-educated Sinhala and Tamil middle class. The Tamils who were genuinely affected by the *1956 Sinhala Only Act* were the monolingual Tamils. When Sinhala became the official language, it deprived the Tamils of more things than the right to the mother tongue. Sinhala started to act as a gatekeeper; proficiency in it was required for jobs in the Government service. Tamils also had to show proficiency in Sinhalese for admission into the Universities in the country, and it created for them an additional burden of learning English for social mobility.

When the Tamil insurgence began in the late 1970s, they advocated a policy of *Tamil Only* or *Pure Tamil* (no code switching or code meshing with Sinhala or English) to provide material advantages for the monolingual Tamils in the North and East of the country where they ran a defacto state. In the absence of true multilingualism during post-independence, the insurgents believed that a separate state was needed to safeguard their mother tongue. The need to use only Tamil for formal and informal purposes in the community was publicly insisted on; local Tamil newspapers were used as the media for announcing the new 'pure' Tamil words that should be used after a given date, and billboards and permanent public announcements had to be changed immediately after this date (see Canagarajah 2005 for a complete discussion).

8.5   Local Languages in Post-war Sri Lanka

Popular sentiments in newspapers in post-war Sri Lanka regarding the promotion of local languages are divided along four preferences. One preference is along the idea by the Sinhala and Tamil hardliners who wish to champion their own language – an idea that prevailed even before Sinhala was made the official language. The second preference is shared by those who are willing to promote bilingualism in Sinhala and Tamil for social cohesion and co-existence. A third group prefers the promotion of English at the expense of the local languages for interethnic harmony and economic development. The fourth and the most popular is the preference for promoting trilingualism.

Post-war Sri Lanka represents a very low proficiency rate in the second local language. According to a report (Prematunga 2011) in *The Daily News*, an English Daily, 90 % of the Majority Sinhalese can communicate effectively neither in Tamil nor in English. 70 % of the minority Tamils cannot communicate in Sinhala. However, the two communities show an extreme desire to learn each other's language. For example, *The Daily News* (Fernando 2011a) reports a survey conducted across the country by an independent research organization for the Presidential Secretariat in August 2010. According to this survey, over 80 % of Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim people living in both majority Sinhala and majority Tamil speaking areas expressed a strong desire for both themselves and their children to be conversant in both national languages. The newspaper also reports that the reasons given for learning each other's language are not of utilitarian but of integrative nature and a majority of respondents expressed a willingness to live in mixed communities. The communities support the development of local languages as the languages of common discourse and communication in the country.

In Sri Lanka, schooling is compulsory for children from 5 to 14 years of age, and it is free from kindergarten to the university level in all government and government-aided institutions (Coperahewa 2009). The general school education system comprises primary (Grades 1–5), junior secondary (Grades 6–9) and senior secondary (Grades 10–11), and collegiate (Grades 12–13). Until the collegiate level, the instruction follows a common curriculum made up of different subjects like health science, religion and mathematics etc. At the collegiate level the students are streamed into science (bio-science and engineering), commerce and liberal arts (humanities) courses. There are provisions for these schools to operate in three media: Sinhala, Tamil and English. However, according the Sri Lankan Ministry of Education census (2010), the number of schools that use a single medium of instruction (Sinhala or Tamil) far outweighs the number of schools that use more than one medium of instruction (see Table 8.1).

The polity realises the limitations of sticking with the historical policies that led to a disastrous conflict. It responds to the survey results with a 'Ten Year National Plan for a Trilingual Sri Lanka (2012–2021)'. The plan is expected to provide *"the impetus for the equal development and promotion of the two national languages in all spheres of life"* while acknowledging English as a 'life skill' (Fernando 2011b,

Table 8.1 No. of government schools on media of instruction

Medium of instruction	No. of schools
Sinhala only	6,390
Tamil only	2,783
Sinhala and Tamil	45
Sinhala and English	327
Tamil and English	106
Sinhala, Tamil and English	34
Total	9,685

p. 1). The Government's national plan is expected to be carried out in three phases: a pilot stage, expansion stage and a consolidation stage. The pilot stage which is the first phase of the plan (years 1–4) involves the establishment of two agencies: Language Agency of Sri Lanka (LASL) and National Agency for Language Research and Training (NALRT) to oversee and coordinate policy and practices pertaining to the teaching of Sinhala, Tamil and English languages and to strengthen the existing institutions that teach these languages. Phase one will also determine the existing resources, capacities available in the country, teacher recruitment and training, and restructuring of existing language courses. Teacher recruitment and training will involve the establishment of a '*National Cadre of Second Language Teachers*'.

Phase two will involve the establishment of two other bodies: National Translation Bureau (NTB) and National Foundation for the Promotion of Trilingual Society (NFPTS). The primary task of the NTB will be to translate textbooks and literature between the three languages while the NFPTS will take trilingual skills to the private sector through formal training programs and support programs through religious institutions. Phase two will also introduce the second national language and English as compulsory subjects in three key public examinations: Grade 5 Scholarship, General Certificate in Education – Ordinary Level (GCE –O/L), and General Certificate in Education – Advance Level (GCE –A/L). During this phase, new university entrants will receive training in the second national language and English. It also expected to introduce electronic learning and teaching programs based on Information and Communication Technology to schools with shortages of teachers. Phase three, the last 2 years of the plan, will implement strategies to achieve sociocultural integration and reinforcement.

8.6   Trilingualism and Its Challenges

The ten year plan, although it displays the potential of success on a theoretical and conceptual level, is riddled with practical challenges. One of the most conspicuous challenges relates to the availability of resources.

According to *The Island* (Provincial Correspondent 2010), another English Daily in Sri Lanka, almost all Government Sinhala medium schools in the

Kurunegala District lack Tamil language teachers. It also states that there is a requirement of about 3,500 teachers to satisfy the needs of Sinhalese students learning Tamil in the North Western Province of the country alone. *Daily News* also reports the shortage of language teachers in the country as follows:

> …the country has for a long time been boasting of a programme of teaching the second national language (Sinhala to Tamil and Tamil to Sinhala) to all children in schools it is estimated that the bilingual teaching programme has only around 4,000 inadequately trained teachers whereas the school system would need at least 23,000 well trained teachers to achieve this task with any degree of success (Fernando 2011a).

As for the Education Ministry, the policy to educate all Sinhala students in Tamil and all Tamil students in Sinhala, has been in existence for years. But this is not the reality. There are roughly 26,000 English language teachers in the country. But there are less than 4,000 teachers capable of teaching either of the national languages as second languages. In fact Tamil and Sinhala are not taught as second languages in over 7,000 schools (Prematunga 2011).

There are many reasons for the shortage of trained teachers in the country. Studies of teacher education in Sri Lanka (e.g., Tatto 2002; Tatto and Dharmadasa 1995; Tatto et al. 1993; Wijetunge and Alahakoon 2009) reveal important elements operating in English-language teachers' professional and personal lives. For example, Tatto and Dharmadasa (1995) see teachers as caught up within tensions between state control and teacher autonomy. Central authorities were concerned mainly with the recruitment and education of teachers, where to deploy them, and how to retain them. For their part, teachers as a body did not share these matters as primary concerns. Rather, their perceived problems were with working conditions which they saw as poor, with curricula that they experienced as centralised and believed to be rigid, their salaries that they saw as low in comparison with other opportunities in the workforce for Sri Lankans with similar skills and qualifications, and general confusion across the society surrounding the professional status of teaching.

Such tensions between the concerns of the system and teachers often lead to collisions. For example, where the intentions of the authorities fail to address expectations that teachers have of themselves, their profession and themselves in the profession there is likely to be reluctance on teachers' part to engage with their core business as teachers. In most instances, teaching is a job that brings in a permanent income, and the quality of teachers' work reflects the quality of training they received prior to their deployment. Although attempts are made for the demand to be met, a provision of qualified and competent teachers resulting in an equal distribution across a country is problematic due to financial and logistical problems. Therefore, arguably, one of the challenges facing the promotion of trilingualism is the absence of teachers suitable for the job.

Another challenge will be the attitudes people have towards each other's languages and the English language. For example, tensions based on ethnoracial identities and politics still play a major part in post-war Sri Lanka. According to an interview given by a famous Tamil politician to *'Divina'*, A Sinhalese Daily

(Jinapriya 2012), the promotion of trilingualism is not easy because the reasons for doing so are not without political ramifications. An excerpt from the English translation of the interview is presented below:

> **Politician:** Without knowing Tamil and English you can go to Jaffna and do something, Can't you? That's what the Government is doing now. The Government is talking about a trilingual policy now. But where is such a policy? People like me speak a little (in the three languages). Where else can you see a trilingual policy?
>
> **Reporter:** Trilingual policy is a recent one. Won't it take a while to see its effectiveness?
>
> **Politician:** Where does it work? The teaching of Tamil to Sinhalese children and Sinhalese to Tamil children should happen equally. Can we call ourselves trilingual by asking Tamil Children to learn Sinhalese? Tell me, in how many Sinhala schools do you teach Tamil?

The sentiments expressed in this interview are not new by any means. Although expressed by a Tamil politician, they represent the sentiments of Sinhalese hardliners as well. They are not new because there is evidence for this kind negative competition (if you teach A to B you must teach B to A) in Sri Lanka's history. For example, according to Kearny (1978), soon after the *Sinhala Only Act* was passed, the Federal Party (Tamil) highlighted the importance of Tamil by asking the Tamil people to refuse to study and teach the Sinhalese language. It seems therefore that the success of Sinhala and Tamil bilingualism or Sinhala, Tamil and English trilingualism in the country would most certainly hinge on a collective and mutual understanding of the potential these languages have for interethnic harmony.

The comments of the politician also shed more light on the issue of resources. He questions the number of Sinhala schools in which Tamil is taught as a subject. More than a policy issue, in post war Sri Lanka this now seems a question of the availability of resources. When most of the foreign aid for education is directed towards the promotion, teaching and learning of English as a second language (see Liyanage 2010; Perera and Canagarajah 2010), the funds for resources for the teaching of local languages have to be found and managed from within the country. The problem created by the availability of resources is confounded by the material value locals attach to their own languages which in turn plays a big part in determining the success of trilingualism in post-war Sri Lanka. For example, it is only natural for people to weigh options in terms of the material benefits these languages bring to them. A reader of the online version of *Lankadeepa* (2011), another Sinhalese Daily has left the following comment:

> Why do we have to learn Tamil and Sinhalese, they won't give us jobs. It is English we need. They want us to learn Sinhala, and ask us if we know English at the interviews. They should teach us English. (Translated from Sinhala)

Of course, English language attracts the benefits and prestige both locally and internationally, and the two local languages, although not defeated, lag behind in the race. If the planned local policies are implemented well, proficiency in local languages will help locals secure government jobs which pay lower salaries than the private sector. Securing jobs in the private sector is hard for people who are proficient only in the local languages – especially when they have to compete

with the English proficient urban elite who are the products of the country's international school system and foreign universities.

8.7 Conclusion

Sri Lankans' shared awareness, competence and use of each other's languages was spawned in historically-appropriate adjustments made by communities merging for pragmatic reasons and real purposes. This chapter has its focus on educational issues surrounding the promotion of local languages for interethnic harmony in Sri Lanka. Government policies and public sentiments explored here indicate that the dialectic between political ambitions and community aspirations, where denial of primordial rights to the minority group resulted in depravation of economic prosperity and social advancement, culminated in a 30 year old war. In post war Sri Lanka, the majority of people realise the policy mistakes that have been made.

The situation is more complex and complicated than meets the eye. The promotion of local languages would certainly please all three communities. However, the attitudes people have towards their own languages, or rather the learning of them, in the face of the material benefits the foreign language English has for them brings about other challenges. These challenges are now configured as a global iteration of what previously had been a national concern – a need to be competitive in international trade. A deliberate manipulation of local languages and their systematic spread presents as a solution to help Sri Lanka achieve long lasting peace between ethnic groups. However, it is English that is at the centre of what people need to master for economic prosperity and social mobility, and what the nation does in maintaining its balance on the world stage. Thus, the concern of whether or not concerted effort and resources should be placed in the service of integrating Sinhala and Tamil languages as a compulsory part of Sri Lanka's educational system teeters and falls – not because of any residual concerns about whether they are valued by the communities, but rather because the current geopolitical trends have shifted its focus.

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Chapter 9
Dynamic Multimodal Language Practices in Multilingual Indigenous Sámi Classrooms in Finland

Sari Pietikäinen and Anne Pitkänen-Huhta

Abstract Starting from the premise that dynamic language practices are an emerging property of interaction, and that languages are learnt by participating in language practices, we focus in this chapter on the tensions and creativity that arise from complex, changing, and interconnected multilingual discourses, practices, and experiences in indigenous *Sámi* classrooms. Drawing on longitudinal ethnographic and discourse-analytic research on a multilingual indigenous Sámi community in Finland, we will examine the strategies and practices that a group of Sámi children develop, use, and modify while navigating this complex terrain. We illustrate the various ways in which the children adopt and play with the emergent norms and use their linguistic and cultural resources to navigate in a multilingual educational context. The aim of this study was to highlight the multilingual repertoires of these children, validate their literacy practices, and evaluate the presence of multilingualism and Sámi languages in the classroom.

Keywords Ethnography • Multimodal discourse analysis • Repertoire • Literacy practices • Children • Language revitalization • Sámi • English • Finnish

9.1 Introduction

Multilingualism in the educational context of indigenous languages on the one hand offers linguists the opportunity to examine the language-ideological tensions in drawing boundaries between languages and in normativity, and on the other hand leads the speakers themselves to seek novel solutions to the question of how to

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adapt their linguistic resources to cope in multilingual situations and to develop creative language practices. Starting from the premise that dynamic language practices are an emerging property of interaction and that languages are learnt by participating in language practices, we focus in this chapter on the tensions and creativity that arise from complex, changing, and interconnected multilingual discourses, practices, and experiences in indigenous *Sámi* classrooms. With these starting points, we hope to contribute to the ongoing discussion on the need to rethink notions of language, multilingualism, and language learning in a linguistically diverse minority and indigenous context (cf. e.g. Cenoz and Gorter 2011; Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Blackledge and Creese 2010; García 2009; Li Wei 2011; Whaley 2011).

Drawing on longitudinal ethnographic and discourse-analytical research into the multilingual, indigenous Sámi community (Dufva and Pietikäinen 2006; Pietikäinen et al. 2008; Pietikäinen 2010, 2012), we will examine the strategies and practices that a group of Sámi children developed, used, and modified while navigating this complex terrain. Using a discourse-ethnographic approach (Pietikäinen 2012; Pitkänen-Huhta 2011) to multilingual, multimodal drawings and picture books made by Sámi children and discussions around them, we illustrate the various ways in which the children adopt and play with the emergent norms and use their linguistic and cultural resources to navigate in a multilingual educational context. We present the design and findings of two innovative participatory classroom activities involving multilingual and multimodal drawing and literacy tasks. In these tasks, a group of multilingual Sámi children from Northern Finland visualized their multilingual repertoires and designed their own multilingual children's picture book. The aim of this research was to explore the multilingual repertoires of these children while at the same time to validate their literacy practices, especially in endangered Sámi languages, and to examine the multilingualism present in the classroom. We begin this chapter by giving a brief description of language change and multilingualism in Sámiland, especially in relation to language-ideological processes, and by discussing our view of language learning as participation. We will then introduce our research site, a multilingual Sámi primary school, and the two participatory activities designed and carried out in collaboration with the pupils and teachers. After this, we will discuss our findings in the light of four particular cases, and then move on to our discussion of the implications of the findings.

9.2   Changing Multilingualism in Sámiland

The shifting situation of the nine indigenous Sámi languages in the contemporary, rapidly changing environment of Sámiland illustrates the manifold practices and forces impacting on indigenous Sámi languages and their use. The historical and social trajectories of Sámi in the last 50 years have changed Sámi languages from (strong) community languages into endangered languages known only by a few

people. Today it is estimated that of the approximately 60,000–80,000 Sámi people, only about half speak one of the nine Sámi languages. The dominant Sámi language is Northern Sámi, with approximately 30,000 speakers throughout Sámiland, whereas the other Sámi languages, for example Inari Sámi, have as few as 250–400 speakers each (Aikio-Puoskari 2005; Kulonen et al. 2005). In practice, this means that the role of Sámi languages varies among their speakers: for some, Sámi is a daily resource for communication, whereas for others it is a language studied at school or encountered later in life, or perhaps used only for ritual purposes. These different language practices offer different opportunities for participation and thus for learning (cf. e.g. Blackledge and Creese 2010; Dufva et al. 2011; Hélot 2011). To some extent these opportunities may be restricted to a certain limited sphere of life, but on the other hand they also provide new and emerging possibilities for language use and learning. Additionally, Sámi languages have been affected both by processes of standardization and creation of norms and by their speakers' acquisition of basic linguistic rights, all of which affect how indigenous languages and multilingual resources are valued and validated. In the current sociolinguistic environment of Sámiland, Sámi is one multilingual repertoire and practice among others. There are no monolingual Sámi speakers left, and the level of Sámi skills varies from one speaker to another and from one situation to another.

The history of Sámi languages in education is familiar from other minority and indigenous language contexts. The processes of modernization, together with language policies strongly favouring national languages, resulted in the marginalization and stigmatization of Sámi languages in education (cf. Aikio-Puoskari 2005), with the result that with only minor exceptions, in the Finnish part of Sámiland education was given only in Finnish. This marked the beginning of a large-scale language shift from the Sámi languages to Finnish (Aikio 1988), and drastically narrowed the domains of Sámi language use. Since the attitudes of the majority population towards Sámi culture and language were also largely negative, the languages became increasingly marginalized, and the number of speakers decreased.

Today, Sámi languages have an official regional status in three northern municipalities of Finland. The Sámi Language Act (1991) and other constitutional amendments, acts, and laws made Sámi language services available in many areas of everyday life, including education. In Inari, language revitalisation in form of language nest activities began in 1997, and have resulted in an upsurge in both interest and skills in Inari Sámi (e.g. Olthuis 2003; Pasanen 2004). At school, the right to study in any of the Sámi languages is guaranteed by the Sámi Language Act (2003) and the Basic Education Act (1998), which entitle children living in Sámi areas to have most of their education in Sámi. There are also positions guaranteed by legislation for Sámi-speaking teachers (see also Aikio-Puoskari 1997). However, there are still many problems, including a lack of trained teachers and a shortage of proper teaching materials.

Another transforming force in Sámiland is the ongoing economic change from traditional livelihoods (reindeer herding, fishing, farming, forestry) to the rapidly

expanding service sector. Tourism is one of the main sources of revenue in the region nowadays, and introduces novel needs for multilingualism. This change affects existing language relations and creates new markets, not only for multilingual competences but also for Sámi skills (for details, see Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013). In this changing, multilingual Sámiland, people's needs, opportunities, and desires to use several languages in their everyday lives become increasingly acute owing to economic, cultural, and linguistic flows that have introduced different languages, new practices, other genres, and languages as commodities. This also sets new demands for language education.

Multilingualism in the educational context of endangered, indigenous Sámi languages raises the question of how multilingual repertoires should be valued and validated. At the same time, it leads speakers to develop new ways of using their linguistic resources and to new language practices. This view echoes the recent theorizations of language as emergent in local language practices, of multilingualism as a social, historical, economic, and political phenomenon (Coupland 2010; Heller 2006; Pennycook 2010), and of language learning as participation (Sfard 1998; Block 2003). Taking dynamic multilingualism as a starting point, we see multilingualism as a social practice constituted by and constitutive of the epistemologies of the definitions of languages and their speakers, and the ways in which these concepts are appropriated, challenged, and negotiated in actual language and language learning practices (García 2009; Jaffe 2007; Pennycook 2010; Pietikäinen 2010). This line of research moves away from the notion that languages are whole, bounded, complete entities, and learnt as such, and that consequently multilingualism is "parallel monolingualism" (Heller 1999). Instead, this approach leans towards the view that speakers draw on heteroglossic resources in localized conditions of language use, and in doing so reinforce, challenge, change, and reimagine language constructions. Multilingualism as a heteroglossic practice foregrounds the beliefs and practices of multilingual language users, who are constantly faced with multiple choices. These choices are governed not only by the normative frameworks that are operative in each context, but also by different understandings and notions of what counts as language—what the speakers believe they should talk about, as well as how they describe their talk (cf. Blackledge and Creese 2010; Kramsch 2009; Makoni and Pennycook 2007).

We suggest that a central concern for multilingual people in the context of an endangered indigenous language is coping with the inherent contradiction between various language conceptualizations and practices and their consequences: how does one define one's linguistic and cultural identity in the crossfire of dominant ideologies that either emphasize the fixed and bounded nature of languages or advocate more fluid ways? To understand these complex, simultaneous processes, we argue that we need to examine the subjective experience of this complexity— the actual language practices developed and appropriated in these conditions. To this end, we adopt a participatory take on learning, based in particular on socio-cultural approaches to language learning (e.g. Norton 2000; Lantolf and Thorne 2006; Dufva et al. 2011), notions of the ecology of language learning (van Lier 2000), and learning as participation rather than acquisition (see Sfard 1998; Block

2003). These views see learning primarily as a social process and highlight the constant interplay between the individual and the social. Language is always used in a social context, and learning a language results from participation in the activities of a particular community. Thus the individual language learner/user is connected to the broader social world in which they function, and of which they attempt to become members. As van Lier (2000, 264) points out, "the learner is immersed in an environment full of potential meanings" and "these meanings become available gradually as the learner acts and interacts within and with this environment". These activities also have to be personally meaningful to the learner in order for them to enhance learning (Pitkänen-Huhta and Nikula 2013).

In this chapter, we want to focus on multilingual educational Sámi sites where different ideas and practices concerning multilingualism and learning come together and potentially conflict, and therefore need to be negotiated. With this focus we want to explore how multilingualism in the indigenous Sámi educational context is perceived, reconfigured, and lived through, and how this context functions as a space for participation and thus for learning. These processes are not abstract but rather they are the consequences of people experiencing, using, and learning languages in particular ways, and in so doing, making a variety of linguistic choices.

9.3   Research with Sámi Children in a Multilingual Indigenous Class

Our research site is a relatively small multilingual primary school in Finnish Sámiland with about 100 pupils. The languages used as the medium of education include Finnish, Northern Sámi, and Inari Sámi. The three Sámi languages spoken in Finland (Northern Sámi, Inari Sámi, and Skolt Sámi), Swedish, and English are taught as second, national, or foreign languages at the school. All the pupils are fluent speakers of Finnish, but about 70 % of them take part in Sámi education: about half of them take part in Sámi-medium education, and the rest learn Sámi as a second language.

The Sámi classes under scrutiny here are joint classes where pupils in different years learn together in the same classroom with the same teacher—a situation which is typical of small schools in these kinds of rural communities. The two classrooms we study here have pupils between pre-school level and Year 3 (i.e. 6–10-year-olds) and between Years 3 and 6 (i.e. 10–12-year-olds). All the children in these classes are multilingual, using at least Finnish and one of the Sámi languages in their daily lives; many also use other languages, often English or other Sámi languages. The language policy in the classroom favours using only Sámi languages, but in practice the children also use Finnish to communicate with each other and with children from the Finnish-medium classes. Moreover, as a result of the lack of Sámi teaching and learning materials, most of the materials are in

Finnish. The teachers use Sámi in their teaching, but turn to Finnish when talking with Finnish-speaking staff members. At the time of data collection, the teachers of the Sámi classes had developed their own multilingual practices: both used their own Sámi language, i.e. Northern Sámi or Inari Sámi, in their discussions and also when talking to each other's students. Given the relative linguistic closeness of these two languages, mutual understanding could be reached after some practice, and the children seem to have grown accustomed to this kind of multilingual practice.

Research collaboration with this school and its teachers, pupils, and parents has continued for a number of years, including a collaborative photograph project (see Pietikäinen 2012), learner portrayals drawn by the children (see Pietikäinen et al. 2008), and various group and individual discussions and interviews, all aiming at examining dynamic multilingual language practices in an endangered Sámi environment (cf. Pietikäinen 2010). These activities, like the research reported here, have been inspired by the principles of collaborative action research, in which inquiry is intended to be a reflective process. The activities were a collaborative effort involving teachers, pupils, and the researcher, and their goal was to identify multilingual practices and potential in the classroom environment (cf. McCarty 2011: 35–36; Denos et al. 2009).

The data to which we now turn relate to a set of participatory language activities carried out together with the teachers, and designed to increase multilingual awareness in the classroom and to validate children's multilingual repertoires and literacies without delegitimizing Sámi language revitalization activities or goals. In both activities we took as our starting points the multilingualism present in the classroom and in the children's practices, as well as learning as participation.

The activities included (1) a visualization of the children's linguistic repertoire by means of self portraits drawn by the children, followed by a group discussion on each portrait, and (2) the making of multilingual picture books, combined with discussions about them as the pupils were making them. In addition, the data include a background questionnaire and on-site observations. These activities took place in the school year of August to May 2009–2010 and altogether 14 children took part. The two activities were inspired by our own previous research with this school, as well as by a similar example of multimodal, action-oriented research with multilingual children (cf. Busch[1] et al. 2008; Hélot 2011; Pietikäinen 2012; Pietikäinen et al. 2008). Methodologically, these activities belong to a growing body of research using visual and multimodal research strategies in ethnographic and discourse-analytic work on language practices and multilingualism (see, e.g., Kalaja et al. 2008; Pietikäinen et al. 2008; Pietikäinen 2010, 2012; Mavers 2008; Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008; Pitkänen-Huhta and Nikula 2013). While ethics is an important aspect in all research, working with children in a small community

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[1] We wish to thank Brigitta Busch for her support in this subproject, and Leena Huss for collaboration in designing the data collection in Sámiland. Our warmest thanks go to the pupils, teachers, and parents.

emphasizes its importance even more. In this study, the children's participation was voluntary at every step. Their consent, as well as that of their parents, teachers, and the management of the school, was sought in order to conduct the research. Throughout the process, children's suggestions and ideas were invited and heard. The principles of action and ethnographic research were applied throughout.

Against this backdrop, we discuss the children's multimodal language practices in the context of multilingual Sámi classrooms through the outcomes or products of a particular visualization and literacy. We pay particular attention to the interplay between the children's choice and use of languages and other semiotic meaning-making resources as they designed their drawings and books, and to the ways in which these choices connect to, modify, and contest the encircling language policies and ideologies. We assume that the children—consciously or unconsciously—choose between the various resources to serve their own purposes, and that they make meaning "through the particular affordances and limitations each resource sets forth" (Serafini 2010: 96).

In the following, we discuss multilingual, multimodal practices in the Sámi classroom by focusing on the drawings and books produced by four of the pupils. While all the children produced a unique product and navigated their own path through the multilingual and multimodal practices, these four children and their practices represent a range of orientations towards the multilingual, multimodal practices typically found in our data. We have changed the names of the children and some other immediately identifying information, but as the creators of these pictures and these books the child authors may be recognizable via their connections to the place, the books and so on. However, by presenting them anonymously we hope to foreground the mobilization of resources in a multilingual literacy event rather than emphasize the individual child's history, background, and experience.

9.4   Visualizing and Valorizing Multilingual Repertoires

The first participatory activity we focus on here entailed the visualization of one's multilingual repertoire through a drawing task. This activity included several steps. **1. Orientation**: Together with the whole class, teacher and researcher included, we discussed the languages around the pupils and their language environment, e.g. at school, at home, and in their free time. We also talked about the different ways people speak and use languages, and invited the children to tell us about the various languages and language uses they have noticed. These questions were aimed at getting the children to reflect on the multilingualism around them. **2. Drawing**. Next the children were given a white sheet of paper (A4) with an outline of a human figure[2] with his/her

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[2] We wish to thank Brigitta Busch for sharing with us this figure and the practices around it. For the use of this kind of visual prompt in other multilingual contexts, see e.g. Busch et al. 2008; Busch and Busch 2008; Krumm 2001.

left hand raised in greeting in the middle of the page. They were also provided with crayons. In the instructions, the children were asked to think about a language and choose a colour for it. They were to indicate on the page which colour was assigned to which language, and then they were to draw something using the colours (languages) as they chose. They were told to go on for as long as they wished. The children started to work quickly, showing familiarity with drawing practices in the classroom environment. **3. Discussion.** After everyone had finished, we had a joint discussion with the class, everyone showing their drawing and telling the others about their languages and about their placement of the languages in the picture, and the reasons for the placement. The discussion was recorded on video and audio tape, and later transcribed. On the whole, this activity was greeted by the children with enthusiasm and familiarity: they set to work eagerly and concentrated on the task, asking only a few clarifying questions.

We will now discuss two of these drawings that were visual representations of multilingual repertoires, the first illustrating its heteroglossic characteristics, and the second showing the mobility imagined through it.

9.4.1 Case 1: Lasse—Visualizing Resources for Mobility

The first case is a drawing made by Lasse, a boy who at the time was 11 years old. He was taking part in Northern Sámi-medium education at the time of the research. In the background questionnaire Lasse described his linguistic repertoire: he said that he uses Northern Sámi and Finnish most often, and they are for him fluent, easy, and useful languages, but he only knows a few words of Inari Sámi which is also heard in the environment and he uses the language seldom. Similarly, he uses Swedish only rarely and knows only a few words of it. It is, however, a language that Lasse would like to be able to speak when he is older. As for English, Lasse says he speaks it only a little and uses it just a couple of times a week. Lasse also talks about Chinese (the language he wanted to include in his multilingual story-book): it is a strange and difficult language, but he would like to be able to speak it when he is a grown-up. Lasse's drawing looked like this (the original picture on the left, explanations for the colours used on the right) (Fig. 9.1):

The drawing depicts a superman with a cape and a sword. Lasse chose to present three languages in his drawing: Northern Sámi, Finnish, and English. Sámi is coloured in blue, Finnish in orange, and English in violet. The figure itself can be interpreted as pointing towards mobility, imaginary spaces, and transformation. First of all, Lasse chose a fictional figure to represent his language repertoires, which points to imagination and creativity. Moreover, the fictive figure resembles a superman, a strong superhero with the ability to move fast and change. When introducing his drawing to the class, Lasse started by saying "*tässä on supermään*" (here is Superman, the word *man* adapted to Finnish pronunciation). With this appropriation or relocalization of resources from popular culture (Van Leeuwen 2008) in his idiosyncratic choice of a superhero, which expands the space for
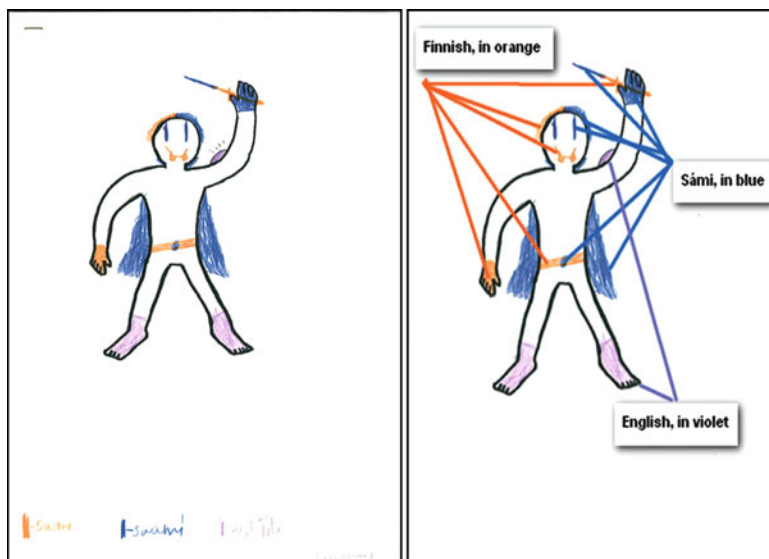
Fig. 9.1 Multilingual repertoire of Lasse: Superman

participation, Lasse steps outside the limits of the task (the human figure given in the instructions). The themes of mobility and creativity are clearly something that characterize Lasse's attitude towards language practices, as these were also the underlying themes in the picture book Lasse designed, which was located in China.

The languages Lasse chose to present have clearly marked locations in the picture. Sámi and Finnish are fairly evenly distributed on the figure. The hair is split into two halves, one representing Sámi and the other Finnish, as are the hands, the sword, and the belt. The face too has both languages: Sámi in the eyes and Finnish in the mouth. The cape, however, is entirely blue, i.e. Sámi. Overall, it appears that these two languages are just about equally present in Lasse's everyday life; they are an inherent part of his person, both useful, and both equally important to him. Sámi and Finnish seem to be in balance in this figure, and consequently in Lasse's life. This balanced position of the languages came out in the background questionnaire and the interview as well, as Lasse described Sámi and Finnish in very similar terms: they are both easy and close to him, he uses them daily, and wishes to speak both of them when he is grown up.

The third language in the picture, English, is presented differently, clearly separated from Sámi and Finnish. English, too, has clearly marked places on the figure. English appears only on two (or three) spots on the figure: the feet and the biceps. It appears to be an additional language, but its role is nevertheless significant, as it gives extra power to the superman (its position on the biceps is even clearly highlighted). Lasse did indeed connect English with power, as our field notes tell us that when Lasse was working on the task in class, the researcher asked

Lasse why English was on the biceps. Lasse's reply was that it gives a little *poveri* (using the English word *power* modified according to Finnish phonology). The position of Sámi in the cape could also be interpreted as an element on the figure that relates to power and mobility, as it is the cape that acts as wings when the superman flies. The position of English on the feet is less clear to us, and the child himself did not explain it. It could mean that English is something that this superhero stands on, a firm basis for movement and translocality. Alternatively, the feet, too, could be interpreted as indexing mobility, albeit far more modestly than flying.

For Lasse the languages on the figure are real languages that he meets daily, and uses as resources for participating in his multilingual, dynamic environment. It must be noted that Lasse did not include Chinese on this figure, even though it featured prominently in his picture book and in the interview. Although the figure Lasse chose is fictional and points to mobility and creativity, Lasse does not play around with his linguistic resources in the picture, e.g. by using language mixing or language play. Instead, they all have their own spaces and functions in Lasse's life. However, even though Lasse appears to depict languages as bounded resources, he uses them dynamically, to create new spaces for participation and learning. These spaces are different for different languages, and thus they provide opportunities for learning various genres and registers.

9.4.2 Case 2: Merja—Visualizing a Heteroglossic Repertoire

The next drawing was made by a 7-year-old girl, whom we here call Merja. At the time of the drawing she was attending Inari Sámi pre-school, which was integrated into the Inari Sámi class (Years 1 and 2). In the background questionnaire, she described her multilingual repertoire as consisting firstly of Inari Sámi and Finnish, which she uses every day, feeling at ease with both of them. She mentioned that she knows a few words of English and Russian, too: she said she uses English a few times a week, but Russian seldom—"*maybe a few times a month*". In addition to these four languages, she includes in her repertoire four imaginary nonsense languages that she calls *Kontinkieli*, *Jamakai*, *Sun language* and *Sösölanguage*. *Kontinkieli,* which resembles dog Latin, has been a well-known language game among schoolchildren for decades, but the other three imaginary languages that she mentions seem to have come out of her own imagination. This is what she drew (Fig. 9.2):

In visualizing her language repertoire, Merja drew on multiple resources to produce a creative and meaningful representation of herself and the languages around her. She drew a colourful picture of a princess with a yellow crown on top of long, red hair, wearing nice clothes (notice the pompoms on the ends of the sleeves) and green high-heeled shoes. She also drew a circle of red dots around the princess and a flower nearby. At the bottom of the page, she wrote Finnish (in blue), Sámi (in red) and Jamakai (in green). An indication of her developing writing skills

Fig. 9.2 Heteroglossic repertoire of Merja: the princess

as a pre-schooler is the letter "S", which is written as a mirror image of the writing norms of both Finnish (suomi) and Sámi (saame). She also added the Sámi national flag at the bottom of the page, but she placed it on the same level as Finnish.

In the drawing, she used red for Sámi and placed it on the hair and shirt. For Finnish she used blue and placed it on the legs. Merja also visualized her "secret", imaginary languages in her drawing. For example, when talking about the picture, Merja said that the yellow (in the crown) signifies the *Sun language*, and that she knows it a little. When asked for an example of this language, Merja produced the following:

Extract 1. The Sun Language

> kun näen auringon niin minä saan alkaa sitä puhumaan ja siinä pitää olla aina aurinko (siinä sanassa) sitte (.) öö (.) enempää minä en muista
> *When I see the sun, then I can start to speak it, and there always has to be sun (in that word) then (.) hmmm (.) I do not remember any more*

She also said that she has an invented language called *Sösö* (this does not mean anything in either Finnish or Sámi, but it sounds a little like a colloquial word meaning messy or fuzzy or speaking unclearly). This is marked in violet in the drawing, and she coloured the shirt with it. In the discussion, Merja said that *Sösö language* is an invented language used between herself and her friend from a neighbouring village, and they use it when they see each other. For the language she calls *Jamakai*, she chose the colour green and coloured the high-heeled shoes with it. In her discussion of this drawing, there seems to be some ambivalence and negotiation going on as regards what *Jamakai* refers to: Merja herself simply

mentioned that green is for *Jamkan-I*, and when a classmate nearby suggested *Jakamai*, Merja confirmed it, *yeah, Jamakai*. This suggests that this language is shared with at least one classmate. However, the teacher and Merja started a short discussion about *Jamakai* in Inari Sámi (which was not really audible to the others), after which the teacher confirmed *elikkä Jamaika (so Jamaica)*. "Jamaica language" is an ambivalent description, too, possibly referring to Jamaica (as a place).

These imaginary languages in Merja's visual representation of her language repertoire can be interpreted as a nexus of several language practices and desires related to languages. Invented languages have been for a long time a part of schoolchildren's practice of playing with language resources, for amusement, for secret communication, and for group bonding (see e.g. Byrd and Mintz 2010). On the other hand, the invented languages shared only with her friend (*Sösö language*) and with the sun (*Sun language*) can be interpreted as Merja's desire to have a multilingual, multifunctional repertoire, which enables her to join in the research on multilingualism in the classroom. They can also be seen as a wish to connect and communicate in multiple directions. We would like to suggest that Merja's multi-modal representation of her linguistic resources can be seen as an appropriation of linguistic multiplicity. It indicates awareness—and appropriation—of multilingual resources for communication, participation, belonging, and self-positioning.

We can also see Merja's illustration and her explanations of her resources as an instance of heteroglossia in practice. For Merja, languages are not restricted only to the languages taught at school, nor do they follow only linguistic classifications. She includes in her repertoire invented, imaginary languages shared with one friend or with inanimate objects (the sun). Consequently, her visualization valorizes heteroglossic, unfinished repertoires, and foregrounds creativity and invention as a resource for participation. It validates creative, developing multilingual repertoires which may not follow the default norms of the school or community. A visualization such as Merja's challenges normative views of multilingualism in educational institutions that promote monolingual multilingualism (cf. Heller 1999), and presents a creative and accepted way of expressing flexible, heteroglossic multilingualism in the context of education. Merja wishes to create multiple spaces for participating in language practices, and thus to create opportunities for learning.

If we look at these visualizations of multilingual repertoires by these two Sámi children, we can see how they make use of creative linguistic and discursive resources to express and reflect upon their languages and the relationships they have through them. Both children draw on well-known, globally circulated figurative characters familiar from children's popular culture—a superman and a princess—to present their own, local language conditions. With the help of these figures, they visualized their perspective on multilingualism in this participatory activity: for Lasse, mobility seems to be the key issue, while Merja used the activity as an opportunity to try out various resources for communication and participation. Furthermore, by using these figures the two children moulded the given format, and with this small-scale intervention, made it their own. We would like to suggest that these kinds of visualizations of developing multilingual repertoires in an

educational context validate and valorize heteroglossic multilingualism, and open up a space in which to discover and discuss various linguistic resources present in the classroom.

9.5 Recognizing and Respecting Multilingual and Multimodal Resources in the Sámi Classroom

The second participatory activity with the pupils and teachers of two Sámi classes was to design a children's picture book[3] with a written storyline and accompanying drawings. The whole task was framed as a chance to become an author and write a "first book". Together it was decided that the books would be printed with a picture of the author on the back cover, and the final products would be circulated in the school and community. The children thus knew all along that their books were to be published, and this seemed to be a motivating factor in carrying out the task.

This activity included various steps before we reached the stage of the printed books themselves. The first step was to discuss together policies regarding the languages of the text in the books. After considering various options, it was decided that the books would follow the default language policy of the school, i.e., each child would write their story in their Sámi language (i.e. Northern Sámi or Inari Sámi) and later the story would be translated into "other" Sámi languages. In addition to this, and to facilitate multilingual literacy practices beyond the Sámi languages, the story would be translated into any other languages the child wanted or the adults involved in the project suggested. Another language policy decision concerned the use of standard and non-standard variants in written Sámi, especially regarding variants that do not follow the norm. The final decision was that, in order to encourage the children to use their literacy skills in Sámi regardless of their level of proficiency and at the same time to facilitate the process of learning standard Sámi, the handwritten version made by the children would be left as it was, but a version in which the grammar and spelling had been corrected by the teacher would be added below the child's text in the printed version of the book. This negotiation alone shows how ideologically loaded the various decisions in literacy practices are, especially in a multilingual, endangered indigenous language environment.

At the next stage, the children were provided with a ready-made, blank booklet (with five leaves) with two black lines in the middle of the left-hand pages, indicating where they could write. In addition, a wide range of crayons were available to them. The children were invited and encouraged to decide on the verbal and visual style and topic of the book by themselves, and they worked on the books in their Art lessons and Sámi language lessons over 3 months. The teachers reported that, on the whole, the children were enthusiastic about this task (though a few had problems deciding on a topic), and worked with immense

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[3] We wish to thank Brigitta Busch for introducing this activity and the practices around it to us.

concentration. After 3 months, a group discussion on the books was organized with the teachers, the researcher, and the pupils. Everyone showed their book, described how they got their idea, and said what the book was all about. At this point the children were asked what languages they wanted their story to be translated into. While some of the children were happy with the two Sámi languages (Northern Sámi and Inari Sámi), many wanted other languages too, ranging from the neighbouring Norwegian and Russian to other Sámi languages, and to other European languages and Chinese. There were altogether 13 different languages used in the books. The texts were then translated (a communal effort for the various Sámi language versions), and the picture books were printed with the multilingual versions of the original text and the promised picture of the author. Finally, we had an official book launch at the school, and the authors were given personal copies of their books. The local media were interested in the event, and ran quite a few stories about the books, interviewing the authors and the adults who had helped with the project. The teaching materials office of the Finnish Sámi parliament also became interested in the books, and sent over 400 copies to every Sámi classroom in Finland as a Christmas greeting. In the end, the children's books were circulated across various domains and boundaries, and became quite well known. Let us now take a look at two of these books.

9.5.1 Case 3: Oula's Book—Staying Within Official Language Policy

The first book we will discuss was designed by a boy whom we here call Oula. At the time of designing the book Oula was 9 years old and attending the Northern Sámi-medium class. He had a multilingual repertoire: in the questionnaire he described Northern Sámi and Finnish as languages he uses every day and with which he feels at ease. He also mentioned that he uses English a few times a week, knows a few words of Japanese and Chinese (from his daily life through his family's tourism business) and recognizes Norwegian.

Oula's book has two interrelated stories; the first is about a family trip to the fells and an interrelated story is about his snow mobile. In both stories he describes Sámi practices related to reindeer herding and moving in this environment. The pictures illustrate the story and include typical elements of this northern environment: the snow, the fells, the sun (an important Sámi symbol), and reindeer, as the picture below shows (Fig. 9.3):

In the part of the story that related to this picture, Oula wrote:

> Dasto mii beasaimet olggos ja vulggiimet geahčastit mii duoddar alde oidno. Dasto mun oidnen stuorra ealu. Doppe ledje ulda-olbmot čohkkemen bohccuid.
>
>   Then we got out and we went to see what we could see on the top of the fell. Then I saw a big herd of reindeer. There were gnome-people herding reindeer.

Fig. 9.3 The gnome-people herding reindeer

The story depicts an element familiar from many Sámi stories about "gnome-people" (Pentikäinen 1995) and makes use of many Sámi symbols: the figures of the reindeer resemble those on Sámi drums, the hats are similar to traditional Sámi hats, and also the colour blue seems to refer to the Sámi costume. In terms of the multilingual language practices in the classroom, Oula's book exemplifies the official language policy of the school regarding Sámi languages: as agreed, Oula wrote his story in Northern Sámi, the language of the classroom, and since he did not have any particular wishes as regards the languages to be used for the translation of his story, again according to the agreed rules, only Inari Sámi is included. This particular choice echoes an emerging multilingual practice among the teachers of these classes: they use their own Sámi language both in interacting with each other and when talking to pupils who use the other Sámi language. This everyday Sámi interactional practice enhances awareness of both the Sámi languages, which are linguistically similar enough that, after a little effort, mutual understanding is possible.

We suggest that Oula's language and literacy choices in his book valorize the internal multilingualism within the Sámi community and validate the simultaneous use of the two Sámi languages in the school. To an extent, they also valorize the smaller Sámi languages, seldom used in print or in picture books. At the same time, however, this picture book draws on the idea of fixed language boundaries and canonized literacy practices. Unlike some other children in the classroom, Oula did not opt for mixed language practices, but rather he produced his book within the dominant framework of the school language policy and literacy practices, subscribing (doubtless unconsciously) to the rationality circulated by the discourses of endangerment (see e.g. Heller and Duchene 2007; Jaffe 2007). But at the same time, Oula chose to be a good student and to carry out the task strictly within the instructions given. Oula's participation in the established language practices of the classroom and his learning of languages thus take place in this normative space.

9.5.2 Case 4: Anna-Mari's Book—Experimenting with Multilingual Resources

The next book we will focus on was written by Anna-Mari, who at the time was in Year 2 in the Inari Sámi-medium class and was 8 years old. As she was only in the second year, she was not yet studying any foreign languages. In the background questionnaire Anna-Mari described her linguistic repertoire. She uses Inari Sámi and Finnish most often, she said, and they are her fluent, easy, and useful languages. Northern Sámi is also heard in her environment, and Anna-Mari says that she uses it a few times a week. Swedish and English are languages that she uses only occasionally, and she knows only a few words of them. She also mentions Polish and Serbian, which she says she can recognize when she hears them.

Anna-Mari really seems to be at ease with languages. She is keenly aware of the linguistic resources of her environment and invents new resources for different purposes, thus creating new spaces for participation in language practices. She said in the interview and background questionnaire that in addition to "traditional" languages, such as Sámi, Finnish, Polish, Serbian, Swedish, and English, she— like Merja above—also has several imaginary nonsense languages in her repertoire. These include a language used with dogs, *a njäh njäh language* used with her father, and *kontti-language* (dog Latin) and variants of it (*letter i-language* and *a number language*) used with peers. Consequently, Anna-Mari wanted her book to be translated into several languages: in addition to Inari Sámi and Northern Sámi, she wanted to have either Swedish or English, which were then both added.

Anna-Mari is extremely enthusiastic about dogs (notice that she includes the dog language as part of her repertoire), and this seems to show in her choice of words for the topic of her book. The book consists of a description of different breeds of dogs. Each of the pages in the book presents a new breed and tells a little story about the dog in writing, supported by illustrations showing dogs in various situations. This is the front cover of her book (Fig. 9.4):

The front cover of Anna-Mari's book already tells the story in essence: dogs are the subject (observe the different breeds of dog around Anna-Mari), and she uses all the resources she possesses to get her message across (notice the word *dogs* in the flag and on the shirt, and the word *hau*/*wof* in the picture). She called the book *Penui maailmi* ("the world of dogs" in Inari Sámi), and provided her own Finnish translation of the title, *Koirien maailma*.

In our view, Anna-Mari is a prime example of heteroglossic language practices in a multilingual environment. She participates in a wide variety of language practices, and this provides her with a lot of opportunities for language learning. She appropriates linguistic resources readily and easily, according to the demands of the communicative situation, be it with dogs, her father, or the wider audience of her book. Indeed, Anna-Mari put some English words into her book—naturally *dog*, but also *wof* in addition to the Finnish and Sámi equivalent, *hau*. This is particularly impressive as Anna-Mari had not had any formal instruction in English at school, and it is thus evident that she had learnt these English words—very important words

Fig. 9.4 The world of dogs

for her—from the environment. Her perspective on language is that of *language as a practice*, and her take on learning languages is one of participation, action, and agency. In Anna-Mari's life, languages are constructed through activity and experience.

The two books examined above are examples of two different possibilities of participation in multilingual language practices, and thus of two different spaces providing opportunities for learning. Oula's take on the book task drew on the idea of bounded languages and of established, canonized literacy practices, and thus his participatory framework stayed within the school language policy and literacy practices. He stood for the learning of official, normative multilingualism. Anna-Mari, in contrast, engaged in a variety of heteroglossic language practices in the multilingual environment. She appropriated linguistic resources for her own purposes and this gave her a wider range of opportunities for participation and learning than Oula had.

9.6   Discussion

These two participatory activities involving multilingual and multimodal drawing and literacy tasks carried out by a group of multilingual Sámi children in Northern Finland show how dynamic and complex their multilingual repertoires and practices are. It seems that the combination of the shifting multilingual environment of endangered Sámi languages and the learning tasks and environment of young children has several interesting results: negotiations of value, the use of certain language resources, and various orientations towards dynamic multilingualism in the classroom. The participatory activities illustrate how in carrying out their tasks some children turned to established resources such as familiar genres, the explicit language policy in their environment, or common classroom language practices, while others created new resources and imagined spaces for themselves, making

their own spaces for heteroglossic languaging. This can be seen as an appropriation of an understanding of multilingualism in which speakers draw on heteroglossic resources in localized conditions of language use, and in doing so reinforce, challenge, change, and reimagine language constructions (cf. Blackledge and Creese 2010; Jaffe 2007).

In these two participatory activities, the inclusion of visual modes seemed to enable the children to find their own voice and agency, regardless of their language skills: the focus moved from languages (and skills) towards the speaker's experience and voice. The concept of voice—the capacity to mobilize individual linguistic and semiotic resources—might help in the mapping of the experiences of individuals when drawing on and using the socially available and conditioned resources: languages, but also genres, discourses, styles, and visualities (Pietikäinen and Dufva 2006). This participatory strategy links to the view of language as a multimodal, semiotic system, and to the view that 'languaging' means using all the resources that you have, including visual resources (see earlier discussions, cf. Pietikäinen et al. 2008). The need to develop different kinds of activities in which the children could express their experiences and the need to elicit knowledge about their experiences from multiple perspectives are linked too to an acknowledgement that all languaging happens within a particular genre, and that genre structures linguistic and visual action. It also links to the view of language as a practice that foregrounds language ideologies, beliefs, and the practices of multilingual language users (cf. García 2009; Pennycook 2010).

To come back to language learning in the context of a multilingual Sámi school class, we suggest that the activities we have described here can be seen as a way of drawing attention to multilingual dynamics and the many ways of learning, as well as a way of creating a space for heteroglossic and reflective practices. The children were given a variety of opportunities in which to display and play around with their linguistic resources, space in which to participate in language-related practices. They could experiment with existing, emerging, and even imaginary resources and thus, irrespective of their linguistic skills, participate in personally meaningful practices. The threshold for using sometimes limited language skills was lowered, and the children's own resources were made visible and appreciated.

The kinds of participatory activities introduced in this chapter are an attempt to respond to the call for more dynamic and nuanced approaches to multilingualism in endangered language contexts. Whaley (2011: 33), for instance, argues that a common mistake, especially in language revitalisation activities, is the "failure to appreciate the complexity of the notion of the community, an overly simple understanding of the notion of the 'language', a neglect of the social dynamics and needs that underlie language use, and assuming too much control of the revitalization efforts". She also argues that "fundamental (to success) is the recognition that language is a social practice and as a consequence, working with an endangered language entails engagement with a range of complex, and often countervailing social dynamics" (Whaley 2011: 33). The participatory activities that we were involved in here are a step towards providing children with a safe space in which to try things out, create, experience, appropriate, and contest.

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Chapter 10
Balancing the Languages in Māori-Medium Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Richard Hill and Stephen May

Abstract The chapter describes Māori medium education in New Zealand and in particular the changing role of Māori and English in these programs. The topic is approached through the perceptions and competences of the students. Little has previously been written about the perceptions and aspirations of Maori medium students in these programs. The focal learners are grade 8 students in three different Māori medium schools. The data were gathered by focus group interviews and literacy assessments. The analysis shows that students have positive attitudes towards Māori learning but they mostly use English in their out-of-school activities. Their skills in academic Māori are equally good in all three schools but their academic language skills in English vary across the schools. This chapter thus explores how the grade 8 students perceive their pathways, their languages and their future aspirations, in light of the above.

10.1 Introduction

Māori-medium education has been available to students for 30 years now in New Zealand schools. Since its inception in the early 1980s, it has been lauded for its success at mobilizing the Māori population, and bringing back the indigenous Māori language (referred to hereafter as te reo Māori) from imminent language death (May 2004; May and Hill 2005). Despite the significant positive influence of

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Māori-medium education over this period, the state of te reo Māori nonetheless remains relatively parlous overall. For example, the National Māori Language Survey, undertaken in 2001 (Te Puni Kōkiri 2001), found that among Māori adults, there were only as few as 22,000 highly fluent Māori speakers remaining, many of whom (73 %) were 45 years of age or older, with a further 22,000 with medium fluency levels (the latter predominantly as the result of Māori-medium education). More worryingly, 58 % of Māori adults could not speak Māori beyond a 'few words or phrases'. The most recent report to date in Aotearoa/New Zealand continues to highlight the risk of endangerment for te reo Māori, particularly in relation to the ongoing decline of fluent speakers and limited intergenerational transmission (Waitangi Tribunal 2010).

Within this wider context of ongoing language endangerment for te reo Māori, a key concern has been the extent to which (if at all) English language instruction should be included in Māori-medium education. Since the genesis of Māori-medium education, the favoured philosophical position has been a total immersion approach in te reo Māori, thus specifically delimiting the role and influence of English as a language of instruction. Accordingly, the programs that have been given most prominence in Māori-medium education are designated as Level 1 immersion programs – offering between 81 and 100 % immersion in te reo Māori. Indeed, historically, the majority of these Level 1 programs have operated at 100 % immersion or very close to it. The rationale for this total immersion approach was predicated on the initial principle of Māori-medium education that promoting an educational environment where only Māori was spoken was the best means by which to ensure the survival of, and an ongoing use for, te reo Māori. These views were also influenced at the time of the establishment of these programs in the 1980s by the predominance in second language teaching circles of natural approaches to language learning, exemplified by the arguments of Krashen and Terrell's Natural Approach (see Richards and Rodgers 1986). An additional presumption underpinning these Level 1 Māori medium programs was that, because English was spoken in all other language domains, and because the majority of students were by now English L1 speakers, the ongoing acquisition of English would occur automatically.

While there has since been the expansion of lower level immersion programs in Māori-medium education (see below), those involved in Level 1 programs remain at the heart of the Māori-medium education movement. These programs are also most closely associated with Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori language preschools) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (elementary/primary Māori language schools) for which the Māori-medium education movement has become internationally known. Level 1 programs are regarded in New Zealand as the most effective programs in Māori-medium education. They have demonstrated consistently high educational and language outcomes for their students, consistent with the international literature on high level immersion programs (May et al. 2004; May 2013). However, in other ways, these Level 1 Māori-medium programs also differ, often markedly, from many other contexts internationally. Specifically, the majority of students in these programs are L1 English speakers, as, indeed, are the majority of their teachers – the result of pre-existing language shift and loss in te reo Māori. The school remains

the principal (and for some, the only) source of Māori language exposure. A total immersion approach is viewed by proponents of these Level 1 programs as the best means of ensuring the wider survival of te reo Māori. In the New Zealand context at least, total immersion education has also been specifically distinguished from partial immersion and/or bilingual education approaches (May 2005), with the latter seen as undermining wider te reo Māori language revitalization aims. This is despite the fact that many parents appear to be choosing lower level immersion options as an alternative to Level 1 programs.

That said, perceptions over the legitimacy and role of English language instruction within Level 1 Māori-medium education have been changing, particularly over the course of the last 5 years. This is most clearly exemplified in the recent introduction of a Māori-medium curriculum document (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2008) which stipulates the teaching of English alongside te reo Māori. Accordingly, Level 1 Māori-medium programs must now negotiate the formal inclusion of English and are subsequently assessed at the national level on their ability at achieving specific English as well as te reo Māori language outcomes. Nonetheless, deciding on the balance between the two languages within these programs remains an unresolved issue that individual schools struggle to negotiate, with pedagogy and practices still varying widely. Ongoing discussions on the place of English in Māori-medium education thus continue to focus on the balance needed to address English language needs while not jeopardizing wider Māori language revitalization and attainment.

This chapter examines the contested balance between te reo Māori and English in Māori-medium education by reporting on the perceptions of a group of grade 8 (12–13 years) students on this issue from three Level 1 Māori-medium programs. The data are drawn from a wider ethnographic study of these three programs (Hill 2011). Little has previously been written about the perceptions and aspirations of Māori-medium students in these programs. The chapter thus explores how the students perceive their relationships with their two languages within the context of Māori-medium education, as well as their wider hopes and aspirations.

10.2 The Genesis of Māori-Medium Education

Similar to the experiences of indigenous peoples worldwide, New Zealand's early colonial history – beginning with British colonization in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth centuries – was characterized by a resolutely assimilationist approach to the education of the Māori population. Accordingly, the teaching of English was considered to be a central task of the school, and te reo Māori was often regarded as the prime obstacle to the progress of Māori children (R. Benton 1981). Consequently, the vast majority of Māori students, over multiple generations, have only ever experienced an English monolingual education system. This experience of English-only education did not impact on the wider retention of te reo Māori,

however, until the post-Second World War period. While the Māori language had long been excluded from the realms of the school, it had still been nurtured in largely rural Māori communities up until that time. However, rapid urbanization of Māori post Second World War was to change all that. Thus, in 1930, a survey of Māori children estimated that 96.6 % spoke only Māori at home. By 1960, only 26 % spoke Māori. By 1979 the Māori language had retreated to the point where language death was predicted (R. Benton 1979, 1981; see also N. Benton 1989). This was the catalyst that led the Māori people to form an independent Māori-centred education in the 1980s, via first, Te Kōhanga Reo (preschool Māori language programs), followed by Kura Kaupapa Māori (primary/elementary Māori immersion programs). Both have been central subsequently to revitalizing the Māori language and to increasing the educational achievement of Māori students (Walker 1990).

This period from the early 1980s was thus the first time since the advent of colonization that the Māori community constructed a Māori-centred education where instruction was from a Māori perspective, involving Māori tikanga [customs], and where the Māori language was the sole language of instruction. Key to the success of the early Māori-medium movement was the utilization of the predominantly older generation of the native speaking Māori population to teach the students, supported by a strong group of younger, educated Māori who wished their own children to learn the language that they were prevented from learning as children (Rata 2011).

In the 1980s and 1990s, Māori-medium education thus experienced significant levels of expansion – particularly, at the highest levels of immersion (Level 1 programs). However, over the last decade, the number of students in Māori-medium education has first plateaued and then experienced a slight drop in student numbers (see Table 10.1), while other Māori-medium programs at lower levels of immersion have also since proliferated. In 2011, 24,474, or 15.8 % of Māori students were involved in some form of Māori-medium educational program.[1] Unfortunately, one third of these students were in programs offering less than 50 % Māori language instruction, a quantity considered insufficient to create highly proficient bilinguals (Lindholm-Leary 2001). Less than 7 % of Māori students attended the most effective Level 1 programs. These figures demonstrate that while Māori-medium education has achieved a near impossible task of reintroducing te reo Māori to a new generation of learners and reinvigorating the learning of te reo Māori in New Zealand, its continued support by Māori families is relatively low, making its regeneration to levels of the past a more difficult task.

The low level of support for Māori-medium education within the Māori community conflicts with the weight of research evidence showing the significant advantages of being schooled in high level immersion bilingual programs. Not only do bilingually schooled students perform at least as well as their monolingual

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[1] Statistics around Māori student populations are derived from school registers, which parents complete when enrolling their children at school.

Table 10.1 Total number of Māori students involved in Māori-medium education by highest level of learning in 2010 and 2011

Percentage of Curriculum instruction undertaken in Māori	2010	2011	Difference 2010–2011	
			Number	%
Level 1: 81–100 %	11,565	11,478	−88	−0.75
Level 2: 51–80 %	4,352	4,427	76	1.72
Level 3: 31–50 %	4,372	4,308	−64	−1.46
Level 4(a): 12–30 %	4,516	4,261	−255	−5.65
Total	24,805	24,474	−331	−1.33

Source: New Zealand Ministry of Education (2011)

peers in mainstream (English-only) education, they emerge with high levels of knowledge in two languages (see for instance, Cummins 2000; Thomas and Collier 2002; Baker 2012). Evidence from the New Zealand context also supports this point. An analysis of students enrolled in the National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA), the compulsory secondary school standards-based assessment system, found that the majority of Māori-medium students in 2005 gained NCEA qualifications in te reo Māori, English and mathematics. Māori-medium students were also more likely to gain qualifications than Māori students in mainstream English-medium schools (Murray 2007).

The decreasing level of support in the Māori community for high-level immersion programs highlights a knowledge gap between Māori families and the Māori-medium school sector on the wider, research-attested, benefits of high level immersion programs. It is also exacerbated, however, by an ambivalence since the advent of Māori-medium education in the 1980s towards introducing *any* formal language instruction in English in these Level 1 programs, an issue with which many families continue to struggle.

With this history of language loss and subsequent revitalization of te reo Māori, it is not surprising that the English language has occupied a contentious position in high level immersion programs. Māori-medium schooling was constructed specifically to *save* te reo Māori. As such, schools have tended to maximize Māori language exposure, limiting English instruction. In this environment, English was viewed as competing against Māori, not as complementing it, with time spent learning English being perceived to be time wasted for te reo Māori. Teachers would justify this practice with the argument that Level 1 Māori-medium programs redress the English language dominance outside the school. And as the majority of students already speak English as a first language (the result of intergenerational language loss), learning it will be unproblematic. This argument in favour of the automatic transfer of language skills continues to be a feature of Level 1 Māori-medium programs today (May and Hill 2005), although developments over the last 5 years, in particular, have begun to modify this stance somewhat.

Indeed, despite ongoing reluctance to include formal English instruction, Level 1 Māori-medium programs are increasingly implementing some form of English language instruction. A key catalyst here has been a major policy shift,

which has formalized English language instruction as a compulsory curriculum area in the recently introduced Māori-medium curriculum (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2008). Be that as it may, Māori-medium schools still offer a range of approaches to English language instruction. Some are comprehensive, others less so. Because of the still-entrenched view that English is in competition with te reo Māori, many Level 1 programs commence English instruction only in the final 2 years (grade 7 and 8) of primary school for between 1 and 2 h per week, and limit academic English exposure to a mixture of reading and writing.

Furthermore, in order to preserve the Māori language context of the school and prevent the permeation of English into the school, English classes are usually housed in a separate classroom and taught by independent English language teachers who do not usually speak te reo Māori and are thus unable to bridge the gap between students' Māori-medium literacy instruction and their new academic English knowledge. In this way, the predominant Māori-medium approaches to teaching English resemble English Second Language (ESL) withdrawal/pull out classes in mainstream English-medium schools, an approach that is often criticized in the literature for its relative ineffectiveness (Baker 2012).

As foreshadowed above, the danger of this situation is that parents may become uneasy that their children are not being fully equipped for the English-dominant world outside school, and thus prematurely withdraw them from Māori-medium programs, a trend that has already been identified (May et al. 2004). This quite frequent occurrence not only jeopardizes their children's ability to benefit from bilingual education over the longer term, but places them in a subtractive bilingual environment in their new schools because they often have neither the necessary academic English skills nor sufficiently highly developed Māori literacy skills at the point of this early transition.

Parents' wariness is understandable in the current situation, as high level Māori-medium schools' pursuit of wider revitalization aims would seem to exclude formal English language instruction. This position also fails to acknowledge wider bilingual theory and current research that promotes not only the inclusion of two languages in the bilingual education process but also the increasing difficulties associated with separating language of instruction in the educational process (Cummins 2008; García 2009; Garcia et al. 2011; Baker 2012).

There are a number of unresolved issues that emerge from this situation, the most obvious being to solve the conundrum of how to satisfy the objectives of creating highly capable Māori language speakers as part of the process of regenerating te reo Māori without jeopardizing students' ability to learn high levels of academic English and thereby prosper in the predominantly English speaking world outside their school. The remainder of this chapter addresses this central issue by drawing on the perceptions and experiences of grade 8 (12–13 years of age) Māori students in three different Level 1 Māori-medium programs.

10.3   Student Perceptions in Māori-Medium Education

Incorporating student voice into education is an area that is often neglected in schools (Cook-Sather 2002). Listening to student voice offers multiple advantages, including improving teaching practice, assisting teachers to make teaching material more accessible, and empowering and motivating students. Importantly for Māori-medium students who are undergoing a relatively new form of education, in a world that differs markedly from that of their grandparents (the last generation still to hold a preponderance of te reo Māori speakers), it would seem particularly important that their perceptions are acknowledged and taken seriously. Few studies have investigated student perceptions in Māori-medium education. One such is Hawera et al. (2009), who explored Year 5–9 Māori-medium students' perceptions of how their teachers assisted in the teaching of mathematics. In the English-medium education context, Bishop and Berryman (2006) explored student perceptions of grade 9 and grade 10 Māori students in secondary schools, highlighting the need for secondary school teachers to better nurture relationships with their Māori students and incorporate their perceptions into their classroom programs (Bishop 2008).

While these projects are important, they do not go far enough in providing in-depth information on the views of Māori-medium students. This chapter fills this gap by reporting on the views of grade 8 students from three Level 1 Māori-medium programs. The students were interviewed as part of a wider ethnographic project, conducted in 2007, into the learning of English in Māori-medium schools (Hill and May 2011).[2] The methods of data collection included interviews, classroom observations and literacy assessments (Māori and English) of the grade 8 students. There were 49 grade 8 students (12–13 years) involved in this project, 24 of whom were interviewed as focus-groups (12 students were from School I and 6 each were from Schools II and III). Each group of students was interviewed on two occasions during the last term of their final primary/elementary school year. The themes explored included their perceptions about attending a Māori-medium school, learning te reo Māori and English, their language speaking preferences, and their future ambitions. Each group was interviewed in their school and chose to speak using English.

The choice of grade 8 students for this study was made because, at this stage, the students are crossing a significant threshold to high school education. For many of them, this meant changing schools and deciding on whether or not to continue attending Māori-medium education. This stage is also important from a bilingual development perspective. Studies from international contexts have shown that it

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[2] The wider research project, conducted over the school year in 2007, was a multiple case study which explored how the three Māori-medium schools arranged their English transition programs, what issues they negotiated, and how well the students were progressing towards achieving high proficiency in te reo Māori and English as a result. The research participants included the English transition teachers, principals, Māori-medium teachers and a cohort of grade 8 students, the latter being the focus here.

can take at least 5–6 years for students to develop high levels of bilingual proficiency (Cummins 1979; Baker 2012). Incorporating this group of students into the project thus provides the Māori-medium education sector with the perceptions of the students and reveals the extent to which they are moving towards the goal of becoming bilingual and biliterate.

10.4   Background of the Three Schools

There were three key reasons for the choice of schools in this project. First, all three schools were Level 1 Māori-medium programs, offering at least 81 % Māori instruction. This immersion level has the best reputation for creating highly proficient bilingual graduates compared with lower level Māori-medium programs, in line with the international literature. Second, each school had slightly different characteristics, making an analysis of the characteristics and effects more fruitful and wide-ranging. School I was a whare kura – a combined elementary and high school offering education from years 1–13, School II was a Kura Kaupapa Māori (elementary/primary school) offering education to year 8; School III was a bilingual school offering two levels of Māori instruction, although the focus of the study was only on the Level 1 program with the school. The third reason for the choice of these schools was that the first author, Hill, had been employed as a teacher in each of them and therefore had a close relationship with them. This was an important consideration in terms of ensuring a relationship of trust prevailed between the participants and researchers and in order that the principles of Kaupapa Māori research (Bishop 2005; Smith 1997; see below) were upheld as a means of guiding the project.

School I was a wharekura, a state-funded Māori-medium school offering a combined Māori-medium primary and secondary school education for students from grade 1–13 (5–18 years). There were 287 students at this school, including 29 grade 8 students who took part in this study. School I was located in a low socioeconomic community, in a small town in the North Island of New Zealand. Two English transition teachers were employed to teach School I's English language program. Students were instructed through te reo Māori for the first 3 years of school before commencing English instruction from grade 4 for 3.3 h per week. At grade 7 and 8 English instruction rose to 4 h per week.

School II was a Kura Kaupapa Māori, a state-funded Māori-medium primary school, offering education for students from grade 1–8 (5–13 years). There were 100 students attending this school, including nine grade 8 students. School II was also in a low socioeconomic community in a small town in the North Island. One teacher was employed to teach English to the grade 7–8 students for 4 h per week.[3] Apart from this, the students were instructed via te reo Māori.

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[3] School II had changed their English language policy earlier in the year to include the year 6 students. However, the grade 8 students interviewed for this project had only been exposed to 2 years English instruction.

School III was a bilingual school, a state-funded Māori-medium school offering two levels of Māori language instruction. The Level 1 total immersion section of the school was the focus of this study, offering 99 % Māori language instruction.[4] This school enrolled 200 students, split evenly between the two levels of immersion. Nine students from the Level 1 unit were grade 8 and took part in this research. It was located in a low socioeconomic community in a small city in the North Island. At this school, the grade 7–8 classroom teacher also taught English. His program included 1.5 h English language instruction per week.

10.5   Data Gathering Methods and Analysis

This case study project was conducted using Kaupapa Māori principles to guide it (Smith 1990, 1997, 1999). Kaupapa Māori research directly incorporates Māori practices, value systems, and social relations as a basis for researching appropriately and productively in Māori contexts. It provides clear lines of accountability and control in relation to the subsequent value for, and impact of the research on, Māori communities, particularly if the research involves non-indigenous researchers. Adopting a Kaupapa Māori approach was appropriate, given all the participants were Māori and were working in a Māori educational context. As the researchers were non-Māori, adhering to Kaupapa Māori principles also assisted in safeguarding our practices and ensuring accountability with the community (Bevan-Brown 1998; for a fuller discussion in relation to this project, see Hill and May 2013).

Four key data gathering methods were implemented to inform this project; individual interviews, focus group interviews, classroom observations and literacy assessments of the students. The participants included the principals, English transition teachers, bilingual teachers and year 8 students.

Grounded research (Glaser and Strauss 1999) principles formed the key means of analysing the data generated by this project. Within each case study school the researchers sought key themes that influenced their programs – and helped to create their graduate students. Once key themes within each case study were chosen, a comparison was made across the three case study schools to discover the common patterns. This then lead to the researchers reaching important implications regarding the relative effectiveness of programs, the barriers and avenues to support the schools' aims of strengthening themselves.

This chapter focuses on one section of the total data gathered; the perceptions and the literacy achievement (in both te reo Māori and English) of the grade 8 students. This is important because for the first time it provides a specific lens

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[4] A Level 3 partial immersion program offered between 30 and 50 % Māori instruction, below the internationally recognized threshold for effective bilingual instruction (see Lindholm-Leary 2001).

on the perceptions of Māori medium students about their lives and their languages. It also helps to reveal how the issue of balancing the languages of instruction in Māori medium schools is viewed by students in these programs, as well as their views on how it will likely affect their future trajectories.

10.6 Interviews with the Grade 8 Students

The students across all three schools usually had genealogical links with the tribe of their school district and had all attended Māori-medium education for their total primary school years (8 years), and kōhanga reo (Māori-medium preschool or language nests) prior to their primary schooling. The reasons they gave for attending Māori-medium school included fulfilling family aspirations to grow up learning te reo Māori. For many of them, Māori-medium was just the life they had always known: "I just grew with it" (Male student from School I). Other reasons for attending Māori-medium education included having a parent as a teacher at their school, and having native Māori speaking parents who spoke te reo Māori at home (increasingly rare, but still possible).

The students at Schools I and III enjoyed attending their schools. The most frequently cited reason was because of their relationships with the teachers. "They get smart to [joke with] us and we're allowed to get smart back." (Male student from School I). Other reasons included seeing their friends, learning new waiata (songs), and having ambitions to follow in the footsteps of their grandparents.

The School II students' perceptions contrasted with Schools I and III. These students expressed negative thoughts about attending school. One student stated: "I don't like it that much, because I don't learn that much, like writing." (Female student from School II). This student felt that school life was uninteresting and that the teachers should have been making learning more enjoyable for them. Her Māori-immersion teacher used the threat of punishments to induce them to complete their work: "It's more like do the work and finish it or else." (Female student from School II)

The teachers' use of teaching resources was another issue the School II students highlighted. One student complained that learning mathematics involved a great deal of copying from the textbook. They all agreed that comprehending the language in mathematics textbooks was difficult. They preferred the textbooks to be written in English rather than Māori, to ease the burden of comprehending the content.

10.7 Perceptions About te reo Māori

There was a range of perceptions regarding the students' Māori language ability. The students at School I felt confident speaking, reading and writing te reo Māori. However, two students sometimes experienced difficulty finding appropriate words

in which to express themselves. The School II students did not feel highly confident speaking te reo Māori.

> Not really [confident], because if teachers ask you questions and you don't know what they are saying. I just don't reply. I don't understand what she [classroom teacher] says to me. (Female student from School II)
>
> I don't really like learning about Māori because I think you won't get anywhere, like if you learn Māori you won't be a bank man. (Male student from School II)

At School III, the students stated they enjoyed learning te reo Māori and viewed it as a positive skill to possess. They felt proud of being able to speak te reo Māori: "I know two languages, that's mean [good]." (Male student from School I). However, there were two situations when the School III students felt negative about te reo Māori: when their teacher repeated content they had previously learned, and having their Māori language corrected by their grandparents, uncles and aunts. This sometimes occurred when they used Māori vocabulary from a different tribal area, a phenomenon that occurs when students are exposed to teachers from different tribes.

> That's what my nan [nanny or grandmother] does. I'll say something...and if I say something from a different area she'll try and correct me and say that's not it. (Female student from School III)

Speaking te reo Māori amongst native Māori speakers was another situation when the students of School III felt self-conscious.

> When there's like fluent speakers around, they put you to shame. (Female student from School III)

These grade 8 students also discussed sometimes feeling self-conscious about speaking te reo Māori in public places among Pākehā (non-Māori) people.

> They look at you snobby [condescendingly] and they start talking about you.

The key places the students all the school reported speaking te reo Māori was at school, on the marae (Māori meeting house), to their elders and sometimes at home. However, the lines were often blurred, with both languages being used in each of these contexts. The School II students responses below reflected the perceptions of all the students.

> A little bit of Māori and Pākeha [English] and Māori and Pākeha (Male student from School II)
>
> Sometimes I speak Māori at school, sometimes at home, a little bit at the marae. And a little bit at the wānangas [overnight stay on a marae] when we listen to kapa hakas [cultural performances] (Male student from School II)
>
> I only speak Māori when I am told at school (Male student from School II)
>
> I speak Māori sometimes at school and at the marae. And I speak English at home. Oh, sometimes I speak Māori at home. And I speak Māori to like kids who get smart – like Pākehā [non-Māori] kids. (Female student from School II)

Across the three schools, the students' preferred language of communication was unquestionably English. They predominantly used it outside of the classroom at school and at home. This included the students whose parents spoke Māori to them at home. The two widely cited instances where they used te reo Māori was

when speaking to their teachers and to people of their grandparents' generation. However, they all enjoyed having a knowledge of te reo Māori because it gave them greater access to tribal occasions at their marae and because having this skill brought a level of exclusivity that other people did not enjoy.

> It's cool because some people can't understand it. (Female student from School I)

The students of School III clarified why, despite being schooled for more than 8 years in Māori-medium education, they still preferred to use English. One student responded that it was because the people to whom they spoke had a greater command of English than te reo Māori. A second student added that speaking Māori to friends did not "feel right". These students' responses indicated that their oral English proficiency exceeded their Māori proficiency, and relatedly, that the English language conveys their messages better. Routine may also affect this pattern. If they have spent a significant period speaking English to one another, changing to Māori may feel awkward.

10.8   Perceptions About English

In order to gauge the language preferences and strengths of the students outside school, they were asked to rate the difficulty of six English literacy tasks they might be likely to perform outside school (see Table 10.2). These were chosen by the authors. The responses were similar at each school.

Table 10.2 shows that the students found using English simple in most instances (apart from reading newspapers, which most students did not do regularly). This reiterates that English is their preferred language and their stronger language for literacy tasks outside school.

10.9   English Instruction

The place of English language instruction in the schools was the central feature of this research because of its tenuous position in many Māori medium schools. This is why this section focuses more on this theme. When asked to reflect on the English

Table 10.2 Students' perceptions of English literacy tasks

Literacy task	Grade 8 students' perception of difficulty
Reading road signs	Simple for all students
Reading labels on packets	Simple for all students
Reading comic books and magazines	They either didn't read comics or only looked at pictures
Reading newspapers	Most groups did not read newspapers. One group experienced no problems reading newspapers
Writing a story in English	Most felt confident, but one group felt this may be difficult
Writing a message to a parent	All students would choose to write in English

instruction program the students' responses indicated that there was a relationship between the quantity and quality of the English language programs and their satisfaction and confidence. The School I students, who were exposed to the most English (3–4 h a week from grade 4), and where the program was implemented by two experienced staff, felt confident at completing academic English tasks and were extremely satisfied with their program.

The School II students, whose English program commenced at grade 7 for 4 h per week, and was staffed by a teacher who was new to teaching in Māori-medium education, were less confident. Half of this group reported feeling under-confident with academic English tasks.

> I don't feel confident writing, reading or talking. Because I am not good at writing English, reading English. Oh I am confident about speaking English. (Male from School II)
>   I'm confident in speaking it but not in reading and writing it, because of my spelling. I can't spell. . .and the rules. (Female from School II)

At School III, which exposed students to the least amount of English instruction (1.5 h per week from grade 7), the group found learning English difficult and frustrating. The complexities of English, and in particular, the spelling rules and academic vocabulary, were areas in which these students struggled. They described lessons consisting of their teacher reading to them, followed by the remaining time being filled by teacher talk.

> We just talk English but don't learn English. (Female student from School III)
>   He'll just read an English book and then tell you to write. (Male student from School III)
>   And then an hour and a half goes past because he always gets off the kaupapa [theme] and then we get back to Māori. (Female student from School III)

The School III students clearly wanted a more engaging English transition program and more time to learn academic English.

The students were asked to discuss their secondary school preferences and vocational aspirations. The School I students were all planning to stay at School I for their secondary school education – as this school enrolled students to the end of secondary school at grade 13. By contrast, around half of the students of Schools II and III were considering entering an English-medium secondary school (at grade 9), rather than continue to attend Māori-medium education. The reasons offered included wanting to follow family tradition, and preferring to attend a local school rather than travel a distance to the nearest Māori-medium secondary school.[5]

The students' aspirations beyond secondary school were wide-ranging. School I students discussed driving boats, playing professional rugby, becoming doctors or flight attendants, teaching, and driving trucks. School II students discussed journalism, scientific research, playing professional rugby league, working for a family companies and in the film industry. School III students discussed working in the music, cosmetics and fashion industries, acting, singing and hairdressing.

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[5] There are considerably fewer schools which offer Māori-medium education at the high school level and students often have to travel some distance to the closest school.

These responses indicate that the students have a wide range of aspirations, as might be expected from any grade 8 student from any ethnic group, both bilingual or monolingual.

10.10 Literacy Status of Students

The students' Māori and English reading and writing skills were assessed as part of this project[6]. This was particularly important to investigate as the total quantity of English instruction was far lower than their monolingual peers in mainstream English medium projects. The results from this would help to inform whether they were on track to become highly skilled bilinguals.

Their English reading skills were assessed using the New Zealand produced *Probe* resource (Parkin and Pool 2002). Based on a running record (Clay 1988),[7] this assessment resource offers graded texts with the addition of a number of comprehension questions. It was useful here because it assesses accuracy, fluency and comprehension. The students' Māori reading levels were sought from the classroom teachers. These data were used to gauge the balance between the two languages.

The students' writing skills were assessed by analysing Māori and English writing samples from students and by using a set of matrices developed from the New Zealand derived AsTTle resource (Hattie et al. 2004). This widely used New Zealand assessment measures student achievement (in both English and Māori) in the categories of audience awareness, content, language resources, grammar, spelling, punctuation and vocabulary, against the national curriculum levels.[8]

The grade 8 students of Schools I and II achieved the highest English reading results, with a mean reading age approximately 1 year below their mean chronological age (12.19 years for School I and 11.06 years for School II). School III students were approximately 2 years below their mean chronological age (10.61 years). The students' English writing assessments showed a similar pattern. Schools I and II students achieved age-appropriate writing levels at Level 4 of the

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[6] Hill assessed English reading and writing skills and Māori writing skills. He accessed the teachers' most recent records to gauge the students' Māori reading levels.

[7] A running record, an assessment developed by Marie Clay, is a means of documenting a student's individual reading of a continuous text. A running record can provide a way to assess an individual student's reading, determine appropriate levels of text for reading, and to inform teaching. Taken at intervals, these records can show growth over time in reading skills.

[8] The New Zealand Curriculum (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1993) provides guidelines for New Zealand schools teaching students from year 1 to year 13 (5–18 years). It divides student achievement into eight levels. This means that two school years approximate one curriculum level. This curriculum was superseded by a new curriculum in 2007 (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2007), and its Māori-medium equivalent in 2008 (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2008).

then national curriculum (Ministry of Education 1993). The students from School III reached Level 3, one curriculum level (or 2 years) below the level that would be considered appropriate for grade 8 students in English-medium programs.

The teachers provided their latest Māori reading assessment data using the Māori-medium designed framework, Ngā Kete Korero (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1999).[9] The results demonstrated that most students across all three schools already had age appropriate reading levels, or were approaching this level, in te reo Māori. At School III, however, the students' mean Māori reading levels exceeded the other schools with most grade 8 students reaching the next level, designated as appropriate for secondary school Māori-medium students. This result is very positive and to a degree reflects the higher number of hours that students were immersed in a Māori language instructional environment. However, caution needs to be taken with this finding, as the results are significantly higher than were achieved in the other two schools. Furthermore, the writing samples in te reo Māori from School III did not reflect the same high levels of literacy in these students, as might be expected if the reading results are so high.[10] The Māori writing assessments showed similar results in the three schools. Schools II and III students reached Level 4 of the national curriculum (the age appropriate level). School I grade 8 students scored marginally below this.

The results of the English and Māori literacy assessments showed that the quantity and quality of exposure to formal English language instruction corresponded to the students' levels of attainment. The greater the exposure and the higher the quality of the program resulted in higher student achievement. The sound level of Māori and English literacy attainment at Schools I and II would indicate that these students are progressing towards the objective of becoming biliterate. However, at School III, while the students' Māori literacy levels were high, their English skills were still significantly behind the Māori levels. This could become an issue, particularly as some of the students were considering graduating to an English-medium secondary school the following year.

10.11   Conclusions

This chapter has discussed how Level 1 Māori medium programs still struggle to find a balance between the target language instruction (te reo Māori) and English. These difficulties stem from historical perceptions of the need to safeguard

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[9] Ngā Kete Korero is a Māori language framework for identifying levels of language difficulty in junior primary/elementary reading texts.

[10] The task of reading te reo Māori fluently is relatively easy to accomplish once learners have sound phonemic knowledge. As such, conducting assessments using fluency as a sole measure can cause results to be unreliable. It may have been the case that the students of School III were highly fluent readers of Māori, but their comprehension did not match this.

indigenous languages, which translate into schools seeking to minimize English exposure in favour of Māori language exposure. In more recent years, Level 1 Māori-medium programs have increasingly attempted to provide a greater balance in instruction. This chapter provided evidence from three such programs – two, in particular – which were able to achieve a better balance between the languages of instruction. Despite each school providing very low levels of English instruction, when compared with international norms, two of the three were able to raise the students' English literacy levels to within reach of their te reo Māori level.

Data gathered from the year 8 students also confirmed that their respective programs had many positive features and were proving satisfactory at achieving their aspirations. They enjoyed being involved in Māori medium education and in becoming/being bilingual. Importantly for most of them, being immersed in this context has been a part of their lives that they have always known, so it was natural for them. Their perceptions about their two languages also supported the argument that a balance between the languages was being reached. Most students felt confident using te reo Māori. However, English was still a very important aspect of their lives. They preferred to use English in most instances outside the classroom. This reflects the reality that, for most of them, English was their first language and still prevailed in areas outside of the immediate school environment.

The students highlighted two areas as being particularly important to them, including having meaningful relationships with their teachers and being exposed to an engaging English language program. At Schools I and II, where the programs were more extensive and better organized, the students felt highly engaged to learn English. This contrasted with the School III students who were critical of the timing and content of the English program. The level of attainment from the Māori and English literacy assessments also reflected this pattern, with School III students achieving at overall lower levels than students at Schools I and II.

For most of the students, their Māori language literacy levels were strong. Importantly, their English literacy skills were also approaching their te reo Māori levels, despite the far lower levels of exposure to academic English in formal situations. This demonstrates that for at least two of the three schools, the struggle to negotiate the balance between the treatment of the two languages had been largely successful, as the students shared positive perceptions about learning English and their English literacy achievement was sound. For the students of School III, whose English achievement was not as advanced, this school has yet to find a satisfactory remedy for this challenge.

Finally, this study shows that Māori-medium students have aspirations beyond secondary school. They expressed their ambitions to join a range of vocations when they graduate from school, including careers requiring university degrees, such as teaching, journalism, and medicine. Other students aspired to working in music, film, sports and the cosmetics industry. These aims will be achievable for these students provided their schools implement programs that continue to cater for both their English and Māori language needs.

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Chapter 11
Critical Classroom Practices: Using "English" to Foster Minoritized Languages and Cultures in Oaxaca, Mexico

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Abstract Mexican children grow up in a society where English and Spanish are associated with "development" and economic success and *minoritized* Indigenous languages with backwardness marginalization. In the context of Oaxaca, the most culturally and linguistically diverse state in Mexico, the chapter aims (1) to present ethnographic portraits of two Indigenous-background student teachers of English who conducted their teaching "praxicum" in an Mexican Indigenous community; and (2) to present classrooms practices, developed by these two student teachers with a critical language educator, which attempt to foster Indigenous languages, interculturalism and egalitarian societies. Taking critical pedagogies and language learning and the notion of 'identity texts' (Cummins J, Identity texts: the imaginative construction of self through multiliteracies pedagogy. In: García O, Skutnabb-Kangas T, Torres-GuzmánImagining ME (ed) Multilingual schools. Multilingual Matters, Toronto, pp 51–68, 2006) as its theoretical basis, the chapter develops three main themes: (a) respecting Indigenous community practices; (b) considering children's lives and contexts as the foundation of classroom practices; and (c) seeing teachers and children as authors of identity texts. It is argued that international languages can be used to promote minority languages if taught critically.

Keywords Language teacher education • Identity texts • Mixtec • Indigenous language • English • Spanish • Critical pedagogy

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11.1 Introduction

The presence of English in Mexican society and schools has been a contested issue. On one hand, government officials and intellectuals have been concerned with the "threat" that English poses to Mexico's national language and sovereignty (Heath 1972; Zavala 1996) and have defended the Spanish language from the English invasion. There are also nationalistic views: "... vis-a-vis the US, Mexico's neighbour, the Spanish heritage creates bonds of solidarity that help to resist the penetration of English and cultural aggression from the north" (Hamel 1994, p. 292). On the other hand, even though most politicians, intellectuals, and people in Mexico hold ambivalent attitudes toward English (Francis and Ryan 1998), they send their children to private bilingual (English/Spanish) elementary schools, so that the children can learn English from a young age. (Regarding elite bilingual schools in Mexico, see the 2003 special issue of Mextesol Journal.) In addition, due to the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1991, the English language has become more prevalent throughout Mexico including public elementary schools. In 2008, the federal government decided to bring the English language to all fifth- and sixth-grade classrooms in public schools, by way of Inglés Enciclomedia, an interactive computer program. (For a critical analysis of this program, see López Gopar et al. 2009.)

In the arguments regarding the place of English in Mexican society and schools, Indigenous languages have been forgotten or set aside. Over 60 Indigenous languages have survived almost 300 years of Spanish colonization (1519–1810) and then approximately 200 years of "independent" Mexico (1810-present). During this latter period, the "common rhetoric" has held that we need the Spanish language as a national unifying force and thus need to eliminate Indigenous languages and cultures (Garza Cuarón 1997). Indigenous languages therefore have struggled to survive in Indigenous bilingual schools located in rural areas. These languages are now being "reinvented" in urban centres to which Indigenous people have migrated since the 1940s.

Oaxaca, the home state of 16 Indigenous groups in Mexico, has one of the highest migration rates in Mexico (Pimienta Lastra and Vera Bolaños 2005). Indigenous peoples in Oaxaca have migrated to different cities within Oaxaca, to other states in Mexico, and to other countries, mainly the USA. (For an ethnographic account of the transborder lives of Indigenous peoples, see Stephen 2007; also, for migration destinations in the USA see Huizar Murillo and Cerda 2002). For many Indigenous communities, migration has turned into a new initiation ritual which prepares children and young people for the contemporary world (Barabas and Bartolomé 1999). However, López Hernández (2002) and Acevedo Conde (2007a, b) state that migration has resulted in the loss of linguistic and ethnic identity. In addition, due to this Indigenous migration to the USA and the countless Indigenous returnees, and due to the media and new educational reforms, the discourses of English as the language of power and technology have made their way into rural communities in Mexico; and as a result, Indigenous parents want to

add English to their children's linguistic repertoires (López Gopar and Clemente 2011).

The context of this chapter is a rural Indigenous community of Mixtec heritage in Oaxaca. This Mixtec community is currently participating in a Critical Ethnographic Action Research Project ("CEAR Project" henceforth) whose goal is to use English as a pretext to foster multilingualism and interculturalism. Taking critical pedagogies and language learning (Pennycook 2001; Norton and Toohey 2004) as well as the notion of identity texts (Cummins 2006) as its theoretical basis, this chapter has a two-fold purpose: (1) to present ethnographic portraits of two Indigenous student teachers of English who conducted their teaching "praxicum" (term defined below) in the aforementioned community, and (2) to discuss the classroom practices carried out by these two teachers in the same community in order to foster Indigenous languages, interculturalism and egalitarian societies. In order to fulfil the second purpose, this chapter will develop three main theme emerging from the same classroom practices: (a) respecting Indigenous community practices; (b) considering children's lives and contexts as the foundation of classroom practices; and (c) seeing teachers and children as authors of identity texts.

In this chapter, in order to develop the above two-fold purpose and arrive at the above themes, we first present an overview of the state of Indigenous peoples and their languages in Mexico, while focusing on the Mixtec ethnic group and the Mixtec community in which this research took place. Secondly, we present the CEAR Project and introduce the research methodology. Third, we present ethnographic portraits of the student teachers participating in the CEAR Project. Finally, we discuss the above three themes emerging from classroom practices that attempted to connect the "English" classes to children's realities and to bring English, Spanish and Indigenous languages to the same level of importance.

11.2 Oaxaca, Indigenous Peoples, Mixtecs and Nundichi

The State of Oaxaca is located in the southern part of Mexico, close to Guatemala. Its ecological diversity and beauty is juxtaposed with the poverty of its inhabitants. The poverty level and marginalization of Indigenous people have their roots in Oaxaca's history of colonization (Murphy and Stepick 1991). Oaxaca has a population of 3,801,962 (INEGI 2010). According to the 2010 state census, 13 % of the total population has received no schooling and only 10 % has reached the level of higher education. The state average for formal schooling is grade 7. In other words, the average person in Oaxaca studies up to the first year of secondary education (junior high school). In addition, approximately 20 % earn the equivalent of two minimum wages (59 pesos for 8 or more hours of work per day). In sum, over two and a half million people in Oaxaca live in poverty.

Oaxaca is the most culturally and linguistically diverse state in Mexico. The population includes distinct Indigenous ethnic groups such as the Zapotecs, Mixtecs, Chatinos, Triquis, and Mixes, to mention a few (cf. Barabas and

Bartolomé 1999). In Oaxaca, one of every three people speaks an Indigenous language; however, Spanish is the *de facto* official language. The Indigenous population is 1,165,186, of which at least 85 % live in poverty (INEGI 2010).

Barabas (1999) argues that the number of Indigenous people in Oaxaca should be counted as being much higher and that the exaggerated proportion of those who identify with the so-called non-Indigenous (*mestizo*) population is the result of Indigenous identity loss and cultural elements tied to Indigenous languages: ". . . speaking a 'dialect' [pejorative term to refer to Indigenous languages] is considered a custom of Indians, associated with an inferior identity" (p. 164, our translation). In other states of Mexico, being a Oaxacan is often equated with being an Indigenous and formally uneducated person. Hence, "many Indigenous peoples deny their ethnicity, language and culture" (López Hernández 2002, p. 5, our translation). Despite linguistic and racist attitudes (Montes García 2004) and thanks to Indigenous educators' activism (Hernández Díaz 2004), 16 Indigenous languages of Oaxaca have been officially recognized by the government. (For a map of Oaxaca and its Indigenous languages, see http://www.ieepo.gob.mx/2n1.htm). However, there are many more languages spoken in the state of Oaxaca. The number depends on the criteria selected to categorize these languages. For instance, the "Zapotec" language, which officially is considered "one language," has "possibly 40 variants reciprocally unintelligible" (Summer Institute of Linguistics 2012, n.p.). In other words, people who speak "Zapotec" in one community may not understand the "Zapotec" spoken in another community. Hence, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (2012, n.p.) labels the Indigenous languages by adding the name of the community (e.g., Zapoteca de Amatlán).

In terms of the number of speakers, the Mixtec language is second only to the Zapotec language. According to the last census (INEGI 2010), there are 476,472 speakers of "Lenguas Mixtecas" or Mixtec varieties. In this census, six main varieties were considered: Mixtec, Mixtec from the Coast, Mixtec from the high region, Mixtec from the low region, Mixtec from the Mazatec Area, and Mixtec from the neighboring state of Puebla. The Mixtec region of Oaxaca has been affected by drought and land erosion for decades, which has caused the emigration of this ethnic group. Acevedo Conde (2007a, b) states that according to official figures, approximately 200,000 Oaxacans live in the USA. Most of them are from the Mixtec region of Oaxaca. Mixtecs live mainly in San Diego County, Sonoma County, Ventura County, and San Joaquin Valley, all located in California. Stephen (2007) also reports the presence of Mixtecs in the state of Oregon.

Mixtec people have experienced discrimination in their new places of residence and the loss of their linguistic and ethnic identity. In a study of English teachers in the city of Oaxaca, Mexico, López Gopar et al. (2006) document the discrimination suffered by two Mixtec university students throughout their studies. One of the students stated:

> When I was in high school, I used to deny I spoke Mixteco because if they see you speak Mixteco, people think that you don't know anything. They discriminated you. That is why I prefer to say I spoke only Spanish. This still happens to students who are in the university level here in Oaxaca in different faculties like accounting and architecture (p. 99).

Julián Caballero (2002) has also reported the struggles faced by Mixtec speakers in the Mexican education system. This discrimination has led Mixtec parents to stop teaching Mixtec to their children. Igabe (2012) states that the mayor of a Mixtec community reports that 90 % of the Indigenous people residing in the Mixtec region "have lost their Mixtec identity due to the fact that they consider speaking an Indigenous language synonymous with poverty and discrimination" (n.p., our translation). This mayor also emphasizes that people of Mixtec origin, especially children, are forgetting their Mixtec language and giving more importance to foreign languages such as English.

In order to problematize this issue, two Indigenous student teachers of English from the public state university of Oaxaca conducted their *praxicum* as part of the CEAR project (below). This praxicum was carried out in Nundichi, a Mixtec community. Hence, we focus now on Nundichi.

Nundichi is an agricultural community located in the heart of the Mixtec region of Oaxaca. Nundichi is close to San Juan Ñumi and Tlaxiaco, which was considered the "Little Paris" of Oaxaca due to its importance in commerce at the end of the 1800s. Cold and humid, Nundichi has a climate conducive to the local agriculture. Approximately 90 % of the people in Nundichi cultivate crops such as corn, beans and tomatoes. The cultivation of tomatoes, in particular, has been done through communal green houses. In addition, people in Nundichi raise chickens, turkeys, goats, lambs, and cows for self-consumption. Other people in Nundichi make handicrafts out of natural materials from palm trees. On Saturdays, many people from Nundichi go to Tlaxiaco to sell their produce, animals and handicrafts at the weekly market and to buy supplies and goods.

Nundichi is a Mixtec-speaking community. According to the statistics provided by the town mayor, 87 % of the people speak Mixtec as their native language. Nundichi practices *comunalidad*, which, according to Meyer (2010), refers to Indigenous practices that "reach far beyond Western ideas of cooperation, collectivization, or social concern for the other" (p. 23). Pursuant to *comunalidad*, general assemblies or "town meetings" are held. In Nundichi, decisions pertaining to the well-being of the community are reached through general assemblies, which can be considered "the expression and patient consideration of many disparate points of views, collective and critical discussion, and consensual decision making" (Meyer 2010, p. 20). These assemblies are conducted in Mixtec. In Nundichi, people also engage in *tequio*, which, according to Flores Quintero (2004), refers to the community work that Indigenous peoples undertake as a moral obligation and without pay. For instance, if a road needs to be cleared out, everybody helps without receiving payment.

Even though the use of Mixtec is vibrant in Nundichi, the hegemony of Spanish and the "importance" of English make their way in through different institutions, migration and the media. In Nundichi, there is a Catholic church, a municipal building, a kindergarten, an elementary school, a secondary school, and a clinic. Maldonado Alvarado (2002) states that the Spanish and later the liberal non-Indigenous or mestizo Mexicans attempted to dominate Indigenous communities through these institutions and impose the Spanish language in place

of the Indigenous languages since institutions operate mainly in Spanish. Because these institutions are considered official and wield power, their use of Spanish sends a strong message to the children: that the children's heritage, values and language are not worthy enough and should be replaced by Spanish and "Western" ideas (Meyer and Maldonado Alvarado 2010). English has also been introduced to Nundichi through schools, media, movies, TV programs, and advertisements from English language institutes claiming that English will changes peoples' lives. In addition, migration to the USA is a common phenomenon among Nundichi people. This has also brought English to the community.

11.3   The CEAR Project

The CEAR Project is a response to a world phenomenon that places English over other hegemonic languages like Spanish and French, and especially over Indigenous languages struggling to survive in developing countries and in communities like Nundichi. The CEAR project, carried out since 2007 in different Oaxacan rural, urban and semi-urban schools, community centres and a non-profit library in the city of Oaxaca, is a university-based initiative led by Mario López-Gopar with the collaboration of student teachers of the English language. The CEAR project uses English as a pretext to foster multilingual practices and interculturalism. Dietz (2003) argues that multiculturalism acknowledges the existence of different cultures but does not challenge the inequities among them. Interculturalism, on the other hand he argues, challenges these inequities and promotes understanding, valuing and learning among cultures.

The CEAR Project also attempts to develop teaching expertise and to co-construct affirming identities among all the participants. In the CEAR Project, language educators from the Faculty of Languages of the University of Oaxaca collaborate with student teachers of English who do their teaching "praxicum" (see below) in pairs in the aforementioned settings. These pairs of student teachers, usually 8–10 pairs per academic year, meet on a weekly basis to share experiences and connect their praxicum to theory, the socio-cultural context in which they teach, and their own lives.

In the CEAR Project, we have developed the concept of teaching *praxicum*. The construct of "praxicum" stems from the concept of "praxis" proposed by Freire (1970) while connecting with the concept of student teachers' "practicum." Freire (1970) argues that reflection with no action is "blah." Action without reflection is activism in the manipulative sense. Praxis requires reflection plus action. In teacher preparation programs, the word practicum is typically used to refer to student teachers' application of theory and knowledge acquired in their teaching preparation program to their classroom practice. Johnson (2006) refers to this phenomenon as the "theory/practice dichotomy" (p. 240). This is a technical view of teaching in which student teachers are consumers and applicators of theories (McLaren 2003). In our view of praxicum, student teachers are considered individuals who can create

theories before, while, and after they teach (practice). Student teachers hence become "critical action researchers" from day one in their placement classrooms. In critical action research, interventions are the heart of research projects. In our case, our interventions occur throughout the CEAR Project in formal interviews, informal conversations, and in the classes during the praxicum.

In addition, the term "praxicum" underscores that the student teachers' classroom practice is connected to the historical and sociopolitical milieu where teachers teach *and* learn from students while working towards their own professional development, their students' literacy and language development, and the co-construction of egalitarian societies. The student teachers' praxicum is constrained by the context but can also serve as a starting point to change that context.

The CEAR Project takes critical pedagogies and language learning as its theoretical basis. Freire (1970, 1994) argues that critical pedagogy need not be followed but rather reinvented in different contexts. In other words, Freire maintains that critical pedagogy is not a prescriptive method, and that critical pedagogy changes according to the context. Norton and Toohey (2004), taking Freire's ideas, use the plural "critical pedagogies" to reject the one-size-fits-all approach to language teaching across different settings. In this volume, different language educators present their reinventions of critical pedagogies in their own contexts: some language educators working with teachers, others with adult learners while others with young adults in different countries.

In the CEAR Project, critical language pedagogy is reinvented by each pair of student teachers in their different classes, having as a basic principle that both teachers and children have a lot to teach each other. They also regard each other as "subjects" of their own histories but capable of transforming their historical conditions (Cummins 2000). Hence, in the CEAR Project, the life histories of student teachers and children are highly relevant since they are the "subjects" that attempt to contest linguistic and ethnic hegemony of the Spanish language and the Spanish and mestizo groups. Their life histories are also relevant because they represent the standard against which theories, language policies, curricula, textbooks, and materials are measured.

In order to reinvent critical pedagogies in the CEAR Project and bring student teachers and children's life stories to the forefront, we rely on the notion of "identity texts" developed by Cummins (2006). The student teachers invest their own identities and those of the children in their classes through the development of identity texts, which Cummins (2006) defines as "the products of students' creative work or performances" (p. 60). Cummins (2001) also states:

> Students will be reluctant to invest their identities in the learning process if they feel their teachers do not like them, respect them, and appreciate their experiences and talents. In the past, students from marginalized social groups have seldom felt this sense of affirmation and respect for language and culture from their teachers. Consequently their intellectual and personal talents rarely found expression in the classroom. (p. 124)

One of the ways students feel that their talents and identities are recognized, valued, respected, and affirmed in classrooms is through the creation of students' own texts, their own stories. It is in these stories that students invest their identities and thus become protagonists. In the CEAR Project, texts can be written, visual, multimodal, signed or spoken, and multilingual. In other words, all the materials created by the student teachers and the children are considered identity texts since they are connected to their own life histories and realities.

11.4 Methodology and Overview of the Student Teachers' Praxicum

The CEAR Project's methodology is a fusion of critical ethnography and critical action research. The growth of critical ethnography has resulted from researchers being dissatisfied with other theories and methods that have been unable to ask and answer fundamental social questions (Anderson 1989). Critical action research, inspired by Freire's work, takes a step forward and acts on those social questions (e.g. McTaggart 1997; Reason and Bradbury 2001).

Critical ethnography is committed to social justice. Higgins and Coen (2000), who worked in Oaxaca, argued that their way of doing critical ethnography was through *ethnographic praxis*, by linking their research to issues of social justice and its objectives to the desires and concerns of those with whom they were working. Critical ethnography is committed to social justice by carving out spaces for participants' stories to be heard in order to expose practices that are socially unjust and to raise awareness with the "hope" that societal inequities and oppressive practices will be resolved (Jordan and Yeomans 1995).

In critical action research, interventions are the heart of research projects. Interventions are in many ways part of the praxis proposed by Freire (1970). These interventions turn "hope" into actions. In our case, our interventions occur throughout the CEAR Project in formal interviews with the children, informal conversations with children and parents, and in the classes we have with the children. In the CEAR Project, teacher educators and student teachers within a school or a community, using the English language as a pretext to foster multilingualism, interculturalism and affirming identities among all the participants. The teacher educators and student teachers get to know the community and children's lives in order to develop critical thematic units pertinent to the context. Then, the student teachers carry out their teaching praxicum, in which the role of "teacher" and "learner" is not fixed since student teachers are there not only to teach but also to learn from the children.

The praxicum we describe in this chapter was carried out in Nundichi, the Mixtec community described above, by Narcedalia and Arcadio, two student teachers, in collaboration with Mario, the teacher educator. In Nundichi, Narcedalia and Arcadio conducted a 40-h praxicum throughout three and half months in the

Fig. 11.1 Children from
Nundichi

spring. They met with the children from 10:00 to 1:30 p.m. on Sundays in a classroom provided by the mayor. This class had 15 chairs, which were not enough for the 30 children who attended the praxicum. Hence, Narcedalia and Arcadio used *petates* (mats made from palm leaves) to accommodate the children (Fig. 11.1).

The ages of the children ranged from 6 to 14. Some of the children had to walk for about an hour to attend the sessions. During their praxicum, Narcedalia and Arcadio developed a critical thematic unit entitled "All about me and my community." The main message they wanted to convey to the children was that the children's lives, heritage, languages, values and customs were valued and that they could freely use Mixtec, Spanish and English in the classroom.

Narcedalia and Arcadio collected data before and during the praxicum. Before the praxicum, the data collected included ethnographic field notes, interviews with the mayor, and informal conversations with parents, teachers and children. Narcedalia and Arcadio spent several weekends in the community to learn more about it and understand the sociocultural and economic context of their praxicum. They met with the mayor to discuss the goals of the praxicum and to learn more about the community. They took field notes about their observations as well as their meetings with the mayor. They also held informal conversations with teachers, parents and children as they were advertising their praxicum and trying to recruit students. While they were doing ethnographic work in Nundichi, they each also wrote an autobiography (as referred to in the following section).

During the praxicum, Narcedalia and Arcadio collected data in several ways. Narcedalia and Arcadio audio-recorded all their classes. They also kept a diary of all the classes. On some occasions, they video-recorded some segments of their classes. They also took photographs of their classes. The materials and children's work samples were either photographed or scanned. In order to learn more about the children, Narcedalia and Arcadio interviewed children representing the different ages in the classroom. These interviews were audio-taped and later transcribed.

During the praxicum, Narcedalia, Arcadio and Mario analyzed the data in order to identify emerging themes and adjust the praxicum accordingly. The data was analyzed in a recursive and reiterative manner throughout the praxicum through weekly meetings with other student teachers conducting their praxicum somewhere else. Also, Mario held weekly meetings with Narcedalia and Arcadio to discuss their sessions, to plan ahead, to connect their praxicum with the general context of Oaxaca and the Mixtec region, and to start identifying emerging themes.

11.5 Ethnographic Portraits of Arcadio and Narcedalia

In the CEAR Project, the lives of student teachers and children are essential. Life stories have been absent in the literature, especially in applied linguistics focusing on children. (For a recent exception, see Denos et al. 2009; for a collection of essays, novels, and poems by 30 authors who once were language minority students, see Santa Ana 2004.) Teachers and student teachers are typically portrayed generically, as if their personal background would have no connection to the curriculum. In the CEAR Project, in contrast, the lives of the student teachers are intrinsically connected to all areas of the praxicum as they are the agents of change. Hence, in this section, we present ethnographic portraits of the student teachers. These portraits were developed from the student teachers' autobiographies and further enhanced by Mario's semi-structured interviews with the student teachers.

11.5.1 Arcadio

Arcadio Delgado Jimenez is a graduate from the BA program in Teaching English as a Foreign Language at the University of Oaxaca. Arcardio was born in Tlaxiaco, the biggest town in the Mixtec region, where Spanish is predominantly used. Arcadio grew up in Ocotepec, a Mixtec community, due to his mother's work as an elementary school teacher. "My childhood was happy because I was always with my mother and we travelled every weekend to Tlaxiaco . . . since we did not have enough money to commute every day."

Arcadio grew up as an emergent bilingual. He considers Spanish his first language. Even though Arcadio is not a fluent speaker of the Mixtec language, he

understands some of it. "I remember in my childhood in Ocotepec I had a friend named Josue, who used to teach me some words in Mixtec. When he would see a girl passing by, he would have me say some phrases in Mixtec. . . . However, some of those phrases would be bad words, but I didn't know what I was saying." Arcadio also learned some Mixtec from his mother. "My mother taught me some words in Mixtec . . . something that was very interesting was that she taught me how to say some words in Mixtec from Chalcatongo, which is her hometown . . . maybe because she wanted me to learn that Mixtec and not the Mixtec from Ocotepec . . . because she may have thought that Mixtec from Chalcatongo is the best. First she taught me words in Mixtec from Chalcatongo, and afterwards she would teach how to say those words in Mixtec from Ocotepec. I also practiced Mixtec from Ocotepec because I listened to how people spoke."

Arcadio became an independent person at a young age, but lost contact with the Mixtec language. His mother decided that he should study in his hometown since she was relocated to a different community. Even though his mother would come to visit Arcadio three times a week, "it was very difficult because I was used to being with my mother". When the food at home ran out, Arcadio himself would cook and eat fried eggs and bring fried-egg tacos to school. At school, his classmates would call him *huevito frito* (little fried egg) because of this.

Music became an important part of Arcadio's life. "In secondary school, I learned to play flute." With the help of a band leader, Arcadio learned to play the clarinet. Arcadio participated in music events at school and won several competitions. He was later asked to join a band in another community and he started to make some money. "I started to earn money playing and I was happy because I could help my mother with my expenses . . . My mother was spending a lot of money since my sister Luz had started medical school."

Arcadio moved to the city of Oaxaca, 3 h away from his hometown, to pursue higher education. While he was in high school in the city of Oaxaca, he lived with his older brother and experienced a lot of financial difficulties. "Sometimes we didn't have money to buy some material that teachers asked for at school and sometimes we didn't have money to buy anything to eat." In order to make money, on the weekends, he would return to his hometown to work at his older brother's car wash or play in a band at a party.

Arcadio enrolled in the Faculty of Languages to become an English teacher. This was his second choice since he did not have the money to afford a major in sports education. The major in teaching English was a challenge for Arcadio: "At the beginning it was difficult for me because I couldn't speak English, and it was hard to learn . . . I almost quit because I didn't have money to spend or to buy books." The financial situation of Arcadio's family was so critical that Arcadio's older brother quit architecture school and migrated to the USA. Arcadio continued to support himself with the little support his mother would give him and by commuting to his hometown to work at the car wash left behind by his older brother and to play in a band.

Arcadio has plans for his future now that he has finished his degree:

> I would like to get a good job and to help to my mother principally in building a house for her. Also, I would like to visit some cities around the world to get more knowledge and to know more things around the world.

11.5.2 Narcedalia

Narcedalia Jimenez Morales is also a graduate from the BA program in Teaching English as a Foreign Language at the University of Oaxaca. She was born in a town called Santa Catarina Yosonotu, and she grew up in a big Mixtec family with five brothers and three sisters. "Two of my sisters and two of my brothers live in the USA, and three brothers and one sister live in Tlaxiaco." At a young age, Narcedalia left her hometown. "I was four years old when we left our hometown and moved to Tlaxiaco. My mother decided to live in Tlaxiaco because we had some problems with my father's mother."

Narcedalia grew up in a Mixtec-speaking family and learned Spanish in the community and at school.

> When we arrived to Tlaxiaco, my mother sent to me to the kindergarten close to my house. During the break my mother would bring lunch with the hand-made tortillas she had just prepared. "*Yaa yo stajiniroo ji toliro*" ("Here are your tacos and atole [a corn-based drink].")... When I was with my mother, we always talked in Mixtec because she spoke to me in Mixtec since I was a baby. Also we talked in Mixtec because she spoke very little Spanish and she felt more comfortable speaking in Mixtec.

Narcedalia also spoke Mixtec with her grandmother who helped her develop it more: "When I didn't know how to say a word in Mixtec, I would tell it to my Grandma in Spanish and she would answer in Mixtec." Concurrently, Narcedalia was learning Spanish with the Spanish-speaking children in the community: "Every night I played with my neighbors and practiced my Spanish."

Narcedalia had a tough time in elementary school. She attended an elementary school that was far from her house. "My class started at 7:00 A.M. For that reason, I needed to leave my home at 6 o'clock. My brother and I would walk for an hour." Narcedalia was a slow walker, which brought her terrible consequences. "When I arrived late, the teacher would beat me with a wooden stick. For that reason, when I was late, I didn't go to school and I spent my time playing in a river, which was near the school." Narcedalia's continuous skipping school affected her reading development:

> It was very difficult for me to learn to read. My teacher noticed that I couldn't read, so she decided to give me extra classes in the afternoons... I went to her house for two hours every day. After two months, I improved my reading skill and learned to read in Spanish.

At the end of her elementary school years, Narcedalia was able to move to a secondary school closer to home. At this time, her parents started a business selling fruit and household items in different communities.

My mother would accompany my father to sell. They went to different towns to get money, and it took them around twenty days to come back. My brothers and I had to stay without my parents. That was hard for me because I needed to make the food for myself and my younger twin brothers.

Narcedalia maintained this responsibility all the way through high school:

My life was the same because my parents continued selling. We had a better quality of life because we could buy the things we needed. I finished secondary school and enrolled in high school. My twin brothers were still in elementary school. For that reason, I chose the afternoon shift in my high school, so I had time to bring breakfast to my twin brothers every day. During the break in high school, I came back home to have lunch in order to save money. I also checked on my twin brothers to make sure they had already had lunch. It was hard for me because I had to take care of my brothers.

Narcedalia continued in this role until the end of high school when her mother came home due to illness:

My mother became diabetic, so she stopped working. I was happy because I could see her every day when I came back from the school, but at the same time we were very sad because we knew that she was sick.

With her mother's moral support, Narcedalia pursued university studies. She first wanted to study tourism administration, but this major was too expensive for her family. She had to choose something different: "I was confused because I didn't know what to study. However, I knew about the Faculty of Languages and I decided to give it a try." Narcedalia moved to the city to attend the BA program in teaching English, having to leave her mother and hometown behind:

When I came to Oaxaca, my mother was very sad because we were used to being together. However, she told me that to study was the best option because with this I would have more opportunities in life and would not suffer like her.

Unfortunately, Narcedalia lost her mother during her second year of the BA program: "When my mother died, I was very sad. Life made no sense because my mother was everything to me. I got depressed, and I didn't want to continue my studies." The death of Narcedalia's mother was also very hard on Narcedalia's siblings: "My younger brothers dropped out of school, and soon after my sister eloped with her boyfriend. My family did not have enough money and my father alone wasn't able to be in control of that situation."

Narcedalia overcame the loss of her mother and financial difficulties with the help of her boyfriend and one of her sisters. "My boyfriend helped me to overcome my situation. It was hard to leave my sadness behind. I started to work with my boyfriend in his car wash in order to get money to continue my studies." Luckily, Narcedalia's sister, who was living the USA, helped her, too. "Sometimes, my sister Paula would send me some money to get the things I needed."

With all these family and financial problems, Narcedalia had a rough start in her BA studies: "At the beginning of the BA, it was very hard for me because I didn't know any English." She improved little by little. Now that she has finished her degree, Narcedalia has plans for her near future. "Nowadays, I have improved my

English. However, I think that I need to practice more. For that reason, I would like to travel to the USA to practice my English."

11.6 Connecting Student Teachers' Life Stories to Their Praxicum

Both Narcedalia and Arcadio come from a Mixtec background. Their road to the BA in TESL followed different routes. Nevertheless, they both experienced financial difficulties and had to become independent from a young age. Narcedalia was fortunate enough to grow up with her family, so she could maintain her Mixtec. Even though Arcadio's case was different, he considers himself Mixtec "at heart."

The life stories of both Narcedalia and Arcadio were connected to lives of people living in Nundichi where they conducted their praxicum. They could relate to the reality of the children. They were also "insiders" in the community, which gave them access and a deep understanding of the sociocultural context in which their praxicum took place. Most importantly, they were critically aware of the hegemony of the Spanish language and the uncritical influence of the discourses regarding the English language in this Indigenous community. Hence, their praxicum was by no means "neutral," "objective," or "technical." They started their praxicum with a clear and open agenda. They were not just "English teachers"; they were "language educators" (López Gopar et al. 2006) who believed that English could be taught in a critical way that would respect Indigenous community practices, anchor the curriculum within children's lives, and tap into children's expertise and creativity in order to create authors in the classroom. This will be illustrated in the next three sections, where the data will be presented as narrative passages that were developed from the field notes, class observations, photos, and videos collected throughout the praxicum.

11.7 Respecting Indigenous Community Practices

Narcedalia and Arcadio walk into the Mayor's office. They explain to him the goal of the CEAR Project. Even though he welcomes and completely supports the project, he asks them to come back next week to present it before the general assembly. Next week, Narcedalia and Arcadio join the assembly, which is held in Mixtec. Arcadio presents in Spanish and the mayor translates into Mixtec, since Narcedalia got stage fright. People are interested in the project and ask different questions regarding the logistics of the course. The mayor makes sure there is consensus before welcoming the project.

In Indigenous communities, democracy is taken to a whole new level since they practice *comunalidad*. Decisions have to be made by reaching consensus. It is not a

matter of the "majority" accepting something. Everybody has to agree. The CEAR Project respects these Indigenous practices. In Nundichi, parents' consent was granted through the community assembly. Later on, children were also consulted about their participation. Narcedalia and Arcadio were aware that throughout history research has been done *on* Indigenous people and not *with* Indigenous people (Smith 1999). Having both grown up in Indigenous communities, they wanted to respect the parents' decisions regarding the inclusion of "English" in their children's lives. They took into account that parents and children wanted to add English to their linguistic repertoires; and they linked this desire to issues of social justice by emphasizing the importance of the Mixtec language. In Higgins and Coen's terms (2000), they were trying to construct "ethnographic praxis."

Narcedalia and Arcadio arrive half an hour before their class starts. They get the classroom key from the mayor. As they are about to start cleaning, two of the mothers and their children arrive to the class. "Maestra Narcedalia, let us help you clean." "Yes," adds the other mother. "We can do *tequio*. The children can help, too." When Narcedalia and Arcadio turn around, they see one of the children is sweeping the floor while another comes into the classroom with a bucket filled with water. Before they know it, the classroom has been cleaned in half of the time they had planned. This gives them time to engage in conversations with the mothers and the children.

As mentioned earlier, doing *tequio* [the community work that Indigenous peoples undertake as a moral obligation and without pay] is a communal practice carried out in most Indigenous communities around Oaxaca. Narcedalia and Arcadio had not planned to make this practice part of their praxicum. The mothers and children, however, reminded them that the teaching of English could also incorporate practices valued in the community. They noticed that as children and mothers engaged in cleaning the classroom, they were making it their own. Their acceptance of the mothers' suggestions sent a powerful message to the mothers: they and their Indigenous practices were welcome in the classroom. This differs greatly from traditional school practices, which have pushed parents and grandparents away from schools by making them feel that their knowledge is archaic, primitive and backward (Molina Cruz 2000; Maldonado Alvarado 2002; Rockwell 2004). Narcedalia and Arcadio also tried to bring children's lives and realities into their classes.

11.8   Children's Lives and Contexts as the Foundation of Classroom Practices

It is the first of day of classes. Narcedalia and Arcadio welcome the 30 children registered for the course. The class is a mixture of different ages. This is not atypical in small rural communities where due to lack of facilities and teachers, all the elementary school children end up in one class. Narcedalia and Arcadio introduce
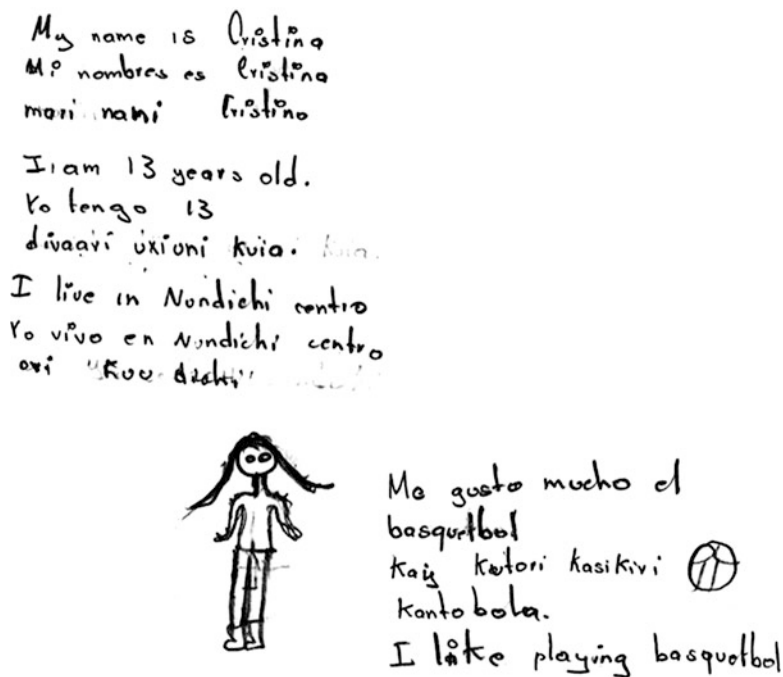
My name is Cristina
Mi nombres es Cristina
mari nani   Cristina

I am 13 years old.
Yo tengo 13
divaaví úxi uni kuia.

I live in Nondichi centro
Yo vivo en Nondichi centro
ori "Kuu dichi"

Me gusta mucho el
basquetbol
Kaiy kutori kasikivi
Kanto bola.
I like playing basquetbol

Fig. 11.2 Children's use of multilingualism from day 1

themselves in Spanish, the lingua franca, and have everybody do the same. Then, they repeat the activity in Mixtec. Everybody does it, except four children who do not want to do it because they can't speak Mixtec. However, Fredy, a fluent speaker of Mixtec, gets up and tells them: "I will help you say it in Mixtec." The four children try following Fredy's model and do it really well. It is now time to do it in English, and everybody points to Perla, a 7 year-old who was born in the USA and came back 2 years ago: "Teacher, Perla can speak English." Perla gets nervous because she is on the spot. She does it and then everybody gives it a try with Narcedalia and Arcadio's help. Multilingualism is set as classroom practice from Day 1 (Fig. 11.2).

Narcedalia and Arcadio were well aware that one of the key principles of critical pedagogy is to believe that students have much to teach and to contribute to the curriculum. As Freire (1970) argues, students are not blank slates or empty buckets waiting to be filled with knowledge. Even though Narcedalia and Arcadio are "English" teachers, the class is not an English-only zone. They bring the two languages most children have in their backpacks into the classroom. By doing so, Arcadio, who is not a fluent speaker of Mixtec, allows Fredy to take the stage as the expert in Mixtec; and Fredy does a very good job at sharing his "minoritized" language with Spanish-only speaking children. Children, knowing each other's background very well, readily attribute expert status to Perla, the Mexican-

Fig. 11.3 Children drawing market practices in their community

American person in the room. In critical pedagogy, expertise does not reside solely in the teacher (Freire 1970; Norton and Toohey 2004). Cummins (2001) argues that children's knowledge is encoded in the language(s) children bring to the classroom. Hence, by welcoming Spanish and Mixtec into the English classroom, Narcedalia and Arcadio also tapped into children's knowledge, as the next episode shows.

Narcedalia and Arcadio have taught the children how to say simple phrases in English to talk about themselves. They come into the classroom cognizant of the important role that agriculture and the market play in their students' lives. "Today, we are going to start talking about the market in Tlaxiaco. Why do you go there every Saturday?" Narcedalia speaks in Spanish to engage the whole class in the next topic. Many children raise their hands to provide information about the produce and animals their parents sell. With excitement, they continue sharing about all the activities people engage in during a market day. Narcedalia passes out a big piece of paper on which children will draw a market scene in preparation for their learning in English and in Mixtec for some of the children (Fig. 11.3).

From the ethnographic data about the community, it was clear that the lives of the Nundichi inhabitants revolved around the market day. Children were experts in market practices. During class, everybody had something to share about what people do, what they buy and sell, and especially how this helps their family's economy. From a young age, children participate in market day and in preparations for it. Many children from the class collaborated at home by helping their parents in the greenhouses or by looking after the animals, which would be later sold or exchanged at the market day. Children's expertise was clearly evident in their drawings and comments regarding the importance of the market day in their lives. Narcedalia and Arcadio used this strong foundation to transfer this knowledge into English. In addition, during

Fig. 11.4 Children creating their own materials

Narcedalia and Arcadio's praxicum, the materials were created by the students with Narcedalia's and Arcadio's assistance. In other words, they created identity texts throughout their praxicum. This is the focus of the next section.

11.9   Teachers and Children as Authors of Identity Texts

Narcedalia and Arcadio have taught vocabulary regarding vegetables, fruits and animals grown and raised in the community. They have also taught colors and numbers along with grammatical patterns for children to create sentences such as "In Nundichi, people grow tomatoes. People sell tomatoes at the market." Children have learned this vocabulary in different ways: through repetition, games and songs. Narcedalia and Arcadio have made up during their praxicum. Especially, students' learning has occurred through their involvement in creating all the materials. The depiction of vegetables, fruits and animals in their community is their own. Narcedalia and Arcadio make the lack of resources (computers, printers, etc.) work to their advantage as they make everything from scratch with the children (Fig. 11.4).

During their praxicum, Narcedalia and Arcadio had the children create their own materials. McKay and Bokhorst-Heng (2008) argue that

> An . . . issue that is evident in a good deal of ELT [English Language Teaching] materials is a discourse of Othering in which those from Western Inner Circle are portrayed as having modern and desirable behaviour while those from other cultures, who exhibit other ways of doings things, are seen as backward and lacking (p. 184).

Fig. 11.5 Ernesto next to the poster with medicinal plants

In order to avoid this "Othering" discourse, Narcedalia and Arcadio ensured that the teaching materials (Fig. 11.4 above) originated from the children's lives and hands. Having the children create their own materials was also an excellent way to make the best out of the lack of financial and technological resources in Nundichi. Most importantly, it was the perfect way to have children's knowledge and lives validated. Besides, it was a way for children to display their art skills and engage in their learning. The same thing occurred when children produced other texts.

Narcedalia and Arcadio are wrapping up their praxicum after having taught for 3 months. They have two more classes to teach. The children come into their classrooms with different plants they have brought from home. Their assignment was to gather medicinal plants their grandmothers and mothers use on them as remedies. The knowledge passed through generations is evident as the children share the different uses of the plants. Ernesto starts sharing about *chamiso blanco*: "My grandmother uses *chamiso blanco* when we have fever. We put the *chamiso blanco* on our chest and when the *chamiso* gets dry, the fever is gone." Ernesto's presentation is backed up by other children's claims that their mothers do the same. Anahi starts presenting and talks about the use of *yavi tataa* (aloe vera in Mixtec) for injuries, and *mirto*: "We use this plant whenever we have an earache. We put a leaf of *mirto* inside the ear and we get better very soon." Children create a poster with all the plants they brought to class (Fig. 11.5). Then they start creating a little book about the plants.

One of the main of goals of the CEAR Project is the co-creation of children's affirming identities. Narcedalia and Arcadio wanted children to feel proud of their culture and ways of knowing. During the praxicum, the children invested their

identities in the different texts and materials that they created. Cummins (2006) argues that identity texts:

> … hold a mirror up to students in which their identities are reflected back in a positive light. When students share identity texts with multiple audiences (peers, teachers, parents, grandparents, sister classes, the media, etc.) they are likely to receive positive feedback and affirmation of self in interaction with these audiences. … When this kind of expression [and interaction are] enabled, children come to see themselves as intelligent, imaginative and talented (pp. 60, 64; italics in original).

The recognition of children's intelligence is extended to their parents and grandparents. Narcedalia and Arcadio negotiated the children's identities, not only through their own stories, but also through the stories of their parents and grandparents. By engaging the knowledge inherent in the community, they used English to validate the Mixtec language and ways of knowing.

11.10   Conclusions

The future of Indigenous languages vis-à-vis other dominant languages and English, in particular, is not promising if English and other dominant languages are taught uncritically. As Pennycook (2006) argues:

> … if we are concerned about the relation between English and lesser used languages [and their speakers, we must add], the way forward may be not so much in terms of language policies to support other languages over English but rather in terms of opposing language ideologies that construct English in particular ways" (pp. 111–112).

Narcedalia and Arcadio's praxicum is a testament that English language teaching can be used in favour of Indigenous languages and Indigenous people's way of knowing. The use of multilingualism and Indigenous practices in English language classrooms challenges pervasive discourses that positions English as a superior language. Indigenous languages can thrive if teachers validate them in the classrooms.

The CEAR Project is being implemented in different contexts, including urban centres, with similar positive results (López Gopar et al. 2013). However, most of the CEAR projects have been carried as extracurricular activities. The ideal situation would be to implement the CEAR Project principles in official school programs, so that most Mexican children value Indigenous languages and ways of knowing. We have started preparing pre-service English teachers, such as Narcedalia and Arcadio, hoping they will continue fostering Indigenous languages in their future work places.

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Chapter 12
Multilingualism and European Minority Languages: The Case of Basque

Durk Gorter, Victoria Zenotz, Xabier Etxague, and Jasone Cenoz

Abstract This chapter provides a discussion of the significant changes for the Basque language in Spain and in France, in particular in multilingual education. The sociolinguistic situation underwent an important development based on a robust language policy in the Basque Autonomous Community. The revival of the minority language was much less in the province of Navarre and Northern Basque Country in France. The education policy faces the challenges of transforming a basically bilingual system into a multilingual system, with English as a third language at school and increasing number of home languages. The results for the achievement in the three languages taught, Basque, Spanish and English, are compared and an outline of some future directions is given.

Keywords Bilingualism • Language policy • Sociolinguistic survey • Proficiency • Basque • Spanish • English

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12.1   Introduction

In the late 1970s of the last century when democracy returned to the Basque Country in Spain, the main language of instruction in the schools was Spanish. The minority language, Basque, was only taught on a limited scale. Basque was in a precarious situation due to long term language shift that started in the nineteenth century and which was reinforced during almost 40 years of political dictatorship. The transition to democracy caused a strong reaction that resulted in far-reaching changes in the educational system of the Basque Autonomous Community. A robust policy aimed at language revival ('normalization') combined with substantial economic investments and a lot of human effort, activism and enthusiasm make Basque today in most schools the predominantly taught language. In some 30 years a complete turnaround of the language of instruction took place which is a unique feat among European minority languages, except for a similar process for the Catalan language in the autonomous community of Catalonia in Spain (Vila 2008). However, the Basque language is still classified as "vulnerable" according to UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley 2010). In the neighbouring province of Navarre, historically a part of the Basque Country, the language education policy was less strong and changes in the educational system were more moderate. Across the state border in France, in the Northern Basque Country the minority language is taught on a modest scale due to weak language policy measures and thus there language loss continues.

The three areas that make up the Basque Country demonstrate rather different developments, even if in the Basque Autonomous Community, the province of Navarre and the Northern Basque Country, nowadays largely the same Basque standard language is taught. Under these conditions of ongoing language endangerment and a change of the dominant language in the education system, schools face new challenges such as the increased importance of English as a global language and the arrival of immigrants that speak languages such as Arabic, Romanian or Portuguese. New forms of multilingual education need to be devised to cope with growing linguistic diversity.

In this chapter we will compare developments in the three areas of the Basque Country in the light of differences in the sociolinguistic contexts and differences in language education policy. In the chapter we describe and analyze current ways of dealing with different forms of multilingual education.

12.2   Sociolinguistic Context

Straddling the Pyrenees mountain range on the border between France and Spain and extending along the coast of the Gulf of Biscay, the Basque Country has a population of close to three million inhabitants. Historically the area is divided into seven provinces. The three historical territories of Araba, Bizkaia, and Gipuzkoa make
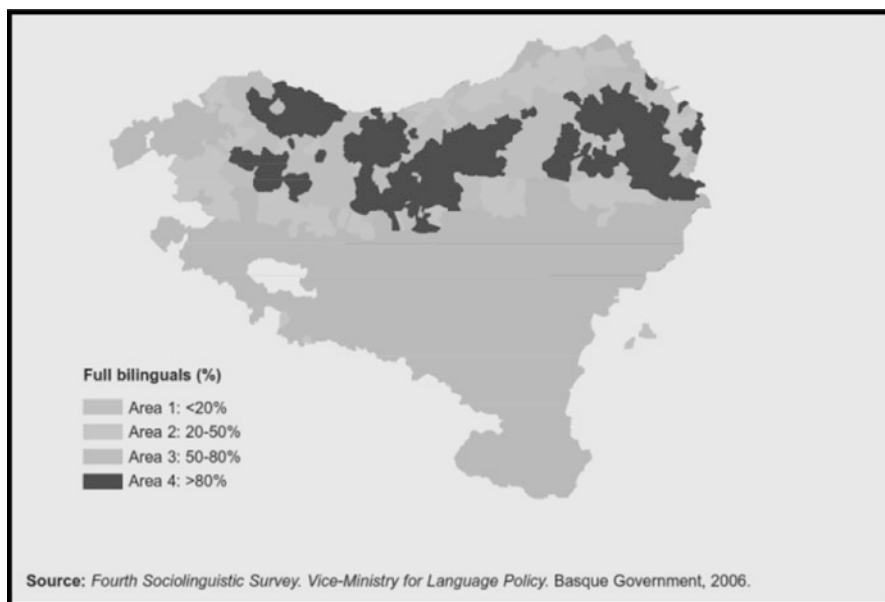
Fig. 12.1 Distribution of Basque speakers over the whole area of the Basque Country (aged 16 and over) (Source: Vice-Ministry for Language Policy 2012)

up the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC); together they have 2.1 million inhabitants. The province of Navarre, with 642.000 inhabitants, is administratively an autonomous community in Spain. The three provinces of Lapurdi (Labourd), Nafarroa Behera (Lower-Navarre) and Zuberoa (Soule) constitute the area also known as Iparralde, the Northern Basque Country, together the three have some 260.000 inhabitants and they are part of the administration of the French 'Départment des Pyrénées Atlantiques'. Following the division of the surveys by the Basque Government, we will give a summary of the sociolinguistic developments according to these three main areas: BAC, Navarre and Iparralde. The sociolinguistic surveys have been repeated every 5 years over the last 20 years and its data can illustrate the developments over the period 1991–2011 (Vice-Ministry for Language Policy 2012). We will discuss the geographic distribution, the language competence per area, the increase in speakers, language transmission, the use of Basque as reported and the use observed in the streets and the attitude towards the promotion of Basque.

The Basque language is distributed unevenly over the whole area of the Basque Country, as we can see in the map (Fig. 12.1). Large areas have less than 20 % Basque speakers, some areas have between 20 and 50 % or between 50 and 80 % and only in a relatively small part over 80 % of the inhabitants are Basque speakers, most of them in the historical province of Gipuzkoa and the north of Navarre. According to the 2011 data for the whole of the Basque Country there are 27 % bilinguals on average (Vice-Ministry for Language Policy 2012: 9). In the past Basque was more a language of the countryside than of the cities, but the sharp
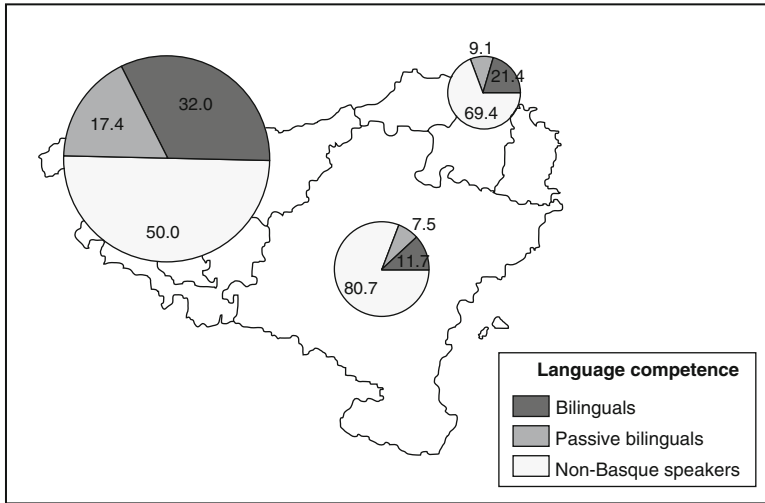
Fig. 12.2 Language competence in the three main areas of the Basque Country (in percentages; aged 16 and over). (Source: Vice-Ministry for Language Policy 2012: 9). NB: The size of each *circle* represents the size of the population of each area

geographic division has become less clear due to industrialization and urbanization. Today the majority of the inhabitants of the Basque Country live in one of the larger metropolitan areas of the cities of Bilbao (city 355.000; area one Million), Vitoria-Gasteiz (238.000), Donostia-San Sebastián (186.000; area 405.000), Pamplona-Iruñea (city 200.000; area 320.000) and Bayonne-Biarritz-Anglet (110.000).

It is common to refer to Basque speakers as 'full bilinguals' because all of them all speak the majority language Spanish or French. Part of the population can understand Basque, but does not speak it, those are referred to as 'passive bilinguals' and the remainder are monolingual speakers of Spanish or French, or 'non-Basque speakers'.

The differences between the three main areas are illustrated in the following figure taken from the 2011 sociolinguistic survey (Fig. 12.2).

The figure demonstrates the differences in language competence between the three main areas. In the BAC about 32 % of the population (aged 16 and over) is a bilingual Basque speaker, another 17.4 % can understand the language and 50.6 % is monolingual Spanish. We have to emphasize that these figures do not include the youngest age cohort (below 16 years). The percentages among the younger inhabitants would be considerably higher because of the important role of education in language revival, as we will see later.

In the two other areas the percentage of Basque speakers is much lower. In Iparralde just over one-fifth is bilingual Basque-French and about one in every eleven inhabitants can understand Basque but only speaks French. In the community of Navarre only one in nine persons can speak Basque and a small proportion

(7.5 %) is passive bilingual, but the large majority is monolingual in Spanish. These figures have been confirmed by a separate survey in 2008 of the situation of Basque in Navarre carried out by the government (Gobierno de Navarra 2012). With a slightly different wording it was found that 11.9 % of the population of Navarre knows how to speak Basque 'good' or 'very well', 6.2 % has some knowledge and 81.9 % knows nothing or can speak just a few words (Gobierno de Navarra 2012: 21). That same survey gives further details on the different zones inside the province. The competence in Basque varies from 57.9 % speaking competence in the North-east, to 9.5 % in the capital Pamplona-Iruñea, to 0.5 % in the Southern zone (around the town of Tudela).

Over the past 20 years, since the first sociolinguistic survey in 1991, it is estimated that there are 185.600 more speakers of Basque, from an estimated 528.500 in 1991 to 714.100 in 2011. This growth has taken place in particular in the BAC and to a lesser degree in Navarre. The number of Basque speakers in Iparralde has continued to decline, although among the youngest age group there is a small increase. The composition of the Basque speakers as a group has changed considerably. In 1991 most of them (79.3 %) had learnt to speak Basque at home and those first language speakers were a clear majority in all age cohorts, but 20 years later, the native speakers are only a small majority (52.4 %). The youngest age cohort in the survey shows the trend towards fewer first language speakers most clearly. Of the 16–24 year olds only 29.2 % is a (full) native speaker, another 18.9 % has both Basque and Spanish (or French) as the first language; they are either raised by mixed language couples with one native Basque speaker or by a couple with two second language speakers. In the age cohort of 16–24 years the remaining 51.9 % are second language learners. The trend is most pronounced in the BAC and to a lesser degree in Navarre. In Iparralde, among the same age cohort of 16–24, there is only a slight increase of second language learners, because a clear majority of all speakers remains a first language speaker. In Iparralde also most speakers belong to the age cohort of over 65 years.

Language shift in the past most commonly took place inside families where parents decided to no longer transmit the language to their children which was a process common to many regional minority language groups in Europe. Language revival efforts aim to recuperate and secure language transmission between the generations. The data of the sociolinguistic survey provide some insight in the process of language transmission of Basque today (Fig. 12.3).

As we can see from the left-hand side of the figure, in cases where both parents are a speaker of Basque, the minority language will be transmitted to the children almost always, even though in Iparralde there is a loss of 13 %. The percentage that transmits both languages inside the family shows that there is an influence of the majority language (Spanish or French) even inside the home of two Basque speaking parents. The distribution is quite different in cases where only one parent is a Basque speaker (in the right-hand side of the figure). Although the minority language is transmitted in most cases, even up to 71 % in the BAC, it is almost always bilingually alongside the majority language Spanish (or French). These data demonstrate that unlike in the past, language loss has stopped (Vice-Ministry for
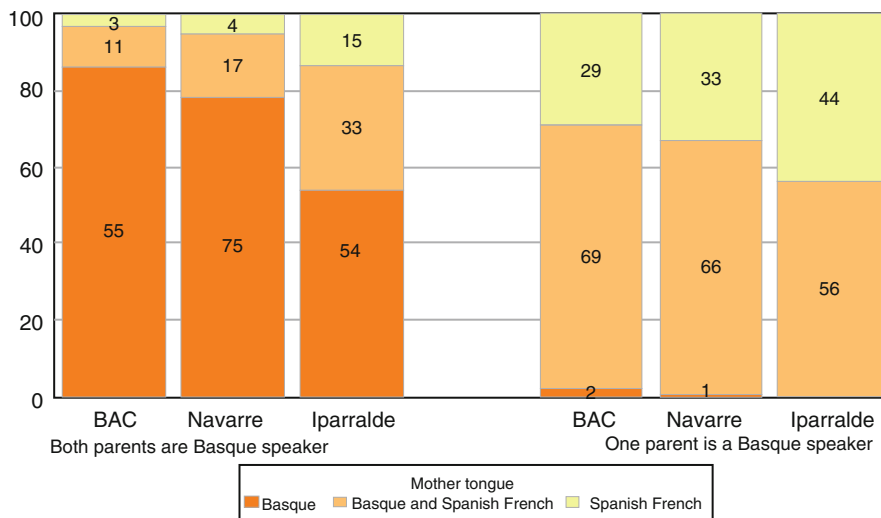
Fig. 12.3 Language transmission of Basque to children between 2 and 15 years, by language competence of the parents (Source: Vice-Ministry for Language Policy 2012: 15)

Language Policy 2012: 16). The data imply an increased bilinguality of the population; young generations grow up not just in a bilingual society but most of them also with two languages inside the home.

The report on the language survey also contains some data on the use of Basque in the wider society. An important outcome is that over the whole of the Basque Country 24.2 % of inhabitants aged 16 and over use Basque to some extent (Vice-Ministry for Language Policy 2012: 19); of those, about two-thirds use Basque more than or to the same extent as Spanish or French and about one-third report to use the majority language more frequently. There are important differences between the three main areas: from 28.9 % use of Basque in the BAC, to 18.9 % in Iparralde and 10.1 % in Navarre. Analyzing the development of language use in the last 20 years, the report on the 5th sociolinguistic survey states "the use of Basque has increased in the BAC, remained the same in Navarre and declined in Iparralde" (Vice-Ministry for Language Policy 2012: 20). The survey results also indicate that use has increased most in formal service situations (such as government services and health care) and with colleagues at work.

The actual use of Basque in the streets is the object of another study. On this scale it is a unique study in the field of sociolinguistics; it has been carried out six times since 1989 (Soziolinguistika Klusterra 2012). The data are obtained through direct observation of interlocutors in the public space by observers who do not interfere or ask questions of the subjects. The study is huge, because, for example, in the autumn of 2011 it comprised the overhearing of 363.616 interlocutors engaged in 154.277 conversations across the whole of the Basque Country. The average use of Basque in all those conversations was 13.3 % (Soziolinguistika Klusterra 2012: 2). This implies an increase of 2.5 % of the use of Basque in the

streets compared to the first study 22 years earlier, when the average was 10.8 %. The percentage has remained stable though since 2006. What further has increased considerably is the number of times a foreign language other than Basque, Spanish or French was overheard. In 2011 this was 3.7 % of all cases. The study contains detailed data on the differences between the territories of the Basque Country. The use of Basque on the street is highest in the historical province of Gipuzkoa with 32.7 %, followed at a distance by the other territories: Bizkaia 9.4 %, Iparraldea 6.2 %, Navarre 5.7 % and Araba 4.0 %. The results reassert the importance of the sociolinguistic context for the actual use of the minority language.

One of the remarkable outcomes is that in the larger cities of the Basque Country, Bilbao, Vitoria-Gasteiz and Pamplona-Iruñea, foreign languages were overheard in the streets slightly more often than Basque. Only in San Sebastián-Donostia the observers overheard Basque (15.9 %) considerably more often than foreign languages (3.0 %) (Soziolinguistika Klusterra 2012: 6). These street observations overall confirm that the Basque Country becomes increasingly multilingual.

Another result worthy to be noted is the influence of the presence of children in the use of Basque. As it turns out to be the case, the use of Basque in the streets is highest when children and adults (or elderly) are both present. Over the whole of the Basque Country children on their own use Basque in 15.2 % of cases, when adults are without children 9.4 % use Basque, but when children and adults are together 19.5 % use Basque (Soziolinguistika Klusterra 2012: 10, graph 22).

As a final aspect of the sociolinguistic context we will discuss an outcome of the language survey about language attitudes. It concerns the attitude towards the promotion of the use of Basque, an attitude of great importance for the language policy in general and the language education policy in particular (Fig. 12.4).

The figure shows the outcomes for the language attitude question on the promotion of the Basque language. It is evident that the policies receive the support of a majority of the population in the BAC (62.3 %), although in Iparralde (38.5 %) and in Navarre (37.7 %) the support is less. The outcomes also make clear that the attitudes have become more positive over the past 20 years. The negative language attitudes of those who oppose the promotion of Basque have decreased the most in Navarre. This may obviously be related to the strength of the policies, because as we will see in the next section, there are substantial differences in the languages policies between the three areas.

12.3 Language Policy

At the end of the 1970s, after the dictatorship, the Basque language was in a perilous state. The regional government of the BAC took several measures to protect and promote Basque. The newly adopted Spanish Constitution (1978) and the Basque Statute of Autonomy (1978), proclaimed Basque and Spanish as co-official languages of the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), giving the
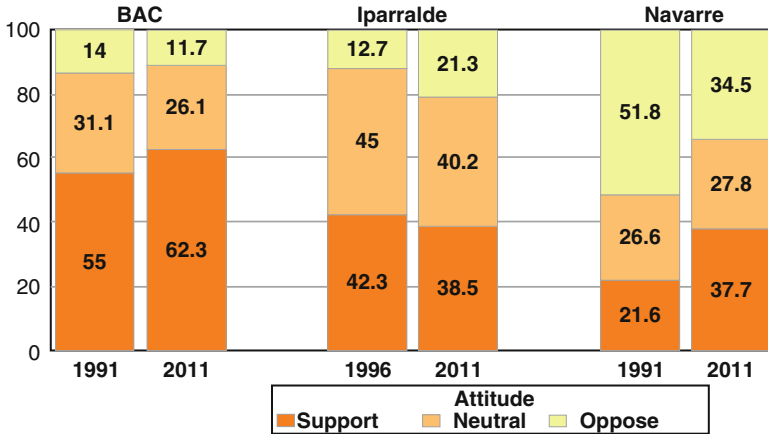
Fig. 12.4 Attitudes towards promoting the use of Basque in the three main areas of the Basque Country; 1991 and 2011 (in percentages) (Source: Vice-Ministry for Language Policy 2012)

minority language an important legal recognition. After that, the Basic Law (1982) on the Normalisation of the use of Basque set out the framework for language policy. According to the Basic Law all citizens of the BAC have the right to know and use both official languages, orally and in writing. The Basic Law (1982) provided a foundation for the development of more detailed language action plans. The General Plan for the Promotion of the Use of Basque (EBPN 1999) stated until recently the guidelines for the language policy of the Basque regional government. The basic aim is "to promote language policy measures necessary to ensure the possibility of living in Basque for those who so desire" (EBPN 1999: 53). It implies the normal public use of Basque and to put Basque on equal footing with Spanish. This is the core of the policy of 'normalization', a concept that characterizes the minority languages in Spain.

In 2008 the Basque Language Advisory Board launched the initiative *Euskara 21* (Ponencia Base 2008) to discuss a renewed language policy for the twenty-first century. The Board reported that an adequate level of proficiency in Basque is required for 44 % of all positions in the regional government and for 56 % it is considered a merit. For the public education system the requirement is 80 % and for the police force 41 %, but for the health service it is a mere 15 % because 2006 was the first year when Basque was made mandatory there (Ponencia Base 2008: 17). The report also observes that in the past 25 years similar measures were lacking for (Spanish) State departments in Basque country or in the administration of Justice. In 2001 Spain ratified the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and in the recommendations of the Committee of Ministers (Council of Europe 2012), the emphasis is on strengthening the use of Basque (and the other minority languages in Spain) in the areas of the State administration, the State public services, the judicial authorities and the provision of health care.

The *Euskara 21* initiative also wants to look 25–30 years ahead and imagine a multilingual society in which Basque and Spanish have different functions, alongside with English. For the language planners it is clear that in the long run the education system alone cannot sustain the language, and that other measures are necessary. Some type of 'functional departmentalisation' is seen as necessary to sustain the minority language, because "in our case survival is not possible without diglossia" (Consejo asesor del Euskera 2009: 29) The uneven geographic distribution of Basque is taken into consideration by prioritizing 'vital niches' of Basque, that is, geographic areas where Basque is given pre-eminence in use and transmission (Consejo asesor del Euskera 2009: 30).

A recent overview by the Basque government summarizes some 100 indicators on the evolution of Basque taking the 1999 EBPN-plan as the base (Indicadores 2011); the overview is a rich source for further insight in language policy over the last 30 years. One of the most revealing sections details the economic effort the regional government has undertaken to support the language policy. The report shows that 1.24 % of its budget for the year 2008 is destined to the 'normalization' of Basque; a percentage that has not changed much since 2002. Another figure is that the governments of the BAC, the three provinces and all municipalities taken together allocated a total of 187.5 million euro to Basque, or 88 euro per inhabitant (Indicadores 2011: 103–104). These figures demonstrate the relative strength and size of the language policy, because no other European minority language, with probably the exception of Catalan, does have so much economic support. The Basque government (BAC) has also founded specialized institutions for the teaching of Basque to adults (HABE) and the Basque institute of public administration (IVAP). The government provides funding for many other institutions to promote Basque. There are several all-Basque radio stations and others with programs in Basque as well as three regional television channels, two in Basque and one in Spanish. There is one newspaper in Basque and other regional or local newspapers usually have a few pages or a number of articles in Basque. There is a score of magazines and specialized journals in Basque but all with limited circulation. In general, the presence of Basque in the media is small in comparison to the dominant position of Spanish. In recent years language policy has also supported the development of new technology in Basque, thus a wide range of software, electronic dictionaries and encyclopaedias, on-line languages courses, terminological databases, social media, blogs, apps, etc. are available on the internet today.

The reports of the *Euskara 21* initiative were followed by a new Action Plan for the Promotion of Basque (ESEP 2012). The central aim of the latest Action Plan is to strengthen the use of the language (ESEP 2012: 11). Three strategic objectives are formulated to improve the acquisition, the use and the quality of the Basque language, as well as two 'transversal lines' to attain those objectives: first, increase motivation for Basque and second, its social dissemination (ESEP 2012: 13–15). As can be deduced from this description, the Basque language has a privileged position in the BAC as compared to many minorities around the world (Cenoz 2008b).

In the community of Navarre the legal arrangements and the language policy are weaker than in the BAC (Urbiola 2005; Irujo and Urrutia 2008; Oroz and Sotés

2008). The differences in legislation have important implications for the resources allocated to the development of Basque and therefore for its maintenance and revival (Cenoz 2008a). The Basque Language Law of 1986 divides the territory of Navarre into three linguistic zones depending on the number of Basque speakers. For each area the law provides for different right for speakers. As a consequence several legal obstacles exist for the official use of Basque in the mixed and non-Basque speaking zones (Oroz and Sotés 2008: 23–24).

In Iparralde the Basque language is not co-official with French and the language policy is comparatively weak. For many years the state, regional and local governments did not support the Basque language (Harguindéguy and Itçaina 2012). Most of the time it was a *laissez-faire* policy but from time to time the French state displayed open hostility against minority languages such as Basque (Alen-Garabato and Cellier 2009). Notwithstanding this, there were several private initiatives for schooling, adult language learning, local radio and publishing. Only after the establishment of the Basque Language Office in 2004 a more formal language policy could begin. This Office elaborated a language plan, which was accepted 2 years later (Office Public de la Langue Basque 2006). The Basque Language Office defines its language policy on the example of the language plans from the BAC, on the other side of the state border. The Office states as its central goal the creation of 'complete speakers' and sees 'young speakers' as its priority target group. The three main dimensions are 'transmission', 'use' and 'promotion' of the language. This is urgent because, as the language policy document points out, there was a loss of almost 15.000 speakers in 10 years time, from 69.000 in 1991 (or 33 % of the population) to 54.500 in 2001 (or 25 %) (Office Public de la Langue Basque 2006).

12.4 Language Education Policy

The differences in general language policies we observe between the three administrative areas of the Basque Country are magnified when we look at language education policy. The BAC has developed over a period of 30 years a robust policy which resulted in a reversal of the language of instruction of the education system, in the province of Navarre the language education policy has been far more moderate and the area Iparralde can best be characterized by a weak governmental policy, counterbalanced by some private initiatives.

At the time when the regional government of the BAC set out with its language education policy there were several important challenges. One of the most pressing problems was the lack of language proficiency of teachers. In 1976 less than 5 % of all teachers in primary and secondary education were able to teach through the medium of Basque (Gardner 2000). Teachers were encouraged to learn Basque and they were given the opportunity for language study full-time to obtain the qualification to teach through Basque, without teaching duties and while they kept their
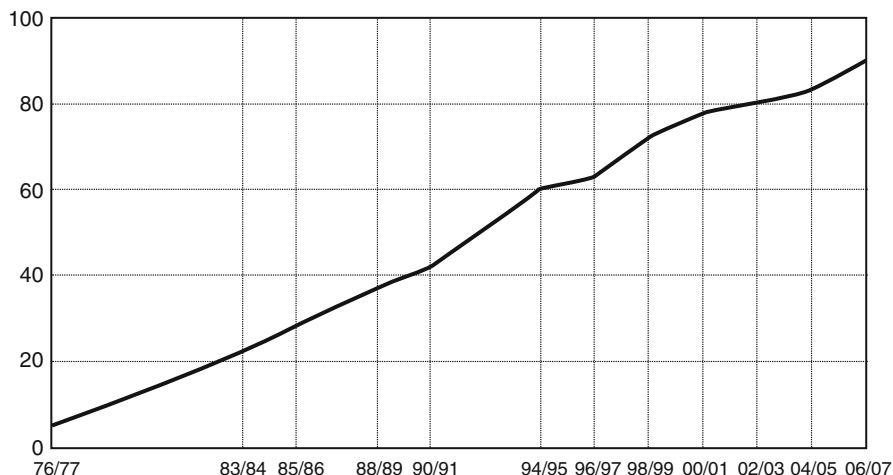
Fig. 12.5 Evolution of bilingual teachers in the BAC 1976–2007 (%)

full salary. The effect of such measures has been that the percentage of qualified teachers has gone up to over 85 % today as can be seen in Fig. 12.5.

Another major challenge was the lack of teaching materials in Basque. Also a lot of progress has been made in this field and today there is a variety of up-to-date materials for all levels, including software and audiovisuals, from pre-school to university, although for some fields at university the amount can be small due the specialized nature of the courses. The materials used to teach Spanish or through the medium of Spanish are in many cases the same as those used in Spanish schools outside the BAC or Navarre.

A third challenge was the provision of adequate curricular models. The Basic Law of 1982 made Basque and Spanish compulsory subjects in all schools and the educational authorities devised three models of language schooling: Models A, B and D. These models differ with respect to their intended student population, their language aims and the languages of instruction (Cenoz 2008b, 2009).

Model A aims at Spanish mother tongue speakers; the original objective of Model A was to prepare students for participation in Basque speaking environments. In Model A all teaching is through Spanish, and Basque is taught as a subject for 4–5 h per week. These schools are often located in areas where little Basque is spoken in society. Basque is only learned in the classroom, similar to the teaching of a foreign language.

Model B is also intended for children from Spanish speaking homes, but the goal is to reach bilingualism with Basque. In this model subjects are taught through both languages for more or less equal amounts of time, although there can be substantial variation between schools. Sometimes a school may be similar to Model A and other schools are close to Model D. Model B has similarities with Canadian immersion models in which French and English are used as languages of instruction for majority group English-speaking students (Genesee 1987; Cenoz 2009). In both

cases, pupils who are speakers of the majority language have their first and second language as the medium of instruction. Situations which are closer to the Model B can also be found among some other European minority language groups, for example in Wales (Lewis 2008).

Model D was originally designed for Basque mother tongue speakers as a maintenance program. In Model D all lessons are in Basque, except when Spanish and English are being taught as subjects for 4 or 5 h per week.

In Models B and D, where Basque is used as the language of instruction, the methodological approach is 'content-based' and shares many characteristics with the CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) (see Marsh 2007; Cenoz et al. 2013).

Over the years the models underwent important changes. In the early 1980s Model B and Model D together added up to less than 25 % of all students and three quarters were attending the Spanish Model A. The results of Model A in terms of Basque proficiency turned out to be disappointing. Because the education system is demand driven, in the sense that parents have the legal right to determine the language of education of their children, there has been a gradual change in favour of Model D. Today Model D also includes a large number of students with Spanish as their first language. An important reason is that Basque has obtained an economic value in society because, as we saw, the language is required for an increasing number of jobs in the public sector and also demanded in private companies, in particular in the service sector. Other reasons for Spanish speaking parents to choose the Model D can be that the language was lost in the family and parents want to recover Basque. As a consequence Model D schools today are at the same time a program of total immersion for native Spanish-speaking students and a first language maintenance program for native Basque speakers (Cenoz 2009).

On average the Model D accounts for 69 % of all students in pre-primary, primary and secondary schools. Among new registrations, 73.6 % choose to the Model D and 3.9 % enroll in Model A (figures for the academic year 2011–2012; Eustat 2012). These percentages confirm the far-reaching changes in the position of Basque in the education system.

The boundaries between the Models A, B and D are nowadays less clear. Not only because of the large numbers of Spanish-speaking students in the Model D, but also due to the use of English as an additional language of instruction and the arrival of immigrants who speak other languages (Cenoz 2008b; Cenoz and Gorter 2012). The education system has become more multilingual in its curriculum with an emphasis on three languages and in the composition of its student-body. The early introduction of English, from 3 or 4 years onwards, is characteristic for the education system in the BAC and Navarre. The basic idea is that more years of exposure to English will result in higher levels of proficiency. However, research shows that when the exposure to the target language is limited (2 or 3 h per week) younger children do not necessarily make more progress than older children (García Mayo and García Lecumberri 2003; Cenoz 2009).

The Basque Country is becoming more multilingual and multicultural because in recent years the number of immigrants from Latin America, Africa and some

Eastern European countries to the BAC and Navarre has increased considerably: 6.9 % in the BAC and 10.7 % in Navarre are immigrants (INE 2012). Some of the immigrant students speak Spanish because they come from Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America but the arrival of speakers of other languages creates a challenge for the school system that already has three languages. It is difficult to predict what the impact of immigration will be on the survival of the Basque language.

In the schools' timetable the languages are taught separately in different slots. To give an example, a typical timetable in the 3rd year of a Model D secondary school has 20 lessons in Basque (including 4 h as a subject), 3 h for Spanish as a subject and 6 h for English, half of them as a subject and the other half for teaching social science through the medium of English. It is common for secondary schools to offer one subject through the medium of English, and thus in those cases students get more hours at school in English than in Spanish.

Of course, these numbers of hours relate only to the time at school, an important but relatively small proportion of the students' total waking hours. A student may be awake from 7.30 until 23.30: a total of 112 waking hours per week. Of those hours, 27.5 h are spent in school, including breaks: in other words, only one quarter of a student's waking hours. In a multilingual society this has consequences for language exposure and language use (Gorter 2013). To get an idea of what this means we have to take into account where the student lives, because as we saw before the socio-geographic distribution of the Basque language over the territory is unequal. A student in a predominantly Basque-speaking environment (over 80 %) obviously has more exposure to Basque than one in a predominantly Spanish-speaking environment (less than 20 %). The intermediate mixed environments are the most common, but Spanish dominates everywhere through such media as television, newspapers and the internet.

In the other parts of the Basque Country, in Navarre and Iparralde improvements in teaching the minority language have been weaker (Zalbide and Cenoz 2008; Cenoz 2009; Gorter 2013). The division of the province of Navarre in three linguistic zones has consequences for the development of the education language policy (Oroz and Sotés 2008: 21). In Navarre the same three models A, B and D exist as in the BAC, although there are hardly any schools with Model B. There is, however, also the additional Model G, without any teaching of Basque that has an important presence. There are also some other models in some stages of education where for example English is the medium of instruction ('British model'). According to a decree of 1988 Model A is obligatory in the Basque speaking zone as a minimum and the Models B and D are voluntary. In the mixed zone Basque Model D can be offered depending on sufficient demand by the parents, in the non-Basque speaking zone Basque will only be taught as a subject when there is sufficient demand. For the whole of Navarre about 18.4 % of children are enrolled in Model A, another 25.2 % in Model D and 51 %, in the Spanish monolingual Model G. The other models comprise some 5 %, including Model B less than 0.5 % and 'British model' with English has 2.5 % (Gobierno de Navarra 2011). In the northern Basque speaking zone Basque is the language of instruction in Model D

for 88 % of the students, in the mixed zone it is 30 and 6 % in the southern zone (see Oroz and Sotés 2008; Cenoz 2008a).

In Iparralde the public authorities and the general public see the teaching of Basque as a solution for the weak language transmission in the family and the steady decline of the number of speakers of Basque in France (Coyos 2012: 17). The French education system, however, is largely state controlled notwithstanding some decentralisation measures. In the state schools, the catholic schools and the private schools Basque can be taught as an optional subject (Sanchez 2007; Sarraillet 2009). In 1969 the Seaska organization, an initiative of parents and teachers, started with one Ikastola, similar to the Southern Basque Country; in 2012 it manages 29 ikastolas. There has been a gradual increase in the teaching of Basque in recent years because the number of pupils in primary schools that receive some hours or immersion education through Basque taken together has gone up from 24.5 % in the school year 2004–2005 to 32.3 % in 2010–2011 (or almost 8.000 out of 24.600 students) (Office Public de la Language Basque 2010). According to Coyos (2012) the current situation where education is driven by demand of parent associations such as Seaska, might change to a situation of a general offer, where Basque is taught to all children in all schools of the Northern Basque Country if their parents are not against it.

12.5   Outcomes for the Three School Languages

There have been a large number of research studies and evaluations of bilingual education in the BAC, much less in Navarre and Iparralde. The outcomes of the bilingual education in the BAC are of great relevance to policy makers, teachers and parents. The results for Basque, Spanish, English and mathematics have been studied widely. The studies have used different methodological approaches but most of them have analysed the linguistic and non-linguistic results of teaching through the medium of Basque, Spanish or both languages (Cenoz 2009).

Here the outcomes of a recent and large scale study will be summarized. It concerns the evaluation of the 2nd year of secondary was carried out in 2011 by the *Basque Institute for Research and Evaluation in Education* (ISEI-IVEI). Its results confirm the general trends found in most studies in the BAC. In this case participants were over 18.000 students, 81 % were aged 14 years and 19 % were 15 or 16. The ISEI-IVEI evaluation in the second year of secondary measured listening, reading and writing in all three languages as well as testing of mathematics. The comparisons include the three different models and the difference between public and private schools (ISEI-IVEI 2012).

A general finding of studies in the BAC is that there are significant differences in Basque proficiency between the three models. In general, students in Model D are more proficient in Basque than students in Model B who, in turn, are more proficient than students in Model A. The mean score obtained for Basque was
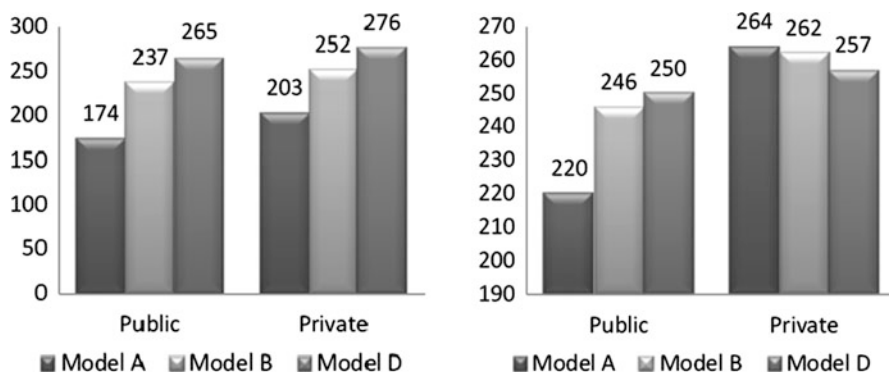
Fig. 12.6 Basque proficiency (*left*) and Spanish proficiency (*right*) in the 2nd year of secondary education (ISEI-IVEI 2012). NB overall average Basque =256 (N = 15.999) and Spanish = 254 (N = 16.640)

256 (scores range from 102 to 363). The distribution of the scores in the different models in public and private schools can be seen in Fig. 12.6.

As expected, the best results are obtained by students with Basque as the main language of instruction in Model D, both in the public and the private schools. Public schools with Model A, thus with Spanish as the language of instruction have the lowest average scores. The differences between the different types are statistically significant. The results are not surprising taking the differences in hours of exposure into account.

In contrast to the findings on Basque proficiency, the language of instruction does not have a significant effect on proficiency in Spanish. This seems to be related to the dominant position of Spanish in society. In fact, even students with Basque as their first language who study through the medium of Basque are usually in close contact with students who speak Spanish at home, interact in their everyday life frequently with Spanish speaking people and they are also exposed to Spanish in the media. Students with Basque as the language of instruction study Spanish only as a subject but the way Spanish is taught is the same as for students who have Spanish as their first language and Spanish as the language of instruction.

The results of the ISEI-IVEI study do not show a clear effect of the language of instruction on the proficiency in Spanish. In fact, the highest (264) and the lowest (220) scores can both be found in the Model A. This indicates that socioeconomic status (an important difference between public and private schools) seems to be more important than the language of instruction (Fig. 12.7).

Almost all students study English as their first foreign language in secondary school. Earlier studies compared different models and reported that students who have Basque as the language of instruction (Model D) obtain better scores in English than students instructed through Spanish (Cenoz 1992; Lasagabaster 1998; Sagasta 2003). The study of the ISEI-IVEI (2012) confirms this outcome once more: the students in Model D score higher on English than the students in the Models B or A as can be seen in the left hand side of the figure. Even if the
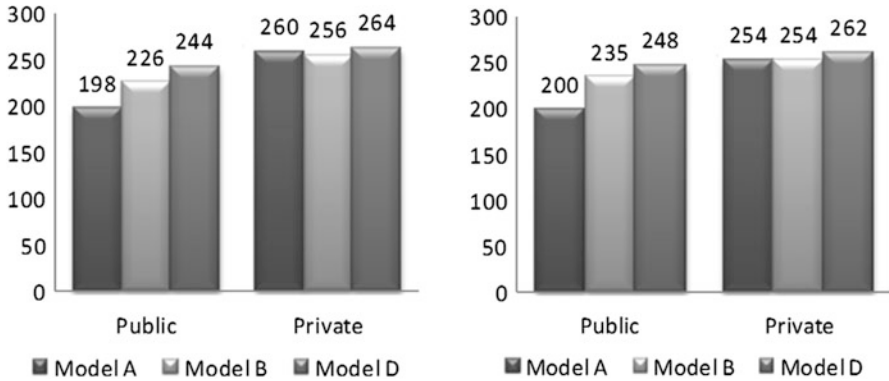
Fig. 12.7 English proficiency (*left*) and mathematics (*right*) in the 2nd year of secondary educa-tion (ISEI-IVEI 2012). NB Overall average English = 250 (N = 16.659) and mathematics = 250.7 (N = 16.690)

differences seem small they are statistically significant. Again, overall the public schools score lower than the private schools.

Another important issue is to see whether the language of instruction has consequences for academic achievement in other areas. The ISEI-IVEI evaluation of mathematics indicates that there are differences between the language instruction models, in favour of the Model D, but once again the differences between public and private schools are more important. The results indicate that private schools do better than public schools in general and again, the main differences are between the public and the private schools in the case of the Model A. Thus, the socioeco-nomic factors seem to be more important than the language of instruction.

In sum, outcomes from this and other evaluations of bilingual schools in the BAC indicate that using a minority language as the language of instruction results in better proficiency in the minority and similar levels of achievement in the majority language and slightly better scores in a subject such as mathematics. Higher proficiency in the minority language implies a more balanced bilingualism because of the high level of knowledge of Spanish. This proficiency in two languages seems to give some advantages when acquiring English as the third language. The explanation is probably linked to a higher level of metalinguistic awareness or more developed language learning strategies; it can also be related to a wider linguistic repertoire of multilinguals (see also Cenoz 2003).

12.6   Future Directions

The case of the Basque language in education as we have described and analyzed in the preceding sections is a useful example of multilingual education for other minorities. Of course, this case has some specific characteristics related to its

sociolinguistic, political, and historical context, but the developments surrounding Basque in the BAC clearly demonstrate how a robust language policy has positive effects on the development of multilingual education and the way in which the teaching of the minority language on a large scale can lead to a gradual increase in the number of speakers. The case also makes clear the complexity of shaping multilingual education with regard to factors such as teacher proficiency or the development of teaching material (Cenoz 2005). At the same time the developments in Navarre and Iparralde make visible that there can be huge differences for the same language under different circumstances.

The changes in bilingual and multilingual education also have had an impact on researchers in this community and researchers in the Basque Country try to contribute to theorizing about multilingual education in general. Based on their studies of Basque, Spanish and English in schools in the BAC Cenoz and Gorter (2011) propose a "Focus on Multilingualism". This is an approach that looks at the whole linguistic repertoire of multilingual speakers and language learners and at the relationships between the languages when conducting research, teaching or assessing different languages. They argue that a focus on all the different languages can lead to new insights about the way languages are learned and used. Traditionally the multilingual person's competence in one language has been compared to the ideal native speaker. Instead a "Focus on Multilingualism" is a reaction against such monolingual bias with native speaker as yardstick and it provides a vision of the complexity of the relationships between the languages, their processing, and the existing links between them. It goes against idea of language separation, and, instead, it includes code-mixing, translanguaging and codemeshing. Multilinguals use the languages at their disposal as a resource in communication and these practices contribute to the development of their multilingual and multicultural identities. As Block (2007: 72) suggests, multilinguals do not seem to be semilingual but hyperlingual.

The social context is seen as crucial because speakers shape the context in which language is learned and used, hence the foregoing description of developments in the three areas of the Basque Country. Also the interactional context in the here and now is important because multilingual speakers use their resources and navigate between languages in real communication; that is where speakers shape the interactional context in which the languages are learned and used (Kramsch 2010).

Cenoz and Gorter (2011) explore the potential benefits when they apply their "Focus on Multilingualism" in a study into written production in three languages in the multilingual educational context of the BAC. They observe, for example, the effect that a specific writing strategy in one of languages has on the other languages. A multilingual person can have similar strengths and weaknesses in different dimensions of writing (content, structure, etc.) and therefore, uses similar general strategies when facing the task of writing a composition independently of the language used for each of the compositions. The languages involved, in this case Basque, Spanish and English, reinforce each other. Their different analyses show that such a multilingual approach can provide interesting insights about relationships between the languages and can also have pedagogical implications.

For example, the teaching could be more effective by creating connections between the languages being learned and by using translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy. Specific activities can enhance metalinguistic awareness, the ability to reflect on languages and to manipulate them. There are potentially more efficient ways to acquire languages than in traditional approaches. One the one hand, resources across languages can be used through the establishment of integrated language curricula (Elorza and Muñoa 2008). On the other hand, explicit allowance for code-mixing and translanguaging, will involve learners in language practices that are natural among multilingual speakers in an out of school context. Multilingual speakers can improve their linguistic achievement when these practices are allowed. As Hornberger (2005: 607) pointed out "bi/multilinguals' learning is maximized when they are allowed and enabled to draw from across all their existing language skills". The goal in multilingual education should be to behave as a competent multilingual speaker.

Such a holistic approach implies an important degree of coordination among language teachers so they can implement an integrated language curriculum that highlights the relationships between the languages and develops learners' language awareness. The approach focuses more on what multilinguals can do with their languages than on the comparison of multilinguals to ideal native speakers of each of their languages. Another possibility is to train the use of 'receptive multilingualism' which happens when interlocutors use their respective first languages while speaking to each other because they have passive knowledge of the other language. These practices go against the conventions in most school contexts but they are sometimes characteristic of out of school interactions among multilingual speakers. The case of Basque is an interesting example for other minority languages because it faces many similar challenges.

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